

**FAITH BASED DEVELOPMENT:  
THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE IN  
CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING  
WITH AN ILLUSTRATIVE CASE STUDY  
OF THE RANCHI ARCHDIOCESE, INDIA**

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**SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF  
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AND POLITICAL SCIENCE**

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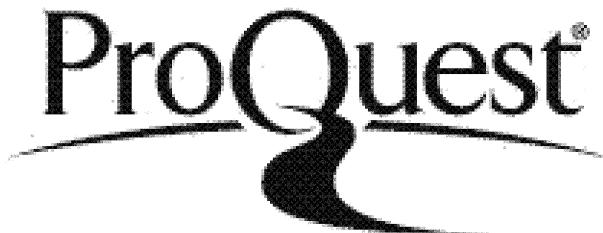
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **FAITH BASED DEVELOPMENT:**

#### **THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE IN CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING**

**WITH AN ILLUSTRATIVE CASE STUDY  
OF THE RANCHI ARCHDIOCESE, INDIA**

By Edward A. Violett

This thesis is a study of how one faith based institution, the Roman Catholic Church, has evolved over the last century, a set of principles to bring about and guide its efforts in the promotion of human welfare. The study is driven by and derives its theoretical framework from the approach to social welfare known as social development. The social development approach is characterized as a process of intentional social change to bring about sustainable human well-being. This change is envisaged as harmonizing human development in all its facets: social, political, personal cultural, spiritual and economic.

Using historical analysis, the thesis develops and delineates from social development a set of components with which to examine the principles in the Church's Social Teaching allied to the promotion of human welfare. The study demonstrates striking common conceptual foundations, mutuality of purpose and influence between 'secular' social development and that of the Church's approach to social development and illustrates a convergence and congruence in methodology between the two approaches. Foremost among the similarities is that the Church, in accord with 'secular' social development, holds as normative an integrated developmental process that joins all dimensions of human experience—social, economic, spiritual, political and cultural—to enhance and promote human well-being. The similarities notwithstanding, the analysis also points to fundamental divergences between the two approaches that largely emanate from the Church's institutional structure and its faith orientation to social development, which are in some senses irreconcilable with 'secular' social development.

These conclusions are reached through careful historical and textual analysis as well as through the development of an illustrative case of the Catholic Archdiocese of Ranchi. This local level study, which also used interview methods, provided an opportunity to examine how the Church's social development principles emerged, were influenced and have been applied in Church action for human well-being in one local development context of India.

## ACKNOWLEDEMENTS

As I stand at the completion of this research endeavor I am struck by an experiential paradox. On the one hand, the experience of this undertaking has been an intense sense of aloneness. Yet on the other hand, as much as the aloneness has been a reality, the endeavor has been an incredible and fertile enterprise in collaboration, which has naturally accumulated many debts of gratitude. In appreciation for the encouragement, assistance and support that I have received during this enterprise, I take this opportunity to acknowledge my 'collaborators' in this endeavor.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<b>ACDS</b>	Archdiocesan Consortium for Development and Solidarity
<b>BJP</b>	Bharatiya Janata Party (India)
<b>CA</b>	<i>Centesimus Annus</i>
<b>DIFD</b>	Department of International Finance and Development (UK)
<b>ETH</b>	Commentary on Nicomachean Ethics
<b>FAO</b>	Food and Agriculture Organization
<b>GOI</b>	Government of India
<b>GS</b>	<i>Gaudium et Spes</i>
<b>HDI</b>	Human Development Index
<b>ILO</b>	International Labor Organization
<b>IUCISD</b>	Inter-University Consortium for International Social Development
<b>JM</b>	<i>Justitia in Mundo</i>
<b>LE</b>	<i>Laborem Exercens</i>
<b>MM</b>	<i>Mater et Magistra</i>
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organization
<b>NIEO</b>	New International Economic Order
<b>OA</b>	<i>Octogesima Adveniens</i>
<b>ODA</b>	Overseas Development Administration (UK)
<b>PP</b>	<i>Populorum Progressio</i>
<b>PRSP</b>	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
<b>PT</b>	<i>Pacem in Terris</i>
<b>QA</b>	<i>Quadragesimo Anno</i>
<b>RN</b>	<i>Rerum Novarum</i>
<b>SAPs</b>	Structural Adjustment Programs
<b>SRS</b>	<i>Sollicitudo Rei Sociales</i>
<b>ST</b>	<i>Summa Theologica</i>
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Program
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nation's Children Fund

## GLOSSARY

<b><i>Arakatis</i></b>	Local agents in Chotanagpur employed by the tea gardens of Northeast India
<b><i>Baiga</i></b>	Village priest.
<b><i>Bethbegari</i></b>	Compulsory labor for the landlord by tenant farmers.
<b><i>Bhuinhar</i></b>	Original settler of a village (Oraon).
<b><i>Chanda</i></b>	Voluntary support given by the <i>adivasis</i> to the Raja.
<b><i>Daru</i></b>	Locally brewed gin made from the Mahua tree.
<b><i>Dhan Gola</i></b>	Rice Storehouse.
<b><i>Diku</i></b>	A foreigner in Chotanagpur. A term of disdain.
<b><i>Godown</i></b>	Storage facility.
<b><i>Hanria/Illi</i></b>	Locally brewed rice beer.
<b><i>Jagidar</i></b>	The holder of the jagir.
<b><i>Jagir</i></b>	A lease granted to the Raja's agents for their services and/or goods.
<b><i>Jamadar</i></b>	Village police officer.
<b><i>Khatian</i></b>	Record of land rights.
<b><i>Khuntkatti</i></b>	Pertains to the original settlers of a Munda village.
<b><i>Khuntkattidar</i></b>	A descendant of the original settler (Munda).
<b><i>Killi</i></b>	A Munda clan.
<b><i>Mahajans</i></b>	Money lenders.
<b><i>Mahato</i></b>	Civil head of an Oraon village.
<b><i>Majihas</i></b>	The privileged lands of the landlords.
<b><i>Manki</i></b>	The head of a group of Munda villages.
<b><i>Munda</i></b>	The civil head of a Munda village.
<b><i>Pahan</i></b>	The religious head of a village.
<b><i>Panchayat</i></b>	The village council.
<b><i>Parha</i></b>	A group of villages.
<b><i>Raja</i></b>	Literally, king.
<b><i>Rajhas</i></b>	The Raja's share of land.
<b><i>Rakumat</i></b>	Rent payable in kind or in service.
<b><i>Ryot</i></b>	Tenant of a landlord.
<b><i>Samaj, Sangat, Sangh</i></b>	Organized body of people; associations; confederations;

	groups; unions.
<i>Samsara</i>	Cycle of reincarnation.
<i>Sansan</i>	Graveyard of the Munda.
<i>Sansandiri</i>	Burial stone.
<i>Sardar</i>	Leader.
<i>Sarhul</i>	The Tribal festival of the Sal tree blossom.
<i>Sarna</i>	The sacred grove of trees consecrated to the village gods. <i>Jaher</i> in Oraon.
<i>Thikidar</i>	The holder of a lease and later claimed ownership rights.
<i>Zemindar</i>	Originally a revenue collector for the king. The British viewed him as a landlord/landholder as such he became one.

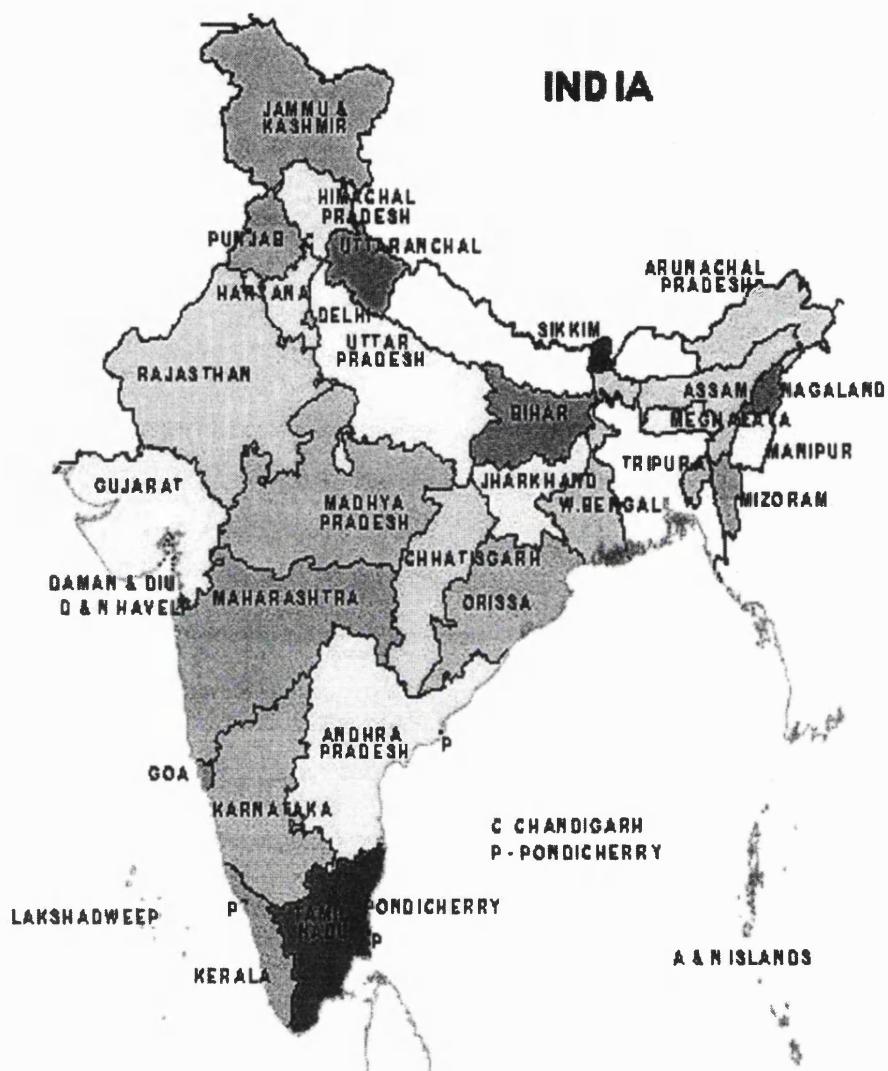


Figure 1: Map of the Republic of India

Source: Office of the Registrar General, Government of India: 2001

## JHARKHAND

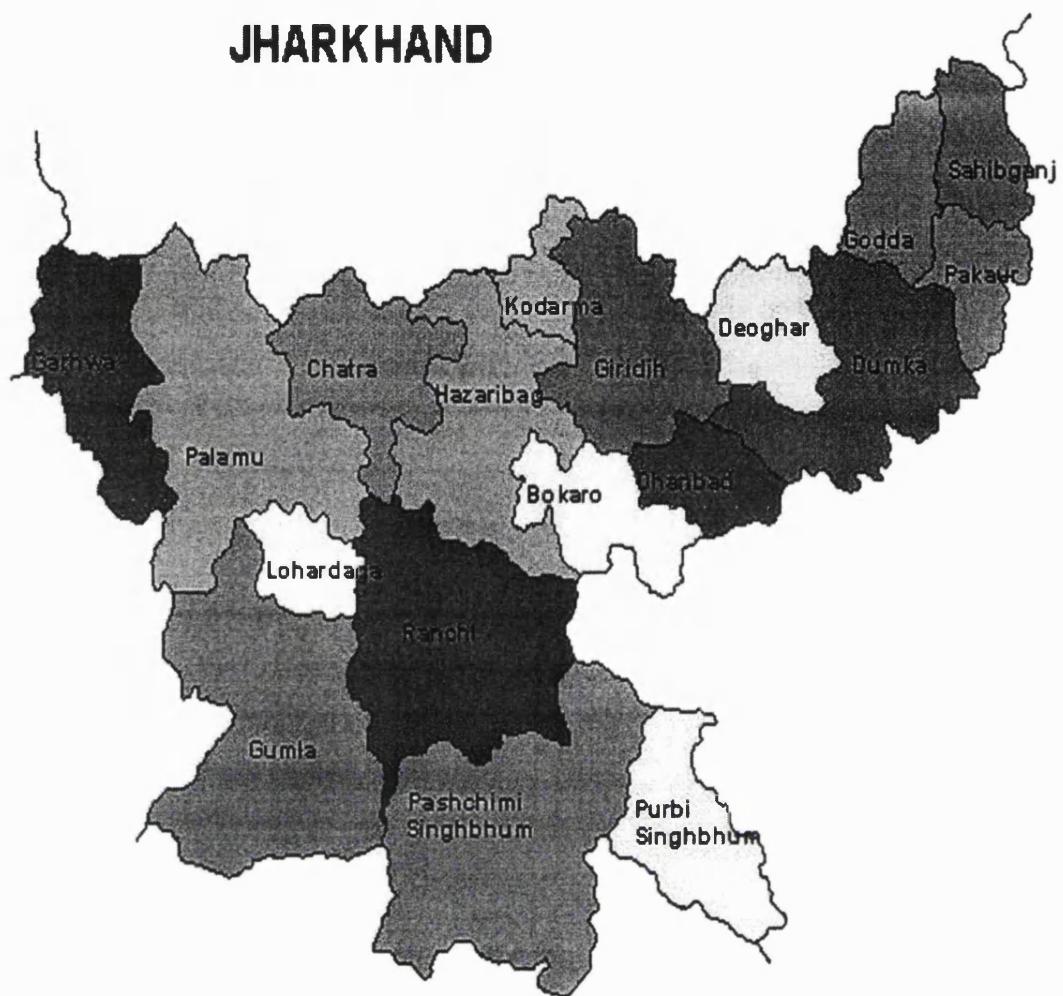


Figure 2: Map of the Civil Divisions, State of Jharkhand

Source: Office of the Registrar General, Government of India: 2001



Figure 3: Map of Jharkhand Roads

Source: Compare Infobase: 2001

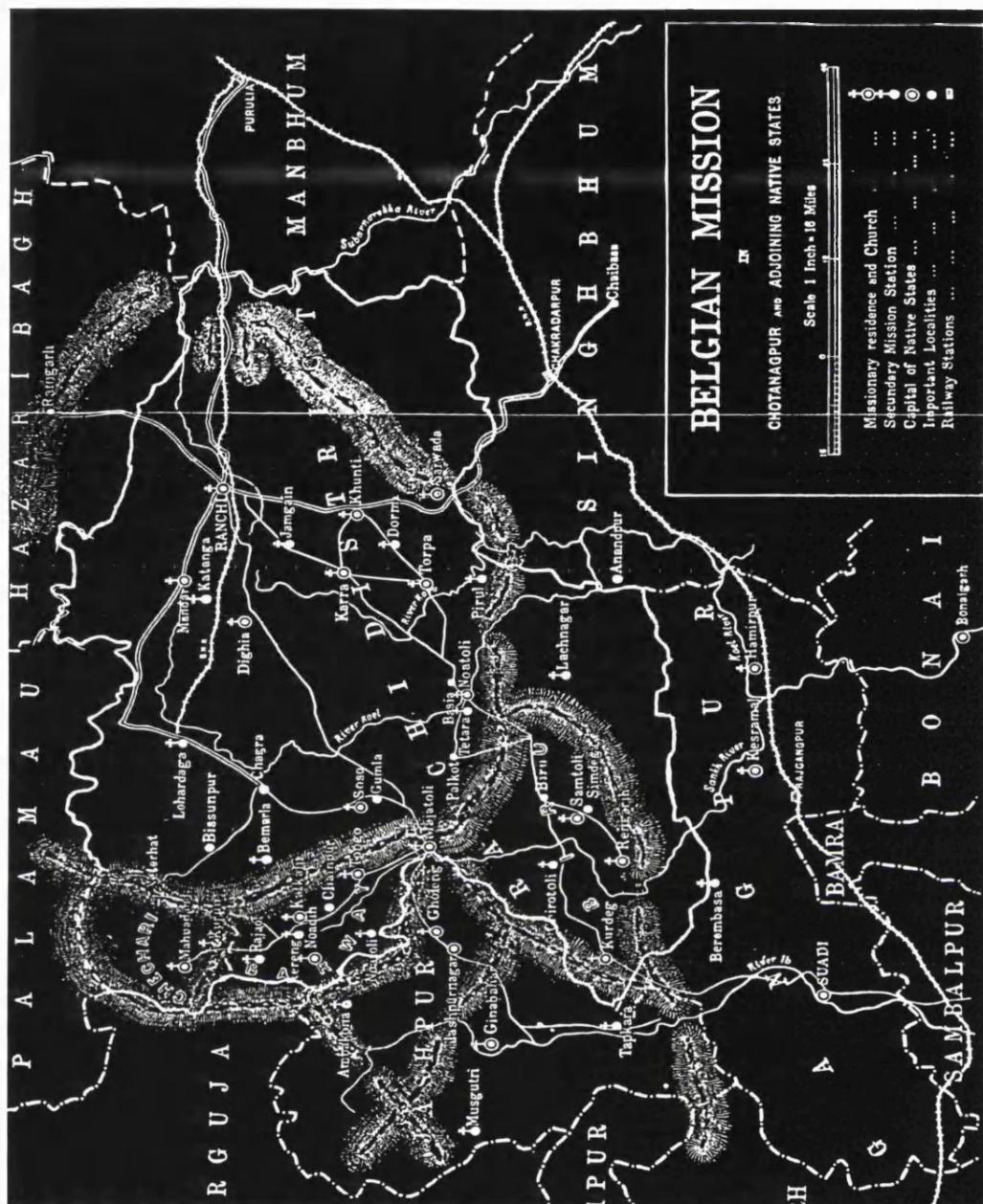


Figure 4: Map of the Belgian Mission of Chotanagpur 1911

Source: *Archivum Provinciae Belgicae Septentrionalis Societatis Iesu* (Archives of the North Belgian Province of the Society of Jesus —Jesuits) as depicted in de Sa 1965.

## Chapter One

### INTRODUCTION

For more than a century the Catholic Church has been evolving a body of thought that has cohered into what is known as *Catholic Social Teaching*. Based on a continuing social analysis, it encompasses a set of principles that puts forth an ethical vision of social relationships and structures in society and inspires social action to implement that vision.

One of the most consistent areas to receive attention in the Teaching is human development in all its facets—spiritual, social, cultural, economic, and political. In the elucidation of this area, the Church has continually recognized the right of every human being to be the governor of his or her own development. Moreover, it has argued that access to this development should not be hindered by place of birth, color of skin, political, economic, and religious or social systems.

For nearly two generations now international engagement has included the pursuit of ‘development’, a process that for social development specialists, involves eradicating poverty and creating better lives for every human being. Despite decades of official development cooperation devoted to this process, we seem nowhere nearer to the elusive goal of social development than when we started in the 1950s. As a matter of fact, it might be argued that we are farther away. According to some commentators we created more poverty in the Twentieth Century than ever before known to humankind (see Townsend, 1993). However, we have also created more wealth in this century to care for the needs of humankind than we ever have before. This notwithstanding, ‘development’ has not fulfilled its mandate is clear. But where we go next is not so clear. Do we scale up or down? Do we enhance our effectiveness through capacity building? Do we democratize? Is participation the key? How do we develop better means for measuring human development? Do we enhance social capital? Do we industrialize or modernize?

Do we liberalize, globalize and open up the economy? Do we close down, button up and promote *swaraj*?<sup>1</sup> Or are we beyond development? As some would argue, are we in an emerging ‘post-development’ age? These are questions that perennially plague the development milieu, and the answers seem as intangible as the goal of development itself.

In India, for nearly a century and a half, the Catholic Church on the Chotanagpur Plateau of the erstwhile state of Bihar and now Jharkhand, has been engaged with and is an integral part of the life of a near entirely indigenous population. Poor, rural, illiterate, at times dispossessed of their land, the people have turned to the Church for assistance in their development. For most of these years, this work was considered a marvel of success, evidenced not only by ‘traditional’ Church endeavors in support to health and education but in socio-economic initiatives as well. However, for nearly a decade now, the effort at a coordinated, broad based development undertaking by the Church in Chotanagpur has ebbed.

The head of the local Church, the Archbishop, laments the fact that development has stagnated and that there seems to be no pervasive change in the quality of people’s lives (Interview with the author, December 1998). He points out that there have been few innovations in the field and maintenance of the *status quo* prevails. To add salt to the wound, a researcher, who has devoted his life to the ‘development’ of Chotanagpur, asks in a fairly recent article and in response to out-migration from the area, ‘What would have happened if the brain drain had not occurred?’ (Bogaert 1998). He asserts that over the last two decades there has been a steady decline in agricultural production, a rise in land dispossession by default and a ‘graying’ of village life brought on by a mass exodus of the young in search of employment in the larger cities. He suggests that the church may well be culpable for this brain drain, as a result of its well-established educational system, coupled with educational entitlements granted by the government to the tribal population and lucrative job reservation policies throughout the state and central government

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<sup>1</sup> In Gandhian thought, self-rule and self-sufficiency.

services. He surreptitiously signals that the ‘alliance’ of church and state has ultimately led to distorted development policies and practices which have had a significant and detrimental impact on tribal culture.

In a similar critique during a ‘stock taking’ symposium on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the erection of the Ranchi Diocese, James Toppo, SJ, head of the Archdiocesan Schools Office remarked that the Church has done very well in its educational ministry.<sup>2</sup> He pointed out that it has raised the literacy rate among the tribal Christian populace to well over the national average and a large section of the tribal youth have completed bachelor degree courses. However, despite these very positive results, he argued that many of the ‘educated’ youth are by and large unemployed or unemployable. Moreover he contends that the ‘liberal’ education they received has not prepared them for the ‘professional’ orientation of the job market, as it exists in India today. As with Bogaert, Toppo in his critique signals, albeit soberly, a discontinuity between the Church’s effort at enhancing human welfare through education and its actual ability to link these endeavors to economic mechanisms that comprise a key part in securing that welfare.

Is there a connection here? Do these three developmental universes have something to say to one another? Is there common ground? Or are they mutually exclusive? The search for answers to these questions has given rise to this study. The aim of this study is to explore and elucidate these development universes particularly focusing on Catholic Social Teaching, contrasting it with ‘secular’ social development. Both fall within a broadly liberal paradigm and as such have much in common. However, there are also significant divergences that influence not only ideological constructs but implementation and practice as well.

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<sup>2</sup> ‘The Catholic Church in Jharkhand: Challenges and Prospects of Development,’ November 7-9, 2002, Ranchi.

Our investigation is timely and apposite on four levels. First, in the larger development frame a threshold has been crossed in the last decade with a general agreement that economic processes in and of themselves, no matter how important they may be, are not and cannot be the sole mechanisms to eradicate deprivation and ensure human welfare and development.<sup>3</sup> Human development as a person-centered process must integrally attend to all aspects—economic, social, political, cultural and spiritual—of the human condition ensuring broad based participation, horizontal as well as lateral in any such process. This understanding as it has coalesced under the rubric of social development is not new. Conceptually the social development paradigm has been promoted and discussed in development debates for more than fifty years (see Hardiman and Midgley 1982; Midgley 1995). What is different is that it has now gained wider conceptual acceptance from ‘grass roots’ organizations right up to the United Nations. Even the harshest critics of ‘development’ recognize the centrality and complexity of the person in the context and augmentation of human welfare (see for examples, Sachs 1992; Rahnema 1997; Goulet 1971; Rist 1997; Escobar 1995).

Nevertheless, while the notion of social development may be accepted at a conceptual level, a universally agreed upon definition of social development escapes us and implementation processes remain elusive. What is all the more significant is that despite this seemingly large impediment, the social development paradigm is being overtly incorporated into policy, development plans as well as practice in a variety of settings and at many institutional levels (different tiers of government, civil society, international multilateral agencies) and in an assortment of ways. Examples include:

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<sup>3</sup> This is not a new insight of course but it is nevertheless significant that in almost any development document of the United Nations and its allied agencies, the Bretton Woods Institutions (IMF, World Bank) and Government Aid Agencies (for example USAID and the United Kingdom’s Department for International Development (DIFD)) will clearly embrace in one manner or the other the understanding that an exclusive focus on economic growth will not in of itself guarantee human development (see, for example, the Human Development Reports of the United Nations Development Program; Overseas Development Administration, 1995; Social Development Department (SDD) 2002 ).

- The current undertaking at the World Bank to more effectively diffuse social development principles throughout the Bank's operations (SDD 2002);
- The exponential growth of social development advisors at DFID from one or two in the 1980s to near parity with economic advisors by the close of the Twentieth Century and the corresponding revival of social development concepts in project funding and evaluation (see ODA 1993 1995);
- The IMF/World Bank's 'pro-poor' strategies inculcating a variety of social development principles, as disseminated in the PRSPs (Pro-poor Strategy Papers).<sup>4</sup>

The second level of research relevance is that along with the rising acceptance of social development as a more 'normative' form of human development there has been a virtual renaissance of interest in faith-based organizations/institutions (FBO) and their activities that promote human welfare.<sup>5</sup> This new-found attention stems from a number of considerations key among them being:

- A recognition that the religious/spiritual dimension of the human person is an important existential component and plays a significant role in overall human development and welfare;
- The realization that religious institutions, faith communities/groups have 'wide networks' with persons who are poor, marginalized and or excluded (WFDD 2000);

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<sup>4</sup> We should note that there is not universal agreement on the efficacy of the pro-poor strategy as a social development strategy. Some would hold that the PRSP are a 'wolf in sheep's clothing' in that it still remains significantly tied to economic growth and thereby and large sophisticated social safety nets (see <http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/topic/adjustment/abcprsp.html>).

<sup>5</sup> The irony here is that churches and faith-based institutions have been at the vanguard of human welfare for centuries and that most of the non-governmental development work (and organizations) began directly from church sponsored/funded programs and institutions particularly those geared toward relief and food security.

- The understanding that in the effort to promote human welfare and development a broad based alliance of stakeholders, civil society organizations and governments must be forged in order to ensure the effectiveness of those efforts;
- The growing acknowledgement that faith-based groups have strong ethical moorings that are central to any human development endeavor. These principles are all the more important in the ‘globalized’ milieu in which the world finds itself today (Camdessus 2001; Forrester 1997; O’Driscoll 2002; WFDD 2000: 2);
- The emergent field of study examining not-for-profit and voluntary organizations, the ‘commons,’ and civil society and the recognition that faith-based institutions constitute a significant corpus in these spheres.

The resurgent interest in faith-based organizations and communities is not confined to development cooperation and nor is it merely an ‘academic’ exercise. As with social development there has been significant movement to translate interest into action. Some important examples include:

- The recent establishment in United States of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives and ‘sub-offices’ in the Department of Labor and in the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to deal with the ways and means of establishing government-private partnerships in addressing issues of deprivation and poverty;
- The pointed acknowledgement of the key role faith-based organizations have had and continue to play in the development of policy and information surrounding the issues of social exclusion, social capital and community development by the Prime Minister’s Office and Department

for International Development in Britain (Bonney and Hussain 2001; Social Exclusion Unit 2001: 31-32; Short 1999; Smith 2002);

- The recognition and the direct partnering of the World Bank with the Churches of Africa on poverty policy, intervention and reduction: 'The Church is where the poor are. This has been an eye-opener for the Bank' (Belshaw, Calderisi, and Sugden 2001: 239). This insight was developed in part through a joint initiative between the Bank's President, James D. Wolfensohn and the Archbishop of Canterbury, George L. Carey entitled the World Faiths Development Dialogue (WFDD) which brought together leaders of major world religions for conversations and cooperation in promoting human development internationally as well as at local levels (see WFDD 2000);
- The ever-growing interest and consultative accreditation of faith-based organizations at the United Nations;
- The research and promotion of social capital as a means to identify critical social connections that helps build and sustain human well-being. Central to this identification is the role of religion, churches and the appurtenant institutions associated with them in providing the links that promote social relationships that ultimately have a positive impact on social well-being.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that in Robert Putnam's ground-breaking work on civil society in Italy he contrarily argues that the Church (and the mafia) have had little positive impact on developing social capital, a prerequisite for good governance and ultimately human welfare: 'Good governance in Italy is a byproduct of singing groups and soccer clubs, not prayer' (Putnam, 1993: 176). And although Putnam supports his stark conclusion with data from his study, it is unclear whether he has attended to the antecedents of the groups he mentions. For even a cursory visit to Italian towns and Roman neighborhoods would tend to suggest that these 'non church oriented' groups are in fact based at parish supported and sponsored centers/institutions and peopled by local parishioners in varying degrees of dedication to the faith. Moreover, we find in other research work that faith-based communities *do* play an important role in the formation of social capital. For example, in James Coleman's work on the generative links between social capital and human capital he demonstrates the positive impact church goers have on inculcating the value of education in their wards (Coleman, 2000: 31-33). Francis Fukuyama echoes Coleman in pointing out the role religion plays in forming social trust networks an essential characteristic in the formation of social capital (Fukuyama 1997: 104). In addition, Mason and Harris report that the emerging evidence from Eastern and Central Europe suggests that churches and religious funding agencies are playing a key role in rebuilding civil society (Mason and Harris 1994).

In addition to the research relevance generated by the upsurge in interest in faith-based organizations and in the subsequent efforts to directly co-opt them into a larger agenda of development policy and action, there is also a significant research gap that requires attention. In most all of the development discourse as well as research emanating from studies of non-governmental development and not-for-profit organizations there is little to no treatment of 'faith-based' institutions and their projects from their moorings as religious engendered initiatives (Hearn 2002; Mason and Harris 1994; Smillie 1995).<sup>7</sup>

Ian Smillie in his work 'Alms Bazaar' suggests that the reason for this is that the histories and scope of church related organizations are so broad that separate attention is needed in order to give them adequate treatment (Smillie 1995: 3). Margaret Harris and Dave Mason in their article 'Embarrassed Silence' echo similar sentiments from a voluntary organization perspective. They argue that social scientists shy away from church based organization research because of the magnitude of religious theory that would have to be explored to make the inquiry complete (Mason and Harris 1994).

A general exception to this observation would be those researchers that investigate development activity in Latin America. Because of the Catholic Church's extensive network of base communities and institutions, it becomes imperative to refer to Church policy and action when exploring almost any sphere of human development (see for example Lehmann 1990; Hall 1992). A newly developing area of exception comes from the discipline of colonial and post-colonial studies particularly those that concentrate on Africa (see for example Hansen and Twaddle 2002). Faith-based organizations are central to these studies because missionary activity was part and parcel of the system of

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<sup>7</sup> A scan of the major publications on development NGOs in the last decade would support this assertion. Most will include faith-based organizations that are involved in development action from a program perspective generally overlooking their relationship with the parent religious institution that engendered them (see for example, Clark, 1991; Edwards and Hulme, 1995, 1997; Fowler, 1996; Halloway, 1989; Korten, 1995; Lewis and Wallace 2000; Smillie, 1994; Tvedt, 1998). And within the context of social development the absence is amplified. Since its inception in the late 1970s, the professional journal *Social Development Issues* includes only a handful of articles that discuss topics related to faith-based organizations and their philosophies (see for example, David, 2000; Canda and Canda, 1996; Dabbagh, 1993; Pandey, 1996; Sharma and Ormsby, 1982; Sharma, 1987).

colonization and had large impact on welfare initiatives during colonial times and even after the colonies gained independence (see White and Tiongo 1997).

Besides the dearth of research of faith-based development institutions and initiatives what further remains untreated is the ideology of these institutions, the social development strategies engendered from the principles ascribed to by these institutions, and how this ideology/policy/strategy serves to advantage or disadvantage the development endeavor.

It is clear that within disciplines that deal with human welfare, ideology and in particular religious oriented ideology has played and continues to play a considerable role in determining strategies and action to enhance that welfare, the debate over the last decade as to the relevance of ideology notwithstanding (Bornstein 2002; Fukuyama 1992; Lusk 1993; Midgley 1993; White and Tiongo 1997). In faith-based organizations and for the persons associated with them, ideals and the belief that these ideals can be lived out forms the fundamental rationale and forges the motivation for institutional existence. It is the 'glue' that coheres and sustains the organization. It is the constituent element that impels and shapes the human development action of these organizations (see Bornstein, 2002; Lean, 1995; Macy, 1985). And it is the core element that differentiates the organization from their secular or governmental counterparts.

Quoting Richard Titmuss, Midgley argues that social policies (and the initiatives they bring about) cannot be judged solely on 'technical criteria' (Midgley 1993). As these policies require 'choices' in meeting human needs and in framing social structures to meet these needs, these 'choices' ultimately draw on values and principles in the decision making process (Midgley 1993). Accordingly the ability to analyze ideology in social development endeavors provides a sedge way into a more complete understanding, classification, evaluation, and motivational examination of such endeavors (Midgley 1993). Midgley makes the point that ideologies have had a significant role in fostering human suffering and as such cannot be avoided in studying areas like social development,

which have 'normative relevance' (Midgley 1993: 3-4).<sup>8</sup> Hence, any exclusion of the ideological underpinnings of social development initiatives either in the planning, implementation or the analysis of such initiatives hazards ignoring the framework of causality and characteristics for those initiatives ultimately rendering the analysis incomplete at best and redundant at worst.

This is all the more poignant in the context of faith-based organizations as by nature they are steeped in ideological contexts and stimuli and permeated with ethical and moral principles that ultimately give shape to their human development endeavors. Moreover, given the wide reach of these organizations, their enduring work at enhancing human welfare and the efforts to actively enlist their participation in state/multilateral development plans, understanding them as distinctive entities in function, form and philosophy is not only academically cogent but is a practical necessity as well.<sup>9</sup>

The Church<sup>10</sup> gives rise to the third level of research opportunity. From its inception the Church has constantly grappled with the issue of those who are poor and on the margins of society. Unquestionably we find this concern in Jesus' word and deed as

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<sup>8</sup> In our review of the social development literature particularly as it has been developed in the *Social Development Issues* journal we find that while the research published is prolific in highlighting theory, practice and case studies of the multidisciplinary, multi-sectorial, and multidimensional social development approaches to human welfare there is no direct attempt or mention of the role of religion nor ideological foundations of the institutional actors of development. Even in the articles that link Gandhian social philosophy, pacifist values and or social action to social development the authors shy away from examining the role of his religious beliefs in these ideas, the centrality of the spiritual to embracing the ideology and the implications of these on social welfare (see Dabbagh 1993; David 2000; Canda and Canda 1996; Pandey 1996).

<sup>9</sup> A recent example is the Gujarat earthquake (January 2001). By any standard the relief and rebuilding response to the disaster was more than adequate for all who were affected. However, in actuality the aid and assistance was parceled out largely along caste/religious lines leaving the poor who are mostly *Dalits* and or non-Hindus excluded. The western relief and development organizations were both dismayed and incensed at the blatant discrimination on the part of their local partners (both government and voluntary organizations). Despite their vociferous condemnation, it was clearly evident that these organizations were not structurally prepared to deal with caste based exclusion nor did they seem adequately schooled in the antecedents of their partner organizations particularly given the entrenched nature of faith-based discriminatory practice in India (for an investigative account see McFaron 2002).

<sup>10</sup> In the context of this inquiry when the word 'Church' is used it is first taken to mean the Roman Catholic Church and those congregations that are in 'communion' with Rome. This is important because not all Christians would share the exact same beliefs or have the same interpretation on the issues to be considered. It is also a necessary understanding for the Indian situation in that the Church has no less than three rites owing allegiance to Rome each with a separate administrative and liturgical structure but each accepting Roman Doctrine as ecclesiastical law. Second, Church is used here to connote the *magisterium*—the official hierarchy that is the teaching authority of the Church.

chronicled in the Gospels. We also find that one of the first tasks of the early Christian Community was to structure a process of attending to the needs of those in the community that lacked adequate material resources for their livelihood and welfare (see Acts of the Apostles, 6:1-7).

This process was not a mere rudimentary routine of distributing alms. On the contrary, it entailed crafting a system that included a division of labor among the leadership of the Community, a delineation of qualifications and job descriptions, personnel selection, attention to what we now term as diversity and an effort to mitigate exclusion. Most of all it involved a systematized redistribution of material goods among the faithful, garnering from those who had enough to support those who were in need (see Acts, 2: 42-47; 2 Corinthians, 8:1-15).

The system also had inbuilt safeguards so that those who had the ability to earn a livelihood did not become a burden on the Community's resources. Members of the community who could work were required to work to the point of not providing them food unless the requisite amount of labor was contributed (see 2 Thessalonians, 3: 6-15). In tandem with the active concern for social welfare and well-being of the faithful, the leadership of the early community (as Jesus had done) proscribed directives on proper relationships between members of the Community, with those who did not belong religiously and/or ethnically and how one should relate to the state and civil authority, all so that the common good be enhanced (see for example, Romans, 13: 1-7; 1 Thessalonians, 3: 1-25; 1 Peter 2: 13-17).

This social concern and solidarity would become the attractive hallmark of the Community (Church) leading it to gather a large following early on.<sup>11</sup> It continues to be a key drawing card even today. Likewise it is from this social concern for human welfare

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<sup>11</sup> See Stark 1996 for a discussion of the components that made Christianity successful in the early decades.

that the Church would come to unfold an articulation of what must be done to ensure human well-being.

The articulation, which has come to be known as Catholic Social Teaching, began with Pope Leo XIII's encyclical, *Rerum Novarum* (Of New Things) in 1891. What ultimately prompted Leo to begin some codification of a Catholic response to the social conditions of the time is indicated by the title of his encyclical. The 'New Things' that concerned Leo and the Church were the social changes that had occurred most dramatically in his life time brought on by industrialization, new forms of economics and the emerging forms of politics and governance. What concerned him most however were the severe implications these 'New Things' had on human welfare, for in the wake of the social changes 'new' forms of social relationships, poverty, destitution and exploitation had emerged.

Leo's consideration of human welfare, his apprehension of its degradation and his keen interest in offering ways and means of enhancing human well-being was not just a static concern of his pontificate but has been a spring board of a dynamic concern of the Church ever since. Beyond *Rerum Novarum* we see this dynamism evidenced in other encyclicals and Church documents that have come to form the corpus of the Social Teaching. This corpus can be likened to an ever-developing Church social policy inasmuch as we understand that the ultimate aim of such a policy is healthy and whole livelihoods for all people. With *Rerum Novarum*, the corpus is traditionally made up of the following documents:

- *Quadragesimo Anno*—Forty Years, 1931 by Pope Pius XI
- *Mater et Magistra*—Mother and Teacher, 1961 by Pope John XXIII
- *Pacem in Terris*—Peace on Earth, 1963 by Pope John XXIII
- *Gaudium et Spes*—Church in the Modern World, 1965 by Vatican II
- *Populorum Progressio*—Progress of Peoples, 1967 By Pope Paul VI
- *Octogesima Adveniens*—Eightieth Anniversary, 1971 by Pope Paul VI
- *De Justitia in Mundo*—Justice in the World, 1971 by Pope Paul VI.
- *Evangelii Nuntiandi*—Evangelization in the Modern World, 1975 by Pope Paul VI
- *Laborem Exercens*—Priority of Labor, 1981, by Pope John Paul II

- *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*—On Social Concern, 1987, by Pope John Paul II
- *Centesimus Annus*—One Hundred Years, 1991, by Pope John Paul II

While each of the documents is shaped by the exigencies of the time and of the social milieu in which they were written, there are themes that can be delineated that are common to all. These themes echo much of Leo's concern for human welfare and include:

- the human person as the 'alpha' point of the efforts to ensure human welfare; human society as the medium for securing human well being;
- the political realm as primary protector and guarantor of that welfare;
- that economic systems are primarily a resource for promoting and garnering livelihoods; and
- that these existential human components (social, political, economic, etc) must be integrated in the pursuit of human well-being.

Fundamental to these areas is the integral manner in how human relationships are fostered. The Teaching has traditionally included the following elements in its discussions of the characteristics of the human community in its indispensable role of promoting human well-being:

- *Solidarity*- A tethering of one to the other in society that emanates from a common creator and seeks an interdependence that is respectful and free;
- *Human Rights, responsibilities and the common good*- there are universal, inviolable rights that the human person possesses as a creation of God. These include a right to life and a worthy standard of living, to cultural and moral values, to worship according to conscience, to choose one's state in life be it to set up a family or remain single, to meetings and association, to emigrate and migrate, and to political and economic rights (*Mater et Magistra* (MM), §11-27). These rights are coupled with duties, which include a reciprocity and

respect of the rights of others, to mutually collaborate, to act for others responsibly, and to preserve life and live it becomingly (Henriot 1985: 47); The context of the rights and responsibility is seen within the common good of society. The possession or action of an individual right and/or responsibility should not adversely affect the common good;

- *Subsidiarity and intermediate organizations-* Decision making and responsibility should be devolved and placed closer to the individual person or persons that are to be affected by the decisions or have responsibility for acting on them. Intermediate organizations (village governments, neighborhood organizations, etc) then are a prime vehicle in this initiative;
- *Peaceful coexistence and mobility among the classes-* Society is to possess a sustaining peace among the classes and access and mobility should be key in social relationships;
- *Justice and Charity-* All members of society are given their due through justice. This justice, however, animates charity - a sharing that goes beyond what justice requires;
- *An expressed option for persons who are poor and marginalized-* the poor here are recognized as those who suffer deprivation in a variety of forms—material, oppression, exclusion, powerlessness, etc;
- *Respect for the natural world-* As a consequence of being a part of God's creation, the human person has a responsibility to be a steward of all God's creation showing respect, restraint and conservation of the environment and all it contains (SRS §34).

The ideological and rhetorical corpus of the Teaching is vast and its amplitude is unmatched except in the sheer expanse of the commentaries and analyses it has occasioned over the last century. Most of this analytical literature is allied closely with

the Church's western scholastic tradition. As such much of the work in terms of academic research is carried out from the perspectives of theology and/or philosophy, centered primarily in the Church's institutions of higher learning (universities, seminaries), from Church departments and Catholic peace and justice organizations. As a rule, this literature is characterized by its analysis of the content of the Teaching and explanations that surround the historical context that give rise to its composition. Most all take the basic form of a survey and largely fall into three types: apologies and compendiums, topical surveys, and popularizations.

The apologies and compendiums are some of the most detailed research work into the Teaching by far. By constitution they deal with the minutiae of the text, history, and the personalities involved in creating the documents (for examples see Charles 1998; Calvez and Perrin 1961; O'Brien and Shannon 1991; Schuck 1991). The topical surveys are on the whole meticulous textual explorations of the Teaching's content, mining it for its adherence or rejection of one theory or another (see Baum 1992; Curran 2002; De Vries 1998; Dorr 1983; 1991; Filochowski 1998; Linden 1998; Derouchers 1997). It is in these topical surveys that we find the most acute critiques of the Teaching, particularly from research that studies and promotes aspects of liberation theology, feminism/gender bias and ethics (see Boff and Boff 1986; Curran 1998; de la Gueriviere 1981; Gudorf 1980; Riley 1989; 1994).

As the corpus of the Teaching is written in very dense philosophical and theological language, there have been attempts by a number of Church related organizations and departments to popularize the messages and contents of the corpus in order to draw a wider audience into understanding and acting on the contents. These popularizations adopt simpler forms, language and mirror in some respects textbooks and/or study guides (see Henriot, et. al. 1985; Holland 1983; Krier-Mich 1998; Land 1994; Massaro 2000; National Conference of Catholic Bishops [NCCB] 1991; Thompson 1997).

There is very little literature associated with the corpus of the Teaching that falls out of these boundaries described above. Most of what is found outside these bounds is associated with political, public policy or economic commentaries taken up particularly by Catholic professionals in their respective fields (see for example de Salins 1997; Ferree 1997; Hobgood 1991; Holland 1997; Massaro 1998; Miller 1994; Novak 1989; Weigel and Royal 1993; *Review of Social Economy*, Winter 1991). In their analyses these researchers, much like those in the topical examination studies of the Teaching, assess the corpus for its support and/or critique of processes and practices associated with economics and political systems. Moreover, the Teaching in this genre of analysis is largely considered primarily as economic instruction, to which it adds or detracts from current economic understanding and actions based wholly on moral principles. In these critiques human well-being is seen primarily as a function of 'good economics' and the Teaching is seen largely as a treatise on the moral principles needed in the pursuit of economic processes.

Though the analysis of the Teaching over the years is robust there exists large gaps in the research consideration. Two of the more important of these concern us in this inquiry. As we mentioned above, the core goal of the Teaching is to put forth a vision of 'right' relationships that ensure human welfare and to inspire social action to bring these relationships about. If we examine the analytical literature surrounding the Teaching, the first part of this goal is well treated. However, the second part of the goal, that of studying the implementation of the principles put forth by the Teaching is sorely lacking. We can observe in the topical critiques examples of overt calls for more experiential starting points (a praxis orientation) of the Teaching, but in their critique the authors stop short and only consider what is written (in terms of methodology) and not what has or is being done. Even in the literature that seeks to make the Teaching more accessible and/or more practical nearly all forgo the pedagogical opportunity of enlivening the discussion with actual examples of action. This lop-sided treatment is unfortunate. The over-emphasis on

the text of the Teaching and its theoretical positioning, even while alluding to the necessity of action, is ultimately blind to the test of policy: implementation.

The second gap in the research literature concerns the area of human welfare action and is associated with the research lacunae that looks for actual implementation of the principles put forward by the Teaching. As we indicated above, the prime motivator in codifying social thought in the Church was the apprehension of the severe distress social, political and economic processes were causing to human well-being. The Teaching for its part addresses this apprehension not only by indicating what behavior is necessary to bring about change to ameliorate the distress but also by calling not only the faithful but all 'people of good will' to actualize the changes necessary.

Given this rather key link between principles to enhance human well-being and the active encouragement toward implementation of these principles we would expect to find some analyses that would specifically look toward the connection of the Teaching with possible activities of engendered welfare action. However, in the area of Church based action in human welfare particularly in the area of development (barring some the Latin America citations as mentioned earlier) we find little to no overt linkage in the analytical literature. We see details of Church action described in a variety of development fields and settings but there is generally no systematic analysis of the principles that caused the Church to be in those settings or fields. This too is unfortunate in that welfare action that is not readily linked to ideology/theory has a very good chance of becoming misdirected. Even worse, welfare action that has become disembodied from principles runs the risk of being ineffective and doing more harm than good. Given the magnitude of the Church's participation in the area of welfare action, coupled with the longevity and prowess of its social thought, more attention is required especially in dealing with Church based development institutions.

Our final level of research opportunity comes from India and specifically in terms of the Catholic Church on the Chotanagpur Plateau of Jharkhand. India as a focus area of

research is important in five ways. The first is that most of the direct action of the Church in the social development area is in the ‘South’<sup>12</sup> and India is a major focal point for this action. Second, the Catholic Church in India, while being in a majority in terms of Christians, makes up less than a one and a quarter percent of the overall population. This minority status has an impact on how the Church acts and reacts in society especially when it comes to living from her social beliefs and principles. Third, the Indian-Asian ethos in terms of philosophical and social systems offers significant challenges to the Church and her teaching, which has a western-eurocentric philosophical foundation. Fourth, the Church is in the last stages of a major demographic transition from a church of the ‘North’, or of the industrialized countries of Europe and North America, to a church of the ‘South’ (Budde 1992: 10-12). The Indian Church, with its more than 200 bishops, 80,000 women religious, nearly 4,000 Jesuits and over 11 million faithful, has and will continue to have a significant impact during and beyond this transition. Finally, as will be demonstrated in the chapters that follow, the Catholic Church of Chotanagpur in its establishment and development mirrors the development and articulation of the Social Teaching. This coincidence is an asset to analyzing the impact of the Church’s social principles on Church action for welfare.

This research project emanates from and is structured around these observations. In the next Chapter we chronicle and take up the discussion of social development. We examine its historical antecedents, the various discussions in the academy with regard to its development as a discipline, and how multilateral institutions such as the United Nations and the World Bank are employing its concepts. Moreover, we derive in this discussion a social development model with which to analyze the Social Teaching. Chapter Three provides an overview of the corpus of the Social Teaching particularly as

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<sup>12</sup> The ‘South’ here differentiates those countries generally less-industrialized than those of the North (Europe, US/Canada). Further, in Church terms the distinction imbues the difference between ‘old’ Catholic countries and newly emerging Catholic populations in what were former colonies of the countries of the North.

background to the principles set forth in the text and the historical context that gave rise to the documents. In Chapter Four we apply our method of interrogating the text of the Social Teaching, more specifically to drawing out the social development perspective contained therein. Chapters Five through Eight develop our illustrative case study of the Ranchi Archdiocese, its social development initiatives, and the Teaching's influence on these initiatives over more than one hundred and thirty years (1868-2001). Finally, Chapter Nine draws together our inquiry and summarizes our findings.

### **Research Methodology**

In this section we situate our inquiry in its academic frames of reference, set out the research methods to be employed, and describe the major strengths and weaknesses of the research.

### *Academic Setting*

The research is circumscribed in the multi- and inter-disciplinary field of Social Policy and Administration (SPA). The core concern of SPA is the study of a range of social needs and the human organizations to meet those needs (Titmuss 1968: 21). It encompasses a 'variegated mosaic' of public and private initiatives that are 'continuously intermingled' in the provision of social services, the development of policy and the concern for social well-being (Titmuss 1950: ix). It is not merely a scholastic exercise but one that ultimately seeks '...the development of collective action for the advancement of social welfare' (Donnison 1973: 35).

The study is driven by and derives its theoretical framework from the approach to social welfare known as social development. The social development approach is characterized as a process of intentional social change to bring about sustainable social well-being (Beall 1997: 12). This change is envisaged as harmonizing human development in all its facets: social, political, spiritual, cultural and economic (Ashridge

Report 1950: 14; Meinert and Kohn 1987: 5-7; Midgley 1995: 13-25; World Summit for Social Development (WSSD) 1995: 9-11). As with SPA, social development is not merely discursive but seeks realistic approaches and action to promoting human welfare (Midgley, 1995: 175).

The study is cognizant of and attentive to the theological anthropology construct of the Catholic Social Teaching. This construct seeks to understand the human person as an ultimately transcendent being and society as the prime arena to help the person to achieve this transcendence. This understanding does not come about in a vacuum but is informed and influenced by an interdisciplinary dialogue (CA §59). It also moves beyond the rhetorical plane, asserting that credibility lies in the ‘witness of actions’ (CA §57).

### ***Research Frame and Methods***

Prior to adopting research methods appropriate for our inquiry, two preliminary issues required attention. First we needed to ascertain whether human welfare was/is a central consideration and sufficiently treated in the Social Teaching. In our preliminary study of the Teaching and review of the literature that surrounds it, it became increasingly clear that the answer was affirmative. As we alluded above the Teaching’s genesis point and its core concern is human welfare. This focus on well-being is not a mere appendage but is constituent upon what the Teaching holds to be wholly human; and, as we will demonstrate in Chapter Three, all its content is ultimately geared towards forging a path to this goal and to ameliorating any obstacles arising that would obstruct or cause distress to human well-being.

Once we established that indeed the Social Teaching was directly concerned with human welfare it was necessary to determine whether the social development perspective/paradigm was the appropriate research frame with which to conduct our examination of the Teaching’s approach to welfare and the actions that are engendered from these principles. Our research revealed that beyond the mutuality of purpose, that of

fostering human well-being, the two approaches demonstrated remarkable similarities in notions of process and in conceptual foundations. While we will take up discussion of these similarities in detail in Chapter Two and Four, it was clear that both approaches agreed on the fundamentals of promoting human well-being through an integrated, participatory process of social change that is primarily concerned with people and their variegated social milieu. Moreover, the two approaches can be characterized as conceptual cousins in that among other ideological congruencies, the fundamental notions of social change and social intervention that they share are philosophically Greek in origin but credibly promoted by St. Augustine in both secular and Church spheres respectively (see Midgley 1995; Nisbet 1969; Rist 1997).<sup>13</sup> This shared ‘world view’ of what is essentially necessary to bring about human development, as we will see in the next chapter, is a prime motivating concept for the Church and secular understandings of social development.

Further strengthening the suitability of the social development perspective to frame our inquiry is the fact that the Church has and continues to prodigiously engage in the discussion and development of the social development paradigm particularly in the fora of the United Nations. Much of the substance of the Church’s interventions in these discussions is drawn directly from the principles of the Social Teaching (see, for example Marucci 1997). A notable illustration can be found in the *Copenhagen Declaration* adopted by the World Summit for Social Development whereby key concepts of the Teaching can be detected and which have their antecedents in a preparatory seminar to the Summit that discussed the ethical and spiritual dimensions of social progress (Social Summit Secretariat 1994; World Summit for Social Development [WSSD] 1995).<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Midgley also details the influence of ‘Fabianism’ on the development and articulation of the social development approach, which should be noted, was assiduously cross fertilized in rhetoric and in person with those considered to be ‘Christian’ Socialists (see Wilkinson 1998; Midgley 1995).

<sup>14</sup> Another symbol of notional congruence between the two approaches is evidenced in the title and the work of the Department of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops charged with disseminating and researching Catholic positions on public social policy (domestic and international) vis-à-

Fortified with our findings that the Teaching was indeed steeped in a process of articulating what was required for human well-being and that the social development paradigm was suitable to frame our research, the next step involved developing a tool to help us draw out of the Teaching the notions of social development. The identification of the principles was accomplished using detailed textual analysis. The analysis was based on what is described as a process of 'model-building' (Lindkvist's 1981: 35).

Lindkvist holds that any textual analysis and interpretation is a form of constructing models (1981: 34). The model developed may be used to describe, explain, or understand the text. It may ascribe, predict or express new interpretations for the text or it may give rise to the performance of additional analysis. The model can be qualitative or quantitative and take any number of forms: 'schematic, verbal or mathematic' (Lindkvist 1981: 35). The model may or may not be linked to time and has the ability to make connections between factors within the model (Lindkvist 1981: 35).

Lindkvist points to a two-step process in the model building exercise. The first step is the development of questions that will either draw from the text what is required or define problems of the text (1985: 35). The second step involves reorganizing the text according to the questions asked and interpreting a textual model based on the patterns of the reorganization. Lindkvist further argues that the process of analysis 'pre-supposes' an ideology or theory to inform the framing of the questions to be asked of the text, reorganizing the text, and interpreting the patterns (Lindkvist 1985: 35).

As we examined the social development paradigm to frame our questions with which to interrogate the text of the Teaching it became increasing clear that the task was a challenging prospect. As we mentioned above social development is characterized by a significant diversity in how it is defined and as such beyond a rudimentary core understanding, a consistent, well-developed set of components is elusive. Yet despite this

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vis the principles elucidated in the Social Teaching. The title is the Department of Social Development and World Peace.

conundrum we did discover that there exists a discernable set of integral concepts that cut across most understandings of the paradigm (Meinert and Kohn 1987: 5; Midgley 1995: 8). These definitions and concepts are explored in detail in the next Chapter but briefly they include: an overarching concern for human welfare; a belief that some form of change is necessary to bring about improvement in this well-being; that change requires intervention and is described as a process; that it involves an analysis of the social condition; that it offers proposals for change based on this analysis; that it points to agency in terms of who is responsible for and who benefits from the process; and includes some effort at evaluation.

Given these common concepts of the social development approach the questions to be asked of the Teaching were framed as follows:

1. What analysis does the Teaching put forth in terms of the human condition and human welfare?
2. What process of change does the Teaching propose to improve human well-being?
3. Who is seen to be responsible for this process?
4. What methods are proposed to bring about this change?
5. How is the change to be evaluated and by whom?

The corpus of the Teaching was then carefully analyzed utilizing the above model to explicate the social development perspective contained therein. The results are detailed in Chapter Four.

The investigation into how the social development principles of the Teaching engender and influence the church's social development action and organization was localized within India in the Archdiocese of Ranchi. Beyond the advantages of an Indian focus to the research that we listed earlier, we note two more that add currency to the choice of the Ranchi Archdiocese and to our inquiry. First, for most of its existence, the Archdiocese covered a wide geographical area of the Chotanagpur Plateau, much of which was and still is considered remote and for which the Church was one of the only

sources of social development in the region, particularly in rural education, health care, and social movement organization. This fact offered the advantage of exploring a variety of development interventions and helped facilitate a broad range of inquiry. Second, Ranchi being an ecclesial and civil center is privileged to have key institutions engaged in documentation and research into the Church and the social sector. This facilitated acquiring multiple sources of evidence for cross checking and verification of the research findings. As a civil center since Indian independence, the Ranchi area has seen major interventions in economic development by the state and central governments under the five-year economic plans. This fact has helped develop a fuller analytical dimension to the Church's development activity.

The investigation was developed utilizing the concepts of an 'embedded case study'. The reasons we employed this method are threefold. First, our research question fit the criteria for adopting the case study approach. Yin maintains that case studies are used as methods of research particularly when the research questions seek to answer the 'why' and 'how' of phenomena (Yin 1994: 4-6). Second, Yin argues that a single case study is 'justifiable when the case is a critical test of a theory, where it is a rare or unique event, or where it is revelatory and illustrative (Yin 1994: 44). While the Archdiocese is not a critical test case of the social development perspective in the Social Teaching, it was used primarily as a revelatory and illustrative one. It is considered by Church historians as unique in its historical development as a mission territory (see, for example, de Sa 1975; Tete 1986). This uniqueness is not limited to only religious development but is also evidenced in the Archdiocese's continual involvement in social development throughout its history.

Finally, Yin holds that the 'embedded case study' is appropriately used when the organization is typically complex and has many sub-units that comprise the whole (Yin 1994: 41). Again, the Archdiocese fits this criterion. The Church is all too well recognized as a complex entity especially in regard to its organization and in relationship

to its sub-units. As such it became necessary to examine multiple initiatives that were in some respects autonomous but at the same time central and accountable to the Church's action for human development on the plateau.

The case was devised using an historical construct. This construct was chosen for three primary reasons. First, as a method, historical analysis allows us among other things to comprehend and understand process (see Tosh 2000). It permits us a greater dimensionality in viewing relationships, events and change over time, more so than if we were to look at a single aspect or a single point (Tosh 2000: 8). This advantage is paramount for our inquiry for social development is mainly a long-term engagement that needs to be seen not just in terms of one project or at one point in a development initiative but in the context of a continuum. Human development rarely if ever begins from zero and certainly has no end to speak of, so long as humanity continues its generative process (Kaplan 1999). Consequently any initiative to enhance human welfare invariably enters an ongoing process and invariably fades in an ongoing process. As such, an historical understanding is imperative to credibly grasp the social development process for as by definition it allows a view/assessment of social situations/elements that led to the initiative, the process of implementation of the initiative and ultimately its impact as well.

In addition to the advantages accrued in understanding the historical process/impact of the social development initiatives of the Church in Chotanagpur, the process perspective also allows us the possibility of examining how the Social Teaching develops and impacts the initiatives of the Ranchi Archdiocese over time—a key concern of our effort here in this study.

By definition the endeavor at historical awareness also involves the understanding and unveiling of a context—of unfolding the variegated realities impacting the situation being studied (Tosh 2000: 7-8). Contextualization of the facts or evidence is imperative in the historical analysis as it provides meaning and the possibility of a fuller understanding of the situation (see Munsow 1997: 41-42, 180; Thapar 2002). The notion of context is a

further advantage to our inquiry. Social development initiatives and indeed any process of human development is affected by and affects the milieu in which they are employed. They come from a particular ideological pretext, enter a sphere of relationships that are ongoing and have histories, seek to change social and temporal trajectories and, if they are truly responsive, are ultimately changed in the process. The ability to see the contexts of the initiatives becomes an important analytical tool in ultimately apprehending them and their impact.

Finally, our choice of the historical method was also incumbent on the reality of the current dimensions of the social development initiatives undertaken under the auspices of the Archdiocese. As we detail in Chapter Eight, there was significant pause in development action by the Archdiocese for almost all of the 1990s. It was only at the start of our investigations in 1999 that Catholic Charities, the main development organization for the Archdiocese, began a new diocesan-wide initiative. This fact led us in our preliminary inquiries to begin seeking out the reasons for the hiatus and confirmed the necessity of utilizing history to illustrate not only why the hiatus occurred but how the present position in the Archdiocese has evolved and how the development initiatives that came before, were linked to a broader process in the Church's concern with welfare action over time.

The research was conducted in two phases. The first phase concentrated on the analysis of historical data and key informant interviews using iteration where and when applicable. The documentary evidence of social development initiatives was culled from archival material from the Archdiocesan and Ranchi Jesuit Archives, published histories of the Mission and Region, reports disseminated by the Chotanagpur Catholic Cooperative Society, Catholic Charities, and *Vikas Maitri*, published sociological surveys of the social activities of the Church in Chotanagpur, the Government Gazetteer, unpublished documents and research on the Mission and its activities from the libraries of St. Xavier's College and Xavier Institute of Social Services.

The interviews of experts were used to corroborate findings in the written history, cross check information garnered from previous discussions/interviews so as to develop a deeper understanding of contexts, motivations and impacts of the varying initiatives. The interviews were semi-structured and the frame of the topical protocol was dependent on the expertise of each informant but was generally structured to elicit an overall experience of the development initiatives on the plateau, opinions as to their importance, reception and impact, specific data regarding the initiatives, applicability and utilization of the precepts of the Social Teaching and some reflection on current and future development needs in the Archdiocese. The time frame of the personal, first hand experience covered in these discussions was largely limited to the mid-to-late fifties until the present, although some of the childhood memories encompassed the 1940s as well. The primary interviewees were chosen for their involvement in and/or knowledge of social development initiatives, planning and research. They included the Archbishop, the former and current Directors of Catholic Charities, the Cooperative Society Director, the Director, Assistant Director and Research Director of Xavier Institute of Social Service, the Director of the St. Ann's Women's Development Project, two local superiors of women's religious houses, a leading local advocate, a leading local contractor, the former country Director of Catholic Relief Services, two former pastors, a senior Indian Administrative Service Officer of the Bihar cadre, and a prominent women agriculturist.

In phase two we conducted a detailed investigation into the newly launched development program for the Archdiocese under the auspices of the Archdiocesan Consortium for Development and Solidarity (ACDS). This multifaceted rural development program, which is described more fully in Chapter Eight, is focused primarily on developing human/social capital through capacity building and was launched just as we began our fieldwork in August 1999. Our initial examination included fourteen participating villages under the auspices of five parishes in the vicinity of Ranchi City (see Table 8.5). Follow-up visits were conducted with nine of the fourteen villages.

Our research method included semi-structured interviews with the professional social worker, three local supervisors, fourteen teachers, seven male village leaders, and participants of the fourteen self-help groups. Discussions with the self-help members were carried out using focus groups ranging in number from two to eight participants, a strategy more suited and more comfortable to tribal village women. Our protocol for these interviews was kept as open-ended as possible especially when the discussions were about their experience of the ACDS program and not about the cross-checking of information and facts. This allowed for a broad representation of content, context and opinion to emerge. In these interviews we were concerned to understand how and when there was participation in the ACDS program, how it helped the participants, some evaluation of the program and suggestions as to how to better it and what general development needs the villagers had. As a sub-text to the interviews we were listening for areas that were generally aligned to the Teaching's principles of social development: strengthening the family, solidarity, enhancing dignity, human rights education, and linkages with civil welfare structures.

The strengths and weaknesses of the chosen research methods can be grouped into four areas: access, language, gender, and the case study method itself. In general, there were no overt obstacles in accessing the programs, stakeholders, managers, or Church hierarchy in the Archdiocese. The Archbishop had given permission for the research and the preliminary contacts made in the field had encouraged the proposal and supplied the information requested. This was further strengthened by the fact that I myself and the religious order to which I belong, as well as the social development programs that we undertake, are known and accepted throughout the Archdiocese, thereby providing a natural *entrée*. However, these positive credentials were also a source of some distancing. As a white male and member of the church 'elite' there was an inherent separation and difference from the general populace that is existential and could not be changed. This separation was further reinforced by the fact that the tribal community in which the

research was conducted places the religious person in high honor and the expatriate religious person is even further revered. The separation did not in any way imply non-acceptance in the tribal milieu and in most cases it had the opposite effect and provided immediate access. Nevertheless, the difference was always palpable and coupled with the type of information I sought, resulted in some of the villagers concluding that I was investigating the project from the point of view of continuing or releasing funding. The difference was also evident in what Jones describes in South East Asia as the 'courtesy bias,' which is prevalent in India and in tribal culture (Jones 1993). This bias was enhanced by the 'guest of honor' behavior changes that occurred when '*brother*' visited. We were able to mitigate and neutralize both phenomena primarily through repeat visits that allowed for a familiarity to develop. However, the most effective technique was enlisting the help of local research assistants to conduct follow-up interviews to clarify and confirm information garnered in the initial visits.

The common language of the Church in India is English. In this regard, almost all of the documents, reports, and archival material are published in both English and *Hindi*. The entire Church hierarchy, top and most mid-level managers are conversant in English. Given this fact, interviews with key informants and documentary analysis posed no difficulty. When we moved to the level of fieldwork and the 'grassroots', language became problematic. There are no less than five language groups that exist in the Archdiocese. The three tribal languages are *Mundari*, *Oroan*, and *Kharia*. *Sadri* is the inter-tribal market language that is commonly spoken among the tribes and *Hindi* is for most, the language of education. In all interviews at this level, the services of 'conversant' (in terms of language skill, understanding of the research topic, and interviewing skills) research assistants were required. For this assistance I had the benefit of a group of young religious men who had undergone training in methods of social assessment and survey work and had some experience in applying the skills learned on our target population. As a preparation, I conducted further training on focus groups and

interviewing techniques that included role-playing and pilot field experiences. Debriefing sessions on the findings were done individually and as a group so as to draw out the most coherent information possible.

The ‘androcentricity’ of the Church offered a significant challenge to the research in terms of gender sensitivity. Although there have been strides within Church scholarship (mainly from America) to bring awareness of and take steps to correct the mono-sexist view (especially in language, theology and theological anthropology), in its official structures and pronouncements the Church remains largely a male dominated institution. This male domination is further reinforced by the well-known and intransigent primacy of men over women in the Indian cultural milieu. This creates in the Indian Church a deep institutionalization of male dominance. Taken together, these powerful male centered influences necessitate careful planning in the research frame, interview activity, research assistance, case selection and analysis so that the feminine perspective may be accessed and allowed equal voice and representation. Even with this sensitivity it became more than apparent during the research that by and large men direct and plan social development initiatives and programs. As such the interviews, particularly those of expert informants, were predominantly male which brings a large inherent male bias to the results. The balancing female perspective was difficult to come by especially at this level. Nevertheless, the results of the field research at the village level include a predominance of women’s view. This coupled with our analytical sensitivity to gender in the write-up will effectively moderate the overwhelming male preponderance.

The androcentricity of the Church is also evident in terms of language. Research that attempts to be sensitive to gender must not only apply that sensitivity to the research methodology but also must inculcate ‘inclusive and nonsexist’ language. This challenge was particularly poignant when working with the Church documents and theological concepts as most have a common vertical masculine reference. God is always masculine and humanity’s relationship with God is mostly characterized in metaphors of a

relationship of a father to a son. However, when we move to the concept of the horizontal relationships between persons there is significant change occurring throughout the Church. Formerly these relationships were almost exclusively denominated in the masculine. Examples include: 'man' denoting the inclusion of women and the 'person' referred to as 'he'. Presently there is a much more conscious effort at being inclusive not only from academic circles but even from the hierarchical Church when approving new translations of scripture. Nevertheless, a concerted effort was required throughout the research to use language inclusively especially when quoting Church documents. In this process of being more inclusive, care was also taken so as not to mask the Church's use of masculine terminology thereby disparaging valid gender (specifically feminist) critiques.

Finally, the use of the case study method as a primary research strategy brings with it an inherent limitation in that the research findings cannot be generalized beyond the bounds of the case. However, this limitation gives way to the overwhelming strength of the method, which has allowed for the examination of phenomena within a real life context.

## **Chapter Two**

### **SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**

The concept of social development is amorphous. It is not housed in a single academic discipline nor can it be reduced to a single method, theory, or action. It is not gifted with a definitional precision nor can it be limited to either a goal or a process. Despite these seeming insurmountable obstacles, it remains a powerful idea that coheres a focus on human subjectivity with a concern for enhancing well-being through a process of harmonizing human development in all its facets: social, political, economic, cultural, spiritual and economic.

Our task in this Chapter is to explore the concept of social development, its antecedents and its uses. We will survey the concepts of social change and social welfare as they apply to social development and trace the initial conceptualization of social development and how it has been applied in the context of the UN, the World Bank and in the academy of social work. We will then look at four other analytical themes that have had and continue to have an impact on the understanding of and practice of social development: feminism and gender, the notion of people centered, participative development, social capital and social exclusion. Finally, we will draw a summary of components based on the preceding survey of social development.

#### **Social Change**

As with most all conceptualizations of social change it is very difficult not to take a chronological approach in the discussion. Further, the path of this chronological discussion is well researched and documented particularly in the social sciences (see Midgley 1995; Nisbet 1979; Rist 1998; Smart 1992). Our attempt here does not depart from a chronological construct. However, it is an abbreviated and selective approach that

highlights those areas that have a particular a relationship to the social development concept and our research perspective.

Attempts to track and unravel the process of social change are very old. From ancient times, human beings both as individuals and as societies have sought to explain, describe, define or otherwise attribute causes to the changes they experience in their lives. Many ancient cultures came to identify these changes organically. They believed that change occurred cyclically in a pattern of birth, growth and decay. These can be found in the earliest rendering of human experience in myths and legends. For the Chinese this meant that society grew more organized and prosperous but then declined into disorganization and decay eventually to begin the cycle once again toward organization and prosperity (Midgley 1995: 38). Slightly different but nonetheless cyclic is the classic Indian conceptualization of *samsara*— the almost unending spirals of re-births. In its pristine *Upanishadic* abstraction, *samsara* is a journey to and a discipline for spiritual truth. However, in later understandings, rebirth results from some error of the soul and *samsara* becomes a ‘dragging chain’ of fate (Radhakrisnan 1989). Midgley argues that the difference between the Chinese conception and that of the Indian understanding emanates from the fact that the Indian Cycle began with a golden age and declined into cycles thereafter. For the Chinese there was no golden age to come from or to which it was possible to return (Midgley 1995: 38).

For the Greeks, there is a progression of thought on explaining social change.<sup>1</sup> Initially, they believed that their society was in continual decline from the ‘golden age’ (Hesiod, about the Eighth Century B.C.) Later, it was argued that change came about in cycles moving from birth, growth, and decay (Heraclitus, Fifth-Fourth Century B.C.).

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<sup>1</sup> Midgley makes the observation that the concept of the golden age was not exclusive to the Indian notion (Midgley 1995). The Hebrews and the Greeks also held that society began from a ‘golden age’. How it has moved, who moves it, and how it will move in the time to come form the basic difference.

Heraclitus further held that opposites fusing together, known as the *dialectic*, propelled change. Midgley, among others, points out that this notion of the *dialectic* had an important affect on social thinkers of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century particularly that of Hegel and Marx (Midgley 1995; see also Nisbet 1969; Rist 1998). Plato (Fourth Century B.C.) while influenced by Heraclitus, held to the view that society declined and continued to decline from a ‘higher’ state of civilization [golden age] (Midgley 1995; also see Nisbet 1969; Rist 1998; Smart 1992; Tarnas 1991). Holding to the view of cyclic change, he maintained that change was not a result of fusing opposites but was being directed by a ‘supreme’ being.

Plato’s student Aristotle argued that these cycles of birth, growth and decay were those of ‘nature’—a process of becoming and growing and beginning all over again duplicating what had gone before (Nisbet 1969; Rist 1997; Tarnas 1991). In these cyclic views of change, almost nothing could alter the pattern. Even cataclysmic events of nature or human action were seen as temporary deviations that in due course would return to the ‘normal’ progression of the cycle. Social well-being was achieved by accidents of the elements, gratuitousness of the gods, and humanity remaining in their social places and roles. The human person was a sublime participant in a series of events beyond human control so that well-being was tied inextricably to fate.

It was not until the rise to prominence of Judaic-Christian abstractions of history, reality and change that we see a definitive shift, at least in the West, away from the unending cognate cycle (Fukuyama 1999; Nisbet 1969; Rist 1997; Tarnas 1991). From the creation narratives to the enslavement in Egypt through to the Babylonian Exile, the stories of the Old Testament portray change in Hebrew society as the consequences resulting from how close human action mirrored that of divine will. Human well-being was dependent on God and how well humanity followed God’s will.

Building on Aristotle’s understanding of ‘nature’ as a process of becoming and growing and applying the tradition that emanates from its Judaic heritage, Christian

scholars like Augustine began to formulate the idea that social change is influenced by God and by the interaction of the human and divine—*The City of Man and The City of God* (see Fukuyama 1992: 55-57; Burt 1999). In his arguments, Augustine departs company with Aristotle on the points of decay and repetition. For Augustine, humanity is transcendent and is on a journey back to the creator God during his or her earthly existence. Human history is a record of this journey, which can be traced and divided into what Augustine termed *epochs*. In this formulation, there is no room for retrogressive cycles but a constant quest and movement to something better (Midgley 1995; Nisbet 1969). Change is seen as linear, is understood to be progressive, is universal, and results from human action inspired and tempered by God (Burt 1999: 12-15). The human person is more than a sublime participant in the creation of and in living out of a better human existence. Humanity is the significant actor and assumes the responsibility to better human existence ‘so that it might gradually rise from earthly to heavenly things, and from the visible to the invisible’ (Augustine’s *City of God*, Bk. X, 14, quoted in Nisbet 1969). However, this betterment was understood primarily on the spiritual plane and not so much on the temporal plane. Social and personal change was a turning toward the will of God, which may or may not have involved a significant difference in actual lived existence.

While human freedom and action were affirmed components of change, the primacy and immutable nature of divine will was never subjugated. Throughout the Middle Ages divine will was time and again the bedrock of philosophical arguments as well as social action. The road to a better human existence in this period of blurred lines between philosophy, theology and political ideology, was intricately linked with divine revelation sourced from the Bible, and the teaching and tradition of the Church. To an extent, the temporal rulers (crowned and blessed by the Church) were also interpreters of this revelation. Attempts to think differently from this tradition were considered suspect and until Luther, the *status quo* remained significantly unchallenged. As in all ages there were surreptitious literary exceptions. Sir (Saint) Thomas More’s celebrated work, *Utopia*

was a prime example. Influenced by Plato's *Republic* and Augustine's *City of God*, More's *Utopia* imagines and depicts an ideal society where harmony reigns, there is freedom of belief, persons are solicitous of one another, goods and services are held in common, there is no acquisitiveness, where war is abhorred, and peace is sought at all costs—a very different society from the one in which he lived. More's description is ultimately a critique of the existing social realities and suggests a direction if not an outright goal of social reform.

The impact of such works and thinking was double edged. On the one hand, these writings provided creative alternatives to the *status quo* in terms of visioning better human existences. On the other hand, they challenged the current power dispensations (that were invariably argued to be ordained from God) whether political, social or religious. Utopian thought would come to be grist for the mills of social thinkers and social action in the late nineteenth and early Twentieth Century and an important influence on social welfare (see Midgley 1995). For the Church it was anathema as it was akin to creating heaven on earth and would not be resurrected as a legitimate source of inspiration until the papacy of Paul VI in the 1960s.

While utopian thinking was stimulating, it did not offer the serious challenge to the Christian (Augustinian) notion of change that the Enlightenment would and did. Retaining the basic understandings of change and history that Augustine developed, Enlightenment thinkers (Eighteenth Century) argued that the human person was the sole catalyst for change and the primary creator of history (Rist 1997; Nisbet 1969). In Enlightenment thought, human reason and experience bolstered by empirical observation and scientific discovery and method are the lone and legitimate sources of inspiration and temperance of human action to better human existence. Transcendent revelation or participation is no longer a prime or legitimate source of understanding. Human progress depends entirely on human ingenuity and wherewithal. Social and personal well-being are achieved solely by human intervention and action. Humanity controls its destiny. The

acceptance of this idea has unequivocally changed the way humanity understands, responds to, participates in and, eventually authors change for good or for bad. It has been the fulcrum on which the materialist (capitalist, socialist, as well a market) ideas of social intervention and reality pivot. And it is definitely the trajectory that has given rise to the possibility of intervention to bring about or enhance social well-being.

## **Social Welfare**

It is said that the strength of a chain is determined by its weakest link. The same logic can be applied to determine social well-being. The prosperity or welfare of a society may be determined by the manner in which its weakest members live and are cared for—a disarmingly simple notion but one that has fueled intense political, social, philosophical and religious debates for more than seven centuries. At the heart of the argument lies the question, ‘What is to be done with those who are less fortunate?’

In ancient days, the answer came in the form of assistance from the clan, family or caste. Social cohesion and responsibility dictated that the ‘group’ was solely responsible for its weaker members. Charity was also a means of aiding the poor. It was enshrined in all major religions: Islam, *zakat*; Christianity, alms; Hinduism, *danam*; Buddhism, service to fellow humans. As we move on in history, we see this concept of altruism expanding to include the beneficence of the ruling classes and the state.

In Europe, early codification of governmental provision of assistance for the poor came in the form of the ‘Elizabethan Poor Laws’. The statutes, which originated in 1349, were in force in England in one form or the other for over five hundred years. Initially conceived as a means to deter or rid the country of begging, some authors contend that the statutes were means of social control particularly in stemming the tide of migration to towns and cities of the traditional feudal workforce. The influence of these statutes over time has been considerable. It shifted the onus of caring for the ‘poor’ from a system of charity sponsored by the Churches and social organizations to the state. The method in

this 'care' took the form of an evolution of sorts. It began with repressive measures that continued to be residualist (charity oriented) and eventually evolved into a more positive obligation. The essential logic behind the statutes was that the individual person had control of his or her prosperity and thus has control over whether s/he is poor or not. The state was seen to be there to make sure that if the person was poor, that s/he did not become a burden or nuisance to the general populace.

The industrial revolution wrought major changes in many spheres of life in England, not least of which being state responsibility and intervention in dealing with the issues of poverty and social welfare. As societies moved from traditional feudal-agricultural-rural to more urban-democratic-industrial based lifestyles the attention to 'social problems' created by this shift became more pronounced. There were issues of sanitation, health, public safety, unions, transport, crime, education, housing and indigence to name a few. The high concentration of the populace in these urban centers required the state to act in ensuring a standard of welfare for the citizenry. Some researchers claim that these attempts at providing social services were actually the way the state enforced a code of 'right' action on a largely agrarian oriented populace (see, for example, Escobar 1997). Whatever be the case, the growth of urban areas eventually led to systematic attention being paid to the provision of social services to meet the social needs (ills) of society. The character of the provisioning was largely reactive rather than proactive. Welfare meant cure and not prevention, nor positive lifestyle enhancements.

The Great Depression and World War II caused significant shifts in approaches to state sponsored welfare initiatives in Europe and North America. While largely reactionary in their initial conceptualizations, these welfare initiatives were more positively based constructions to assist those in need. To respond to social ills during the depression in the United States, the government brought about the *New Deal*, which produced social security provisions, government sponsored job corps and protective government regulation in banking, employment and insurance. World War II created

massive rebuilding in war torn countries of Europe as well as a need for systematic attention to the return of military personnel to the civilian labor force and a shift in focus to more peaceful lifestyle pursuits. Major examples of government programs in these areas were the Marshall Plan that in effect rebuilt a decimated Europe, the implementation of the Beveridge Report in the United Kingdom, providing for socialized medicine, job training, housing and finance and in the United States, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, popularly known as the G.I. Bill, which provided for education, unemployment benefits and loans for returning troops.

The colonization process also presented a rich arena for intervention in human well-being. However, the colonies were seen primarily as a resource for raw materials and raw labor to fuel the industrial appetite of European colonizers and much of the social welfare provisioning was left to missionaries and the Church, indigenous societies or the local monarchs or chiefs (Hadjor 1993; McMichael 2000: 4-13; Midgley 1995: 52-53; Planning Commission 1963).<sup>2</sup> Over the years, beyond being valued as sources of raw material, labor and/or farm/plantation produce, the colonies also came to be seen as potential markets for colonial manufactured goods (McMichael 2000; Midgley 1995).<sup>3</sup>

The transformation of the colonies into contributing markets for European finished goods, the move to more direct governance of the colonies by London and the initial independence moves (at least in the case of India) ultimately led to a realization that fostering economic growth and some political representation/autonomy in the colonies was advantageous (Midgley 1995; see also Corbridge and Harriss 2000; Spear 1978: 207-214). In order to achieve this much work was needed on the social front. This

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<sup>2</sup> The colonial administrations were setup mainly to keep the peace and maintain law and order. The primary reason being that the trading companies could go about their business unhindered. Very little or no attention was paid to the social welfare development of the native populations. At most a few schools or the odd sanitation or health or city infrastructure project would be undertaken in major urban centers as well as relief work when major calamities struck (see, for example, Blunt 1938).

<sup>3</sup> The development of these markets, especially during the Great Depression, was aided by regulation and taxation, which were to the detriment of the local production. Famous examples of these restrictive development policies include for instance, forbidding the production of finished products and the cloth and salt tax in India.

resulted in the colonial administrations becoming more cognizant and proactive in the provision of social services, education, health and social infrastructure along much of the same parameters as those provided in the United Kingdom (see Midgley 1995; Colonial Office 1955: Appendix C, §6-9). More importantly, this process of welfare provisioning in the colonies ultimately contributed to the development of a new approach to social progress and well-being, based on the integrated conceptualization that economic development alone would not suffice without concurrent development in terms of local community participation and progress and requisite social service provisioning. This new approach came to be known as social development.

### **Social Development: Initial Conceptualization<sup>4</sup>**

The decade following World War II was undoubtedly a decade of vast social change in the world. There were tremendous shifts particularly in the West in lifestyles, in political spheres, in economies, in education, in science and technology, in communication, in production and even in religion. The change was rapid and extensive and not all areas or peoples of the world benefited from the newfound prosperity. In fact, the gaps seemed more vivid than ever before. It was in this atmosphere that the British Colonial Office convened the Ashbridge Conference in 1954. The stated goals of the conference were threefold: to develop 'objectives of a comprehensive policy of social development'; to determine the 'machinery to put it into effect'; and suggest the staff and training required in its implementation. Eighty officers attended the conference from thirty territories. The conference was well timed as many of the areas the colonial office held under its purview either had just gained independence or would in the very near future.

In its report, the conference defined social development as 'nothing less than the whole process of change and advancement in a territory, considered in terms of the

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<sup>4</sup> Culled from Colonial Office 1943, 1954, 1960 and Midgley 1995.

progressive well-being of society and of the individual'. The conference was careful in detailing that social development was not a sum of its parts (e.g. community development, and education plus health care). Nor was it 'the specific task of separate departments' that would normally comprise social services. It was to be a common objective that is to remain fundamental to all areas of government. It was to imbue all aspects of administration and life such that all undertakings whether large or small, social, cultural, economic, or political would be influenced by its principles. The Conference argued that certain elements from community development and social welfare were fundamental, constitutive and 'inseparable' elements of social development. These include personal initiative, self-help, active participation of the local community, and remedial activities and programs to assist those who could not or who did not have the wherewithal to help themselves, e.g. the 'handicapped', and 'unfortunate', to be fully functional in society and enjoy the benefits that accrue from that functioning. The conference further argued that the essential elements contributed by social welfare should not remain at the 'remedial' level but should become proactive and address the causes of society's ills.

The Conference utilized objectives drawn from notions on mass education and community development formulated under the aegis of the Colonial Office in 1944 and 1948 respectively for the African colonies. The objectives it held were still 'largely valid' and required 'emphasis' in the policy formulation of social development. These objectives included:

- That social development not be limited to a rural bias but rather that communities and people in cities and towns also be included;
- That 'the approach to social development must be made from a spiritual view of man';
- That family life be 'strengthened';

- That cultural expression be capitalized on to build up ‘a feeling of community’; and
- That identification, training and cultivation of leadership and a sense of service in and to the community was an essential ‘means of reaching and invigorating society as a whole.’

In addition to these objectives, the Conference detailed three more as integral to the overall social development policy approach. First, it argued that the government must stay up to date with ‘trends’ and policies in all spheres in order to guide the social development process. Second, while community development programs of self-help and self-initiative have the potential to ‘reduce social casualties’ it would not be wholly sufficient and provisions would continue to be required under traditional remedial programs of social welfare. However, these welfare provisions needed to be integrated more directly in the overall social development policy. Finally, it was stated that within the context of social development, ‘intensive study’ of ‘social structures’, ‘forces of change’, and communities are required to better understand the forces that underlie societal well being and progress.

These core concepts of social development have remained durable in one form or the other in British development policy over the years and as such have been a key resource in the revival of the paradigm not only in Britain but throughout development policy considerations (see Midgley 1995; ODA 1993; ODA 1995; WSSD 1995).

### **Social Development at the United Nations**

The genesis and primary reason for the establishment of the United Nations (UN) may be summed up as improving welfare of the world. The UN seeks to provide a forum ‘of co-operation, security and peace for its member nations’ (see United Nations 1962 and the Charter of the United Nations §55). It is committed ‘to higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development’. It seeks

‘solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems; and international cultural and educational co-operation’. It is committed to ‘universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion’. This broad articulation of goals for social progress is the cornerstone of the United Nations’ philosophy of social development. In its discursive form, it resonates with the conceptual formulations of the policy of social development put forth by the colonial welfare administrators in 1954 and discussed above. However, in practice the reality has been quite different.

During the 1950s, the activity of the United Nations in the area of social development consisted largely of promoting charitable and remedial social welfare activities. In addition, it also undertook major research projects to produce inventories of ‘global social conditions and problems’. A notable example was the publication of the *Report on the World Social Situation* in 1957. The report illuminated the notion that unless social welfare was improved upon in the world, there could be no ‘permanent basis for international stability and peace’ (United Nations 1962: 9). The main body charged with the implementation of the United Nations’ commitment to development and progress was the Economic and Social Council, which interacted with and was supported by many other specialized agencies in the United Nations system.

Toward the end of the 1950s, an economic growth model of development was the key concept informing the overall philosophy of development that the United Nations expounded and put into practice. The model fundamentally held that the ‘underdeveloped’ world needed modernization along the lines of the industrial revolution but at a much quicker pace. Symbolized in the ‘big’ projects of irrigation, electrification and heavy industry, these development attempts were in the United Nations’ own assessment in the 1990s, ‘largely divorced from community social structure and involvement’. Not only did the program of modernization precipitate economic action, but the Bureau of Social Affairs was required to turn its attention and focus on countering

and averting the problems such modernization would produce: deserted farmsteads, burgeoning slums, alcoholism, infectious diseases, dehumanizing working and living conditions, prostitution and the exploitation of children. It took its lead in this action from the experience that 'scarred' so much of the industrialized west during the industrial revolution! The modernization approach to development and its economic frame of reference for social progress would not be seriously reviewed until the end of the 1960s.<sup>5</sup>

Toward the last half of the 1960s, a number of noted economic advisors to the United Nations led by Gunnar Myrdal, raised alarms over the mono-dimensional development approach being followed by the UN. They argued that the over-emphasis on economic growth and modernization was tipping the balance and needed correction. They were convinced that there needed to be a harmonization of social and economic policy. The two must be integrated for development to occur. The affects of these arguments were to be far reaching. They jump-started a self-evaluation in 1966 that culminated in the United Nations refocusing its attention on the inter-dependence of social and economic development and the process of growth and change (see Omer 1979).

In 1969, the General Assembly adopted the *United Nations Declaration on Social Progress and Development*. Besides affirming the inter-dependence of social and economic development, the Declaration called for a more just social order, active participation of all elements of society, equal opportunity for the marginalized, the right to work and the elimination of poverty. It also firmly promoted the position that social development was a national concern and each nation had the right to determine its own objectives. A particularly insightful and revealing statement, in this same genre, was that of the Working Party on Social Development. They argued categorically that social

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<sup>5</sup> We note that the critique of modernization in the mid 1960s under the rubric of the 'dependency theory' while cogent in proffering a fundamental analysis that the western-centric model development assistance was in fact creating massive dependence and further entrenching poverty in fact did not have much sway with the UN.

development was not ‘merely a by-product’ of economic growth. ‘In many ways’, they asserted, it was a ‘prerequisite’ for growth. They called for a radical way of viewing social development. The Working Party held that for a genuine reformulation and conceptualization, social factors could not just merely be incorporated into economic thought but that economic understanding must be returned to its more fundamental social science base (United Nations 1971: 4-6; see also Omer 1979; Midgley 1995: 56-57).

The realization that ‘development’ in the world was greatly askew, that many of the countries were worse off than they were a decade earlier, and that the whole notion of social progress/development was integral to overall development, provided fertile ground to explore new possibilities. However, after declaring the second development decade in 1970, which committed the United Nations to development in a ‘global’, ‘integrated’ and ‘unified’ manner in ‘all spheres of social and economic life’, one of the UN’s first initiatives was entirely economic in focus (Rist 1998: 143; Sachs 1992: 14). Having its foundation and inspiration in the Non-aligned Nations Movement, a resolution was proposed that the United Nations commit itself to ‘work for the establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) to be based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest, and cooperation among all states..’. The resolution called for a process to ‘steadily accelerat [e] economic and social development and peace and justice for present and future generation...’ The inclusion of social development as an essential component was essentially rhetorical. The NIEO had at its core a traditional economic view of development: ‘economic growth’, expansion of ‘world trade’, and ‘increased aid by the industrial countries’ (Rist 1998: 149). Eventually, the weight of political decisions and the necessity of re-distribution on a global scale sank the proposal but not without the entire machinery of the United Nations applying its full institutional might to the debate, research and proposed plans for its implementation (Rist 1998: 153).

This happened in 1974.

On a parallel track and at the time quite overshadowed by the interest created by the NIEO, the World Bank, under the direction of Robert McNamara, began a shift in its basic policy of funding. At the Board of Governors meeting in 1972 held in Nairobi, McNamara called for countries of the south to realign their 'growth targets in terms of essential human needs: nutrition, housing, health, literacy and employment'. This approach came to be known as the Basic Needs Approach to development. It would come to directly challenge the concepts of the NIEO. It was an approach that moved pointedly to the local and to the grassroots without sacrificing the continual push for economic growth. It shifted the development debate slightly beyond the traditional and prevailing macro-economic understanding to a more micro-level analysis and point of entry axis. However, from its initial conceptualization at the World Bank it did not hold much sway at the United Nations, which was much more interested in pursuing the concepts of NIEO, the agenda of the majority of the member nations, albeit not those with the most power and influence.

As the NIEO faded in terms of the possibility of implementation, a number of initiatives surfaced within the UN. Three are critical to the notions of social development and its eventual rise to prominence and development by the United Nations. The first was the report appropriately titled, *What Now?*, published in 1975 by the Swedish-based Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. The report returned afresh to the fundamental belief that development was more than economic growth. The report argued that it necessary to respond to culture, to the needs of the poorest of society, to encourage self-help and self-reliance, to be integrated and harmonious with the natural world and to usher in structural change that would bring about social equality and respond to new political realities (Rist 1998:155-157; Sachs 1992: 15). The report called this approach 'Another Development'.

The second initiative was the adoption by the International Labor Organization (ILO), a specialist body of the United Nations, of the Basic Needs Approach. The ILO was the first UN body to step out of the principles espoused by the NIEO and promote a

wholly new way of development. The third initiative was the *endogenous* development approach taken by the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In it, UNESCO argued that it was not necessary or desirable for 'developing' nations to 'mechanically' replicate 'development' of the industrialized western nations. Instead, development would be based on the particularities of the culture of individual countries. This idea was short lived and disintegrated under the weight of its own arguments (Rist 1998). Nevertheless, it further served to undermine the NIEO approach within the UN system.

If the second development decade of the 1970s offered a glimmer of hope for a revitalization of the notion of social development, the eighties decimated it. Portrayed by many as the 'lost decade of development', the prevailing model of development was decidedly 'neo-liberal' (Brohman 1996: 132ff; Escobar 1995; Esteua 1992; Rist 1998; United Nations 1994: 9). Emanating from the thought and experience of neo-classical economics, it constituted a 'counter-revolution' in development thinking (Toye 1987). It saw development as the promotion of market-led growth, free trade, increased savings and private investments. Associated with these elements were low wages, gradual industrialization, global integration of markets and economies, and progressive 'trickle-down' benefits to all social classes (Brohman 1996: 31). Relatedly, the major thrust of development policy in the 1980s was 'structural adjustments programs' (SAPs).

Conceptualized to deal with the debt and to reorient countries, especially those of the south, towards the neo-liberal model of development, the international financial institutions proceeded to coerce countries in the south, particularly in Africa, into undertaking these extreme measures of economic austerity. They essentially 'dismantled states in the south with the same enthusiasm that they applied to strengthening them in seventies' (Rist 1998: 173). The social costs of this dismantling were largely borne by those most at risk: the working class, peasants, the informal sector, the elderly, poor women, children and ethnic minorities (Brohman 1996: 177). The social dimension of

development was lost. 'Top down', 'hard ball' economic policy ruled the day with little or no concern for, or expenditure on, welfare realities, customarily the responsibility of nation states and manifest at the local level. In fact, many of the social programs instituted in previous decades were severely modified or wholly scrapped as part of the economic austerity policies imposed on governments subject to these macro-economic reform strategies (Rist 1998: 171). All the protest the United Nations could muster in such an environment was to call and work for a 'human face' to the adjustment policies. This amounted to no more than humanitarian efforts at making the adjustments less painful and 'more acceptable' (Cornia, Jolly and Stewart 1987).

Despite the harshness of the neo-liberal model, hindsight suggests there were some 'positive aspects' to economic adjustment. The massive context changes in countries of the south, created in part by the introduction of SAPs, coupled with the growing recognition of the suffering of people under their impact, brought about a sobering realism to development thought and practice:

...development cannot be imposed from without in a top down manner' and 'it is not about financial flows' but 'concerns the capacity of the society to tap the root of popular creativity, to free up and empower people to exercise their intelligence and collective wisdom (Levitt 1990: 1954 quoted in Brohman 1996: 186).

While not new, this understanding of the essence of development was worthy of repetition at the time and gained credence in the 1980s especially among activists and professionals working in NGOs and researchers involved with the social aspects of development. To some this shift in development thought and practice signaled the 'progressive dissolution' of development economics as the world had come to know and experience it (Escobar 1995: 94). To others, it signaled the dawn of a 'post development' age (Rist 1990 as quoted in Esteva 1992: 16 and Rist et. al. cited in Rahnema and Bawtree 1997: xix). Whatever may be the case in terms of characterization, by the 1990s the critique had had a definite impact on the United Nations and a number of bilateral

development agencies and eventually the international financial institutions as well, particularly the World Bank.

While the shift to an integrated and socially aware understanding of development did not occur overnight in the United Nations System, a retrospective view suggests there are visible signs that a progressive transformation has occurred. Three major activities give us valuable insight into this shift. The first is the South Commission. Independently established in 1987 and headed by Julius Nyerere, it was not an 'official' institution of the United Nations. However, its efficacy was housed in the fact that many of the members of the Commission were United Nations veterans in one form or another, that United Nations agencies provided material and moral support assistance and that the Commission engaged itself in issues that were critical to the development agenda of the United Nations.

In its final report, which was unanimous, the Commission defined development as 'a process, which enables human beings to realize their potential, build self confidence, and lead lives of dignity and fulfillment' (South Commission 1990: vi, 10). The major components in the process of development outlined by the Commission echo many that had been articulated in the 1970s. They included people-centered strategies; self-reliance fuelled by the south's own resources; meeting of basic needs (food, health, education, and employment); social justice and equity; a progressive move to democracy and freedom to insure human rights; and economic growth reoriented to provide for basic needs. Most of this agenda resonates with goals of social development and as we will see, has been assumed in its articulation within the United Nations.

The second activity was the establishment and publication of the *Human Development Report* by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The goal of the endeavor was to 'produce an annual report on the human dimension of development' (UNDP 1990: iii). To this end the project team devised an index called the Human Development Index that attempted to gage and quantify the progress of peoples beyond

the impervious economic indicator: gross domestic product (GDP). They did not stray far from the GDP as it was included in the index but they did add to it some significant social components: level of education, human liberty, and life expectancy. While the index is an important feature of the reports, what is more helpful perhaps, in detecting a shift in development perspective, is the accompanying discourse. In the maiden report, the administrator of the UNDP, William H. Draper III, asserted, '...we are rediscovering the essential truth that people must be the center of all development. The purpose of development is to offer people more options. One of their options is access to income—not an end in itself but as a means to acquiring human well-being' (UNDP 1990: iii).<sup>6</sup>

The Report signaled that the understanding of development at the United Nations had shifted, with the understanding that the economic and the social dimensions of development as an integral whole. Moreover, social development was seen as being far more important than simply providing a 'safety net' when development economics failed or faltered. People were recognized not merely as commodities or mobile units of labor but as active participants in the development process.

The third visible sign of the shift in the United Nations' perception of development was the convening of a series of world conferences on issues of human development. The Conferences were a part of the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the United Nations (Rist 1998). Undertaken to explore issues of development such as education, child welfare, environment, human rights, social development, population, women, and human settlements, these conferences pointed to the fact that the United Nations was 'moving away' from a single approach to development, clearly understanding that different spheres would require different strategies (Pandey 1996: 68).

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<sup>6</sup> This 'rediscovery' is further evidenced in the Report's definition of human development: 'Human development is a process of enlarging people's choices. The most critical are...to lead a long, healthy life, to be educated, and to enjoy a decent standard of living. Additional choices include political freedom, guaranteed human rights and social respect' and in its stark admission that '...excessive preoccupation with GNP growth and national income accounts has obscured that powerful perspective [that development is people centered and income is a means not an end]' (UNDP 1990: 9-10).

The conferences were massive undertakings involving primarily governments, but also NGOs, intergovernmental agencies, researchers, private enterprises as well as the media and other stakeholders.<sup>7</sup> Each conference had the unique feature of building on the resolutions and insights of the previous conference affording the opportunity for a valuable consistency of thought and purpose (Pandey 1996: 69). For social development, the pinnacle in the series of conferences for social development was the World Summit for Social Development (WSSD), which took place in Copenhagen in March 1995.

The Summit was convened in December 1992 through a resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations. It was called together amidst what the UN called 'profound social instability and change', at a time when 'there is moral and philosophical as well as economic malaise that is eroding solidarity among people' (United Nations 1994: i). The core themes of the Conference were poverty, employment, and social integration. In its final proceedings, the conference adopted the *Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development and a Program of Action*. While the Conference itself shared many similarities with other conferences that the UN had organized and sponsored, there were at least three significant novelties to this Conference. Curiously, all three constitute a substantial part of the conceptual foundation of social development: leadership, planning, and evaluation.

The first novelty was the Conference itself as it was the first time the UN had gathered together heads of state and governments to discuss the 'significance' of social development (World Summit for Social Development hereinafter WSSD 1995: 3). After fifty years of articulating the importance and imperative nature of social development in the world, there was truly a possibility of raising its priority and primacy within international policy. The second was an important change in language. Throughout the

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<sup>7</sup> We should note that NGOs were not equally welcome at all conferences in which case they organized parallel conferences to get their views and concerns publicized. It was not until the City Summit in Istanbul in 1996 when NGOs were accredited as participants in the UN organized conferences.

document but particularly in the ten point ‘action plan’ the Conference used the word ‘commitment’ as opposed to ‘principles’ or ‘objectives’ (Pandey 1996: 73). This was an intentional usage. The Conference was not meant to be a meeting simply for study or analysis but one of commitment—a commitment to act (see Martin 1995: 397). The third novelty was this very commitment to act. The Conference was able to outline actions at various levels: international, regional and national. To these points of action, they added review and evaluation mechanism at all levels.

The content of the Declaration and Action Plan is fairly extensive. Some of it revisits themes articulated particularly in the Charter of the United Nation and in the 1969 Statement on Social Development. Other parts incorporate insights from prior conferences and emerging theory from development studies and understanding. Some examples include:

- The principle adopted at the Conference on Environment and Development 1992 that states ‘broad based sustained economic growth...respects the need to protect the environment and the interests of future generations’;
- The necessity of protecting children as promoted through the declaration made by the World Summit for Children 1990 and the Convention of the Rights of the Child; and
- The need to foster equality and equity between women and men in all spheres of human interaction and to promote women’s leadership in these areas as advanced at the conference assessing the United Nations’ ‘Decade for Women’ held in Nairobi 1985 and those maxims that would arise from the Fourth World Conference on Women (see WSSD 1995).

The document made no attempt at defining social development. However, on reading the document, it becomes clear that the Summit understood social development as ‘well-being for all’ and the absence of this well-being as social distress which must be

addressed (WSSD 1995: 3, 6). It is from the analysis of social distresses that the Summit drew out principles and goals. Broadly, it committed itself to a ‘political, economic, ethical, and spiritual vision of social development’ (WSSD 1995: 9). While political and economic were familiar territory, the ethical and spiritual dimensions of development were new and overt inclusions to the overall understanding in the UN concept of social development.

The addition of these dimensions constituted a substantive paradigm shift and caused a vital reordering of priorities. No longer was economic growth or political power the rhetorical core of social development, it was now very firmly people. The Summit committed itself to social development based on human dignity, cooperation, mutuality, and respect of diversity in culture, religion and values (WSSD 1995: 9). It saw people at the center and economic and political processes as supporting and assisting their development, with their participation (WSSD 1995: 9). It saw the family as the ‘basic unit of society’ and held that ‘it plays a key role a key role in social development’ (WSSD 1995: 9). This people-centered understanding created a refocusing on an integrative framework for social development. Examples include protection of the environment as a responsibility for ‘present and future generations’; the mutuality between national responsibility and collective commitment’ of the international community; the linkage between economic, cultural and social policy; and the interdependence of public as well as private organizations in the social development process. New additions to the integrative framework were the call of democracy, freedom of movement of peoples, respect for indigenous peoples, social protection for the marginalized and vulnerable, and the necessity of transparent and accountable governance (WSSD 1995: 9-11).

The five-year review mandated by the Summit to evaluate the progress of social development in the world was held in Geneva in 2000. The meeting was generally felt to be a low-key event and the considered opinion of the session and what the General Secretary reiterated in his report to the General Assembly was that overall, ‘progress was

largely uneven' (UN 2000: 3). For the UN itself, however, there had been some progress in attending to the vision of the WSSD. In a report of action taken, it is clear that a significant number of agencies in the UN system have been more than rhetorical in their promotion of the social development agenda (see Division for Social Policy and Development 2001: 4-52).

Recurring themes discussed during the session included globalization; the debt burden in countries of the South; enabling environments for social development; and declining levels of official development assistance [ODA] (UN: 2000: 3; Barnes et. al. 2000). What is striking about this list and the discussions held is that three out of the four themes point to the social impact of economic policy and in so doing furtively point to primarily economic solutions to enhancing well-being. For example, the discussion on globalization largely concentrated on global markets and the economic advantages that can accrue to the participants. As an aside, the social impact commentary from the WSSD was soberly appended indicating that the insights and actions tendered by the WSSD concerning globalization are still fresh and need attention.

Despite an unfinished and extensive commitment agenda developed at the WSSD, the session elected to adopt 'further initiatives' as a 'concerted' effort toward social development (UN 2000: 3). These further initiatives are fairly general commitments to:

- Developing an enabling economic, political, social, cultural and legal environment for social development;
- Poverty Eradication particularly the elimination worldwide of 'extreme' poverty by 2015;
- Full Employment;
- Gender Equality;
- Provisions of adequate education and health care for all;
- Africa and other 'least developed countries';

- Inculcating social development priorities into structural adjustment programs (SAPs);
- Bolstering social cohesion;
- Restructuring resource allocation; and
- Social development cooperation.

The commitments themselves break very little new ground. They either reiterate or amplify statements or positions held at the WSSD or other conferences (for example: The Beijing Conference on Women or the Rio Conference on the Environment). They are also of a ‘general nature’ and nearly devoid of any practical program or targets of action or implementation that risks relegating the commitments to rhetorical characterization (UN 2000: 6). However, this reiteration notwithstanding, the discussion did yield a substantive new advance. In the consideration of regulating markets in the context of national legislation, the session adopted a stance on corporate social responsibility and its link to social development (Barnes, et. al. 2000; UN 2000: 16). The session argued that social corporate responsibility must be encouraged so that it contributes to social development goals. To accomplish this the session called for:

- ‘...increased corporate awareness of the interrelationship between social development and economic growth’;
- ‘...a legal, economic and social policy framework that is just and stable to support and stimulate private sector initiatives...’; and
- ‘...partnerships with business, trade unions and civil society...in support of the goals of the Summit’ (UN 2000: 17-18).

This overt linkage between corporate social responsibility and social development constituted a first in terms of a consensus text on this topic and certainly a first in terms of UN articulation on social development (Barnes, et. al. 2000).

To sum up, social development in the UN has undoubtedly had a variegated but consistent consideration. Over the years, this consideration has traversed a wide spectrum particularly in how social development is to be achieved. In our discussion above, we have seen this spectrum include the promotion of social development as a residual outcome of economic development and as a means to mitigate the negative effects of economic growth and modernization. The spectrum also incorporates the near radical understanding of social development as the prime precursor to economic advancement and a necessity to systematically focus development activity on the social dimensions of human welfare rather than relegating these dimensions to a subsidiary consideration in the process of an economic development paradigm. In addition, the spectrum soberly displays a profound regression that consigns social welfare concerns to a mere analgesic role in economic development predominated by structural adjustment processes. Further, we see in the spectrum the broad paradigm shift of the 1990s to an almost total agreement of a more 'socially' centric model of development and the necessity of this model to equally predominate alongside economic growth initiatives.

However from our examination we can also detect that despite the social imperative of human development enshrined in the founding objectives of the UN and the shift in accepting a more socially oriented model of development as adopted at the WSSD as well as the other Summits held throughout the 1990s, there remains a consistent conviction that economic growth considerations are the primary means in addressing and achieving social development goals. As such, social development is at best a parallel track that supports and/or enhances economic development initiatives. At worst it becomes an ancillary function to be pandered to either because of political correctness or because it makes economic sense. The five-year review of the WSSD clearly illustrates this point in the UN fora. At a country level, we can see a vivid illustration of this phenomenon in the five-year plans of India.

The dilemma that arises from this outlook of understanding social and economic development as either parallel universes or as secondary and primary considerations is that unless there is overt attempts at bringing them together in policy and program initiatives they tend to have divergent trajectories with very unwelcome outcomes.

We should point out that the oscillation between economic and social considerations in development ideology and practice at the UN is not a patented experience nor is it insulated from other stimuli. In fact, the oscillation runs in close parallel with development ideology, positions, and practice of the Bretton Woods Institutions—World Bank and International Monetary Fund (see SAP discussion above and Escobar 1992, 1995) and in the positions held by various blocks of member-nations of the UN in particular those aligned with the G7 and the G77.

### **Social Development at the World Bank**

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the World Bank, was established following a conference of forty-four finance ministers at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire in 1944 as part of a triumvirate<sup>8</sup> of multilateral financial institutions geared to restoring the world's economy in the aftermath of World War II (see Griesgraber and Gunter 1996; McMichael 2000). The World Bank's primary purpose was to underwrite national economic growth in 'developing countries' by funding through loans augmentation of major infrastructure such as roads, utilities and irrigation facilities (Griesgraber and Gunter 1996; McMichael 2000). It was envisaged that these large-scale, capital-intensive projects were the machinery of economic development both within nation states and for the larger world community. When in place, the infrastructure would considerably add not only to a country's ability to provide for human welfare for its citizenry but be a basis of rising standards of living on a global scale (see McMichael

2000). The funds made available by the World Bank for these projects became the stimulation and lubricant for economic growth of the world economy as well as the lure for ‘developing countries’ to adopt pro-western development models based on capital-intensive industrialization (Escobar 1995; McMichael 2000; Leys 1996). More notably, however, the development ideology needed to support the endeavors of the World Bank – that of modernization and economic growth – was vigorously promoted as the normative development model overshadowing any concern for the social dimensions of human development.

In the early 1970s, the Bank began to consider the social aspects and implications of its policies and practice (Social Development Department hereinafter SDD 2002). Key to this consideration was the addition of anthropologists and sociologists to the Bank’s expert cadre (Fox 1997; SDD 2002). As we have noted earlier in this Chapter, the visible result of the Bank’s social considerations was the championing of the basic needs approach—its maiden effort at understanding development beyond the pale of economic growth as well as its first tryst with a social development framework for development policy and initiatives (see Midgley 1995). The 1970s also saw the Bank requiring social appraisals for projects and creating a ‘social development’ unit under the Bank’s Environment Department (SDD 2000). Both initiatives were an instrument in introducing social safeguards into the Bank’s projects as well as an attempt to mitigate the ‘negative social impact’ of those projects (SDD 2000).

As we indicated earlier in this Chapter, the 1980s were years marked by the structural adjustments programs promoted by the Bank and the IMF and consisted of a near exclusive economic agenda. Development in these years was primarily a reorientation of national economies to a market basis economy with limited investments

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<sup>8</sup> The other two organizations were the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the ‘still-born’ International Trade Organization (Griesgraber and Gunter 1996). The IMF and World Bank are colloquially known as the ‘twin sisters’.

in social welfare initiatives. Social development considerations were largely kept in abeyance.

In 1997 the Bank made a significant advance in its attention to social development perspectives by establishing a separate Social Development Department (SDD) and setting up regional social development teams for the purpose of guiding the Bank on the aspects of 'participation and social assessment' (SDD 2002).<sup>9</sup> The Bank sees social development as, 'development that is equitable, socially inclusive and therefore sustainable. It promotes local, national and global institutions that are responsive, accountable and inclusive and it empowers poor and vulnerable people to participate effectively in development processes' ([www.worldbank.org/socialdevelopment](http://www.worldbank.org/socialdevelopment)). The Bank values the social development paradigm because it believes that 'social development is fundamental in reducing poverty because it asks the questions about processes and institutions that must be in place for development to work...' (SDD 2002).

Emanating from this understanding of social development, a large part of the SDD activity has been to continue the earlier focus of infusing the Bank's lending operations with social development principles. Since becoming a Department, this process has made progress not only attending to social dimensions at the implementation stages of the Bank's project but at the project preparation stage as well. The Bank's quality assessment unit records that to this end, social analysis is conducted for about half of the Bank operations and that 'stakeholder' consultation and participation are made in over three quarters of the operations inclusion (SDD 2002).

Beyond making the Bank's operations more socially responsive, since its inception the SDD has concentrated on and been a key promoter of social capital.<sup>10</sup> The

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<sup>9</sup> The establishment of the Social Development Department is significant in that it signaled a newfound legitimacy of the non-economist staff at the Bank. It also added a structural authority to their largely socially aware ideology thereby offering a direct challenge to the entrenched neoclassical economic views at the Bank (Fox 1997). Evidence of this new found influence can be seen in the nuances and direct integration of social development principles into the Bank's directives (see SDD 2002).

<sup>10</sup> The notions of social capital have had significant purchase for development policy as well. However, its enthusiastic reception (in part due to the intensity of the World Bank's interest) is tempered by

notion of social capital and its initial diffusion into the policy arena was largely due to the research of two American scholars, James Coleman and Robert Putnam (see Fukuyama 1997; Woolcock 2001). Defined, social capital 'refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action' (Putnam 1993: 167). Functionally, social capital names the benefits that accrue to individual and groups of people by their membership and participation in associational life (Fukuyama 1997; Woolcock 2001). These benefits emanate largely from the communication between members of the association, between members and non-members as well as the collective action engendered by the association. The benefits may be tangible or intangible but by and large are looked on as a significant means for advancing human well-being (see Putnam 1993; SDD 2002).

As such, social capital as a social development strategy has a considerable purchase for the Bank. It sees in the development of social capital a 'critical asset' for poverty reduction and a fulcrum on which its macro-oriented economic goals can be enhanced (see SDD 2002). Further, the building up of social capital also addresses components of participation, empowerment, inclusion and security issues that the Bank holds as key to a people-centered development process (SDD 2002). So confident is the Bank in the value of social capital in the development process, it has not only become the key conceptual construct of the SDD but has also brought much to bear on the whole participatory paradigm of the Bank in its ideas and initiatives to reduce poverty.

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a serious critique that questions the ability of social capital interventions to recognize difference, inequality, and power relationships, a particular problem in countries that still function around feudal relationships (see the *Journal of International Development*: November 1997; Gupta 2000). There are also questions of whether the social capital of the poor actually leads to better governance inclusive of the poor and their needs and whether this capital is actually a 'public' good employed for overall public welfare (Beall 2001). In the context of social development, communities (the locale of much of the social capital of the poor) have by definition been key to the ideology and initiatives of the approach. As such much of the rhetoric for social development continues to fall under the rubric of community development (see *Social Development Issues* 1994-2001; DeFilippis 2001).

The Bank's move to embrace and to overtly attend to the social dimensions of development has resulted in some novel and significant actions. We see evidence of this in:

- The massive undertaking to 'hear' the voices of the poor for the *World Development Report 2000-01* and the attempts to inculcate the challenges emanating from the research into the Bank's policy prescriptions and initiatives (see Narayan, et. al. 2000; Robb 2002);
- The ongoing consultations and planning process of the Social Development Department that looks to consolidating the disparate social development approaches at the Bank into a single Bank-wide strategy by 2004 (see SDD 2002); and
- The Faith in Development Partnership between the World Bank and the Churches of Africa as well as the co-sponsored World Faiths Development Dialogue (see Belshaw, Calderisi, and Sugden 2001; WFFD 2000).

And while attention to the social dimensions of development provides a welcome balance to the predominantly neoclassical economic approach of the Bank, critical appraisals of the interest and the initiatives it has spawned have raised questions of intrinsic efficacy of the social reach within the overall Bank scheme. The two most incisive gather around the notion that the agenda of the Bank remains firmly entrenched in a western-north centric, market oriented approach and that the attention paid to the social dimensions of development is largely a secondary consideration with little chance of ultimate success in reducing poverty. David Korten poignantly lays out the critique:

Those who seek to reform the Bank miss the basic point that there really is no constructive role in the creation of just and sustainable societies for an organization that by its basic nature is in the business of getting low-income countries ever more deeply into international debt. You could staff every position in the Bank with people who are totally committed to social justice and environmental sustainability and it would only make a marginal difference so long as the Bank's primary function is to put out new international loans faster than the old ones are being repaid. To make

a real difference Bank staff would need to permanently eliminate the long-term international debts of low income countries and dismantle their own institution and the other multilateral development banks that continuously compound the debt problem (as quoted in Wright 1995).

### **Social Development in Social Work**

Another source of enquiry into and promotion of the concept of social development has been the academic field of social work and social policy, particularly through the Inter-University Consortium for International Social Development (IUCISD). The IUCISD began as a small group of predominantly social work scholars looking for an alternative to the prevailing remedial and clinical approaches that pervaded the social welfare field in the early and mid 1970s particularly in the North American context. Initially gathered from a handful of Mid-western universities, these scholars had in common some form of international experience either through working with the United Nations, as international consultants, or as former Peace Corps volunteers (Meinert 1991; Midgley 1995: 30; Paiva 1997). The interest in social development, particularly in the American Midwest context, at least at the initial stages, emanated from the linkages and similarities in the social issues associated with agriculture based livelihoods both in this 'grain' belt and in the so-called 'third world' (Paiva 1977). The plight of farmers in 'developed' America seemed no less different than those in the 'developing' countries (Meinert 1991; Paiva 1997). Both required help in terms of social welfare and the remedial, clinical approach to assisting in the cultivation of this welfare that prevailed at the time was limited in addressing the totality of the problem. The integrative notion of social development held an alternative. Simply put, social development, called for a more holistic approach to enhancing human welfare that encompassed and attended to all spheres of human ecology: political, economic, cultural, spiritual and social. Its acceptance however, leave alone its popularity, was slow to materialize.

Given the lack of scholarly literature and understanding on social development in the human social service fields and the prevailing clinical bent of human service practitioners, the Consortium's primary activity in the early days was one of developing a body of literature to gain wider acceptance of the concept and approach particularly in the field of social work (Meinert 1991). A key issue in this initial research was the crafting of a definition of social development that would be broadly accepted. This was no easy task. While most could agree on a number of major components in a definition, a widely accepted one remains illusive even today. The major areas of agreement in defining social development include:

- A process of planned intervention to enhance social well-being. Social development just does not happen and it is rarely endogenous. It requires an intervening process that is not 'one off' but that is continuous and iterative;
- Fulfillment of human needs;
- Social and institutional change;
- Participation at every level;
- Sustainable recognizing the needs of future generations; and
- Comprehensive and inter-sectorial.

The fairly general agreed upon components notwithstanding, the primary difficulties in preparing a common definition are threefold. The first difficulty is the complexity of the field of inquiry that the concept of social development encompasses. By constitution, social development involves a myriad of disciplines in the social sciences that have their own histories, theories, proclivities, epistemology and ideology. A definition that attends to each area of inquiry and crosscuts disciplines is naturally hard to reach. The second hurdle is that social development by constitution involves an ever-changing web of human interaction and aspirations coupled with the dynamic forces of nature (Paiva 1977). A 'universal' definition may be valid for only the point in time and

given place (s) in which it was created. Beyond this, it may have only marginal currency.

A third obstacle is the agreement on locale of 'initiating' the social development process (Askerooth 1978: I; Jones 1998; Midgley 1994; 1995). Some scholars and practitioners would advocate a micro-level entry point for the interventions. Some would advocate a communitarian orientation (see Camphrens 1993; Livermore 2001). Others would argue that interventions must begin in the context of the state or political economy (see Miah and Tracy 2001). Fundamentally, of course, social development would advocate all three stances at once, creating a further definitional impediment (Billups 1994: 96; Paiva 1977).

We should also note that the process of assigning responsibility to the social development endeavor is another challenge to definitional precision and development. By its natural cross-disciplinary, inter-sectorial composition ambiguity reigns as to who leads/facilitates/coordinates (in the broadest sense of leadership: vision/ideology, planning, initiation, implementation, evaluation) the social development endeavor. This challenge is not unique to social development as we can locate similar issues in other 'cross-disciplinary' approaches such as integrated rural development.

Despite the difficulties in constructing a universally accepted definition of social development, the accompanying discussion and the arguments tendered on this contentious endeavor over the years are instructive of what is involved in evolving a social development paradigm. While it would be impossible here to analyze each area of contention in detail, we will highlight the five key composite issues addressed in most definitions and descriptions that have had the greatest impact on shaping the paradigm.

### ***Beyond Remedial Well-Being: Social Development as the Developmental Alternative***

One of the very first tasks in developing a definition of social development within the context of social work was to differentiate and set it up as a strong alternative to the prevailing conventions in the profession. As was mentioned earlier, social work was largely (but not exclusively) characterized by a clinical, curative and remedial approach

to human welfare.<sup>11</sup> Dysfunction or pathology were largely seen as function of the individual, family unit and in some cases the local community. To address social problems meant finding solutions at these levels. If a person was unemployed, the social worker would help the individual develop the capacity to garner work and once the person acquired the capacity, the relationship was more or less completed.

The preoccupation in understanding and remedying the problem at a micro-level was almost never linked to larger societal influences and causal relationships. The proponents of the social development approach argue, however, that human problems occurred within a societal context and are not just a function of the individual, family or local community (Sanders 1982: ix). In order to promote lasting human welfare, linkages to social and structural change were necessary and must be components of any process of social well being. Immediate needs and the provision of social services are seen as a means of ensuring well-being and not an end in themselves.<sup>12</sup>

### ***Social Development as the Unified, Integrated, and Normative Development Paradigm***

As we have seen in the section on the United Nations above, the normative convention of development in the 1960s and 1970s was one of economic growth and rapid industrialization administered and evaluated at a macro-level.<sup>13</sup> However, the notion that human well-being would naturally flow from an increase in production and/or

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<sup>11</sup> This approach included activities directed primarily at individuals, families and in some instances, communities in urgent need (Midgley 1984: 90-91). The activities relied heavily on counseling techniques administered by highly trained individuals. Nomenclature such as 'treatment', 'clients', and 'social problems' typified descriptors of social work. To this end, studies in social work looked at dysfunction and pathology and the ways to acquire and develop techniques and tools to provide relief and cures that would restore 'normal' functioning to clients (Paiva 1982: 7).

<sup>12</sup> To take a pressing example, familiar in the South Asian context, in the design of an intervention process for the child waste collector, a social development paradigm would require not only a process to deal with the immediate and urgent needs of the child (restorative health care, food, clothing, counseling, etc.), but also require a process for changing and enhancing the child's environment to better sustain his or her overall human well-being.

<sup>13</sup> Entire populations were envisaged to be direct beneficiaries in raising the gross domestic product and per capita income of a 'developing' nation. Human welfare was seen as a natural outcome of this increased economic output. The reality was very different. It was true that per capita incomes and GDP had increased in the 'developing' countries since World War II but this increase did not 'give rise to a more equitable distribution of income' nor did it eliminate the most flagrant economic and social disparities (UN 1976: 13 as quoted in Omer 1979: 13).

income brought on by economic growth and industrialization did not materialize. It was with this realization that the social development proponents strongly argued that well-being is not a mere by-product of economic development and requires some form of redistribution. Human well-being must be emphasized as a goal and that without giving it due attention in development processes, any development program would in all likelihood have minimal impact on the populations it was targeted to help. As for the precise relationship of social and economic development in a social development paradigm, there was a divergence of opinion not least of all because redistribution was an issue consistently avoided in notions and discussions of development framed by United Nations and other multilateral organizations.

Many social development proponents promoted the UN semantic of a ‘unified’ development process as an initial description of a normative dispensation in the social development perspective (Omer 1979: 7; Paiva 1977: 330; Singh 1981). Under this unified development process, economic and social components were to be integrated in a ‘simultaneous’ approach ensuring reinforcement for one another leading to ‘productive and creative interdependence’ (Omer 1979: 19; Paiva 1977: 330; Jones 1981:6). They argued that the two approaches must be integrated with ‘qualitative’ growth as a goal (Singh 1981: 26-27; Paiva 1982: 6-7). In the unified/integrated approach, social and economic development forms ‘two sides of the same coin’ (Midgley 1994: 23). Neither can take place without a robust participation of the ‘other’ (Midgley 1994:23; Omer 1979: 7).<sup>14</sup> A third approach ‘harmonizes’ and ‘integrates’ social development with economic development in such a way that a holistic process of economic development becomes fertile ground from which social development is implemented (Midgley 1995: 157). In

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<sup>14</sup> While the unified/integrated approach was advanced as normative in the social development paradigm, there was a detectable undercurrent in the discussion that this was merely a penultimate reality. The ultimate desire was to see social development as the primary development means and framework to enhance human welfare and as such, it encompasses all other components (Jones 1981: p.6; Omer 1979: p. 19-20). Economic development was seen as an ineffective lead strategy due to its historical failure in the development endeavor and to its limited scope in involving other disciplines and fields crucial to human

this dispensation economic growth is seen as a positive player as it creates the resources needed to enhance social well-being and social development is seen as 'superb investment in future economic growth' (Birdsall 1993: 1; Midgley 1995: 157; Myer 1999).

### ***Values and Vision***

An issue often addressed in the formulation of a definition or description of social development is that of values. More specifically, the discussions focused on the values that form the basis of the social development paradigm and shape the vision of the processes. In almost every consideration, the prime value mentioned in one form or another is that of human dignity (Paiva 1977, 1982; Omer 1979; Sanders 1981; Jones 1981; Gil 1981; Falk 1981; Cummings 1982; Midgley 1994). It is argued that all persons possessed intrinsic worth as human beings and that this 'worth' must be recognized and respected. Persons are the central focus of any development process. As such, the person is the subject of development and not the object (means) of the process (Gil 1981: 31; Paiva 1977: 330). This understanding leads to a positive belief in human capacity and , potential and that persons should be in control of their destiny (Cummings 1982: 15; Jones 1981: 7; Sanders 1982: x-xi).

Two other key values flow from this understanding of human dignity: social justice and equity.<sup>15</sup> While social justice is not well developed in the discussions of value, most authors argue that it includes access to, opportunities for, and resources to meet the basic needs of human existence. The needs most mentioned include housing, food, shelter, health care, safety, and employment. In addition, social justice also mandates that

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well-being. It needed to be recast as a 'means' in the promotion of the social welfare and certainly was not to be considered on par with social action and goals (Sharma & Walz 1992: 22).

<sup>15</sup> Equity is held to include that persons have equal access to and distribution of resources (economic, social, political, and material), equal treatment no matter what social standing they possess, and adequate representation in decisions affecting their lives (Falk 1981; Gil 1981; Omer 1979: 16). The principle underlying the argument for equity emanates from the idea that essentially all humans are equal, there is basically no intrinsic difference among us, and that there exists no basis for discrimination in the broadest sense.

people have rights. It is further argued that in pursuit of these rights as well as their right to meet their needs, people require a fundamental level of freedom (Falk 1981).

Other values in the social development paradigm mentioned but considered ancillary to those illustrated above include its alliance with peace (see *Social Development Issues*, 1987); the necessity of cooperation and collectivism over and above competition and rugged individualism (Gil 1981: 66; Omer 1979: 16); interdependence (Omer 1979: 16; Paiva 1977: 329); and a global awareness understood as the realization that change is linked beyond local-immediate to larger wholes (Falk 1981, 1984).

A *caveat* is necessary at this juncture. In any discussion of values we must be aware of the contextual and institutional location of those who hold and articulate the values because in all likelihood those values are socially conditioned. In this case, we are required to recall that the primary articulators of the above values were from or located in the West and most often in the United States. Had there been a larger engagement with Asian experience or African opinions, the values may have been nuanced in other directions. An example may be found in the fact that in many eastern and tribal cultures the community and family play a much greater role in the process of valuing the human person (see Midgley 1984: 89-103; Dabbagh 1993: 17-18). Interestingly, recent commentary on social change in countries of the north laments the loss of these relationships and values (Etzioni 1993, Putnam 1993, 2000).

### ***Participation as an Imperative to Social Development Processes***

Another area to receive attention in the discussion of the social development paradigm, given its core values and the extreme macro foci of the predominant economic growth processes, was that of participation. People, as the center of development have not only a right to participate in the activities of development but have the right to be included at all levels including decision making and planning. The 'welfare of the people' was to be 'determined by the people themselves' (Paiva 1977: 329). Moreover, participation also

meant a share in the fruits of the development endeavor.<sup>16</sup> Increasingly however, the participation discourse is giving way to discussions of democracy, both participative and representative, in part at least as a result of the purchase social capital has within development debates.

### ***Strategic Ideology***

As we mentioned earlier among the main impediments to a common definition of social development are the divergent views on the institutional site and locational entry point for social development. These arguments form just the 'tip of the iceberg' of a larger discussion informed by ideologies used to define and construct social development and its strategies.<sup>17</sup> As we illustrated in our first Chapter it is argued that if we desire a 'deeper' understanding of the social development paradigm, we must be able to understand the corresponding ideological perspective used to define, situate and activate it (Midgley 1993:3-4; Dabbagh 1993: 17; Lusk 1993: 19). However, given the precarious nature of the state of ideology in the post-modern context, it is a contentious undertaking at best and for some of questionable value (Lusk 1993: 19-21; Midgley 1993; see Fukuyama 1992, 1997). While we acknowledge the question of whether there is relevance in an ideological inquiry, our purpose here is not to debate the merits or demerits of such a question but rather to elicit the fundamental value-base implied by social development, which arguably might be dubbed a 'portmanteau concept'. We will use the inquiry as an illustrative device to further expose what is implied by the social development paradigm.

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<sup>16</sup> For example, if a large dam project was planned to provide electricity for urban and industrial purposes and the construction of the dam resulted in displacements and/or affected the ability of the population to pursue their livelihoods, the social development paradigm would have the people affected participate in the beginning of the planning stage, continuing through to implementation and completion so that they would advocate for and make certain their rights were respected and attended to. Further, social development would promote that not only were those affected adequately compensated for their acquiescence to the project, but that they would share in the enhanced electricity resource, and in any additional infrastructure (e.g. roads, communication, etc.) or ancillary resources (e.g. fishing rights) provided for and by the functioning of the dam.

<sup>17</sup> Ideology is understood here to mean the promotion of interdependent ideas that include not only values but also traditions, principles and myths that influence and 'justify' human behavior and action (cited from *A Modern Dictionary of Sociology* (1969) and expanded on in Gil 1992: 55-56).

The major work in this area was initiated by Midgley in 1993 and again expanded by him in 1995 (Midgley 1993: 1-13; Midgley 1995: 88-92). He holds that there are three main ideologies employed in the articulation of the social development perspective: individualist, populist/communitarian and collectivist/socialist/institutional. He characterizes the individualist ideology as according the individual with primary importance. The ideal society is one in which the 'individual is the center of the universe', has individual choice, personal freedom and rights (Midgley 1995: 90). Society is seen as little more than 'an aggregation of individuals' (Midgely1995: 89). Social well-being is attained as a cumulative by-product of individual betterment. Value is squarely placed on 'self' and as such strategies for development would stress 'self-actualization', 'self-fulfillment', and entrepreneurial processes and enterprise (Midgley 1993: 5; 1994: 90). This ideology is allied with the liberal-capitalist agenda: the individual has an inalienable right to act as an individual and has little recourse to collectivist constraints (Midgley 1995: 90). The social development approach based in this ideology is significantly linked to the market, and as such provides a process by which individuals can fully participate and be sustained in and by the market (Midgley 1995: 90).

While Midgley combines the populist and communitarian approaches into an allied whole, they are in effect two distinct ideologies that share 'the people' as a central theme (Midgley 1995: 90). The populist ideology is characterized as 'people centered' where they are the focus of social and political life (Midgley 1993: 8). Values include the wisdom, desires, wishes and empowerment of 'ordinary people' and an anti-establishment critique (Midgley 1993: 8; Midgley 1995: 90) Strategies for welfare are based on mass movements and political power that these movements bring.

The communitarian approach is less confrontational. It is characterized by an emphasis on the local community and on creating communal and associative systems of relationships. Values include local initiative and participation. Strategies for well-being

are focused on solidarity, mutual aid, and mutual support. They are not endogenous but are facilitated or initiated by an outside agent or agency (Midgley 1995: 91).

By and large this ideology has been predominant in social development in the 'third world' (Campfrens 1993: 14; Midgley 1993: 8-9; 1995: 90-91) and as we have seen above, an important concept in defining social development particularly in light of the emphasis on participation.

The collectivist/socialist/institutional ideology is characterized by a collectivist ideal. It is pointed out that socialist thinkers trace the collectivist ideal to 'preliterate tribal societies', 'biblical teachings' and 'medieval guilds' (Midgley 1995: 91). In this frame, the ideal society is composed of an association of persons who own resources and make decisions in common (Midgley 1995: 91). The state is the 'ultimate' expression of the 'collectivist impulse' (Midgley 1993: 6). Values include collective ownership of resources and means of production, resource redistribution for welfare, and central planning. Strategies for well-being include a process of policy making, planning and administration at the state level for directing resources for meeting people's needs (1993: 6; 1994: 91). Midgley argues that in the institutional approach to social development governments would 'direct' the development process so that there would be 'maximum participation of communities, the market and individuals' (Midgley 1995: 140).

Rejoinders in the literature to Midgley's taxonomy have agreed with his own assessment (1993: 9) that the taxonomy has its shortcomings as it condenses what are most likely a multitude of ideologies to three (see Dabbagh 1993; Lusk 1993; Paiva 1993). By doing so, it is argued, he risks omitting some, such as religious ideology and not paying enough attention to others, such as the communitarian ideology (Campfens 1993: 14; Dabbagh 1993: 17). What is most striking in analyzing the limitation of the taxonomy, however, comes from Midgley himself in the discussion of his own definition of social development:

These ideologies have historically been opposed to one another, and the theories and strategies they have inspired are also in conflict with one another...current social development thinkers have adopted a less doctrinaire position and many now argue for a pragmatic viewpoint which fosters synthesis...they believe that disparate ideological approaches to social development can be harmonized. Indeed it is likely that the current ideological climate...will sustain a synthesis of this kind (Midgley 1993: 27).

We can intuit from this that the 'normative' social development paradigm is one that is not and cannot be boxed. As such, the case might be made that social development can be all things to all people and hence for us to understand the relationship between rhetoric and the value base underpinning it, it is imperative for us to be cognizant of the institutional context in which the concept is operationalized and the accompanying interests at stake.

### ***Assessing, Measuring and Evaluating Social Development***

For any planned change process whether it be organizational, institutional or social, there is a need for adequate, accurate assessment of the situation prior to the process, an ongoing evaluation of the process and an ability to objectively measure outcomes. These are no less elemental to social development. The issues involved in these assessments, measurements and evaluations are complex. They include among others the challenge to ensure:

- That the macro level assessment, evaluation and measurement (AEM) is linked to and appropriately represents local realities, groups and populations;
- That micro level AEM is not confined exclusively to the local realities but is linked to larger social issues and goals at regional, national and even global levels;
- That AEMs are sensitive to the human element in the social change process recognizing that reducing the evaluation process to formulae and mechanical calculation will not adequately or accurately respond to diversity in the human situation nor to subjectivity of the human spirit; and

- That those most directly involved in and by the development process have their voice included and heard in evaluating their social situation and the progress of the process.

To illustrate how these challenges impact the AEM of social development, let us take a closer look at indices designed for this purpose.

If we recall, ‘traditional’ development relied primarily on the notion that human well-being was a function of economic growth and a rise in the per-capita income. To judge whether the activities initiated in the growth-income development process were successful, traditional economic indicators were used. Examples include gross national/domestic product; gross industrial output; producer price indexes; per-capita income; average weekly hours of work; agricultural output; average consumption rates; and number of households above or below the fixed poverty line. These indices, while valuable for measurement of economic processes and progress, were poor measurements of actual well-being for two reasons.

First, even with adjustments, the indices tended to aggregate entire populations, which almost never adequately reflected ground level reality especially in countries where most of the population were in need (see UNDP 1990: 9). Second, by definition the indices were developed to measure economic progress and not broader realities of social welfare (see UNDP 1990: 9).

To remedy these impediments, indices were expanded and combined to include social dimensions of human development so as to provide a more accurate picture of economic and social progress. Examples of these include the Index of Social Progress (Estes 1984: 8-27), the Human Development Index (UNDP: 1990: 11ff.) and the indices found in the World Bank’s *World Development Report* that take up among others measurements of health, education and governmental spending on welfare provisions.

The development of these indices has been more than a marginal leap forward in shifting the focus and calculations away from an ‘econometric’ focus (Rist 1997: 206). In

fact, it is argued, that indices have moved us further on the road toward understanding and objectifying what constitutes social well-being in a more scientific manner (Estes 1984; Midgley 1994: 13-14; UNDP 1990: 11). This is especially an apposite argument when some of the most acerbic critiques today characterize social development as romanticized, altruistic and not dealing with objective fact (see Lusk 1993: 19). However, even given the positive advantages that have accrued to the social development endeavor by the creation of the new indices, inherent weaknesses continue to exist. The Human Development Index (HDI) of the UNDP is a good example.

Initiated by the UNDP in 1990, the HDI is calculated utilizing four variables: the level of income, level of education, human liberty (added in 1991), and life expectancy (UNDP 1990: 12). The innovation lies in the fact that in the calculation of the level of income, the Index takes into account both total income and its distribution (Rist 1997: 206). Yet the fundamental figures are still based on the GDP and GDP does not take into account non-market activities, i.e. those activities outside of the money circuit (Elson 1991; Rist 1994: 206). These non-market activities are a great source of influence on income, purchasing power and social welfare, both negatively and positively. Another area of concern is that while the index gives us insight into the progress of human well-being, it does so in a limited manner. At best it looks at four sectors and falls short of addressing broader social goals such as good government, class harmony, religious tolerance, quality of life of issues, etc. (Mardsen, et. al. 1994: 13). A final critique would point to the fact that the index by constitution is not able to provide the 'human face' to the evaluation and measurement of social development so necessary when dealing with human progress.

### **Important Influences on Social Development**

Over the last twenty years, there have been a number of development debates, which have influenced social development. The most important of these include the feminist and

gender perspectives, people centered, participatory development and the concept of social exclusion. These areas, while not addressing the entire gamut of social development concerns and approaches, have had their influence on the social development paradigm or have now become an integral part. We outline here the major contributions made by these areas to social development.

### ***Feminist and Gender Studies***

The fundamental contribution of the feminist movement has been to expose the long extent of the masculine shadow as it pervades and constructs social reality and relationships and that the influence of this shadow needs disruption if we are to authentically respond to social reality. The impact of this understanding on social development has been profound. Examples of some of the issues to be addressed in social development include:

- An enhanced visibility of women in the development process not as integrated parts but as unique participants with distinctive needs, desires and capabilities (Simmons: 252);
- The design and implementation of processes that are responsive and compatible to women's interests (Beall 1997; Kabeer 1994);
- An understanding of gender roles, particularly those of women, as being products of social relations and not primarily as biologically determined (Beall 1997: 4; Hillyard and Watson 1994: 333-334);
- An understanding that approaches to development more often than not perpetuate the masculine construct to which women are further subjugated particularly in programs to integrate women into liberal market economies (see Jaggar 1983) ; and

- An understanding that aggregation of gender issues to a common women's platform will not necessarily attend to those in most need. While there is a women's component to every culture of the world, there are also different classes of women in those cultures and these classes need to be recognized (see Jaggar 1983).

Addressing gender issues in social development are a continual challenge particularly in an enlightened view that a large part of social distress in the world accrues to women and children. Failure to do so reinforces a system that is oppressive and ultimately retrenches well-being.

### ***People centered, Participatory Development***

Over the last thirty years, there has been a steady dissemination of the concept of people being the center of development and their participation as essential in the development process, so much so that any credible development discussion, research endeavor, plan, action or evaluation must be inclusive of participatory elements. It is a concept that has saturated every corner of development rendering the rhetoric of development and participation virtually synonymous. It has become so pervasive in the field that in a recent publication on the topic participation was characterized as the '*New Tyranny*' (see Cooke and Kothari 2001). Simply put, people centered, participatory development demands that people have a voice in the decisions that will affect their lives.

These principles are not new concepts or exclusive to social development. As we have seen in the section on the initial conceptualization, participation was a value central to the social development process at the community level and at the implementation stage of the development process. The negotiated understanding of participation as it has evolved over the last thirty years of development and practice, now advocates participation at all levels and stages of the process. Local wisdom is valued and necessary because, as much understanding as the 'expert' has about the local situation and culture it

is seldom enough (Korten 1983: 209). This is not only true for the implementation stage but it is also important during the social assessment, planning, evaluation and measurement stages as well. Any plan process, or evaluation that disembody local voices is considered suspect in the participatory conception of development. This has had a direct impact on social development and its link to planning.<sup>18</sup>

Allied with and just as popular and pervasive as people centered, participatory development, are the concepts of self-help and self-reliance. As a development strategy, the self-help/self-reliance view maintains that 'people' are the resource for their own development. They are, in a sense, the 'masters' of their own well-being and the most effective, efficient social welfare 'providers'. Self-help and self-reliance are seen in this process as an ultimate method in providing for the sustainability of the development process and a way in which social and political power will be 'built', 'cultivated' and devolved to the 'people' (Korten 1992: 84). The impact of the self-help and self-reliance paradigm on social development policy and practice has been considerable.

### ***Social Exclusion***

For development policy, the 1990s have been years rich in notional advances in the analysis and description of human well-being and the corresponding actions to attend to enhancing that welfare. One that has rapidly diffused into the policy arena has been the concept of social exclusion. Attributed to the French sociologist René Lenoir, the term referred to those in France who were for a variety of existential and institutional reasons, excluded from social insurance (see Beall 2002; Hills, Le Grand, and Pichaud 2002; Silver 1995). As appropriated in current policy considerations, social exclusion is characterized by definitional imprecision and is intensely contested conceptually (Beall

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<sup>18</sup> Formerly, the development planning processes were removed from the local level and the local people for which the plans were being made. This separation was often geographical and usually physical. Experts conceptualized the problems, detailed the solutions, administered the programs, and evaluated the outcomes. In the new dispensation of participation, planning is 'fostered' and 'developed' at the regional and local levels in concert with the people's needs and desires (Korten 1983: 209-213; Midgley 1994: 155).

2002; Hills, Le Grand, and Pichaud 2002). Nonetheless, it has had a significant impact on the discussion and analysis of poverty and human well-being and is being employed in social development considerations (see Kabeer 2000; Rodgers, Gore and Figueiredo 1995; WSSD 1995).

At its discursive core in current formulations, social exclusion refers to disadvantage and/or deprivation on a dynamic continuum that includes a variety of situations such as:

- A lack of material well-being;
- A lack of adequate access to resources, structures and processes that provide human welfare;
- The ability to effectively exercise civil rights; and/or
- Situations that progressively 'rupture the relationship between the individual and society' (see Rodgers, Gore and Figueiredo 1995).

This understanding implies an inherent social contract of inclusion between not only the state and its citizen but in the 'globalized' context between 'citizens of the world' and the variegated mosaic of international institutions [in the broadest sense of institution] (see Beall 2002).

Implications of the social exclusion approach in a social development context were outlined in the summary of a study commissioned by the ILO and UNDP in preparation for the World Summit on Social Development (see Rodgers, Gore and Figueiredo 1995). In the report, the conceptual purchase and relevance of social exclusion was depicted in terms of its descriptive, analytic and normative capacities. Descriptively, social exclusion names people who are poor in relative terms and not in terms of utility (Rodgers, Gore and Figueiredo 1995: 6). It looks to the multi-dimensionality of poverty pushing the description beyond economic and social considerations to inculcate aspects

such as political rights, citizenship, and cultural structures (Rodgers, Gore and Figueiredo 1995; see Kabeer 2000).

Analytically, social exclusion expands and correspondingly 'complicates' the assessment of well-being and the causes of deprivation and disadvantage. It quickly moves the attention from the micro-focused social appraisal (local human needs focus) to a much broader 'meso' level causing the analysis to inculcate a systemic, institutional/structural view resulting at times in a complex set in inter-causal relationships (Rodgers, Gore and Figueiredo 1995: 5). In addition, this broader outlook allows a view of deprivation and disadvantage from social location (where you are) and social agency (who are you) in the context of the larger social realities locally, regionally, nationally, and globally (see Beall 2002; Kabeer 2000).

Finally, social exclusion provides an ability to help assess what is socially normative in society and what is socially just, the inter-relationship between the two, and their bearing on deprivation and disadvantage (Rodgers, Gore and Figueiredo 1995: 6-7). Cogently implicit in understanding social norms are the implications for action to mitigate exclusion. These mitigating initiatives range from those that correct the social situation without changing the underlying social framework (affirmative remedies) to those that not only address offending social situations but attempt to disrupt and restructure social relationships (transformational remedies) so as to exorcise the aberrant institutional structures (see Fraser 1997 as analyzed in Kabeer 2000).

### **Constitutive Components of Social Development**

One of the main goals of surveying the social development paradigm in this chapter was to be able to draw together a model so as to analyze the Social Teaching in relationship to social development. In this survey while we have seen that social development is characterized by significant descriptive and definitional diversity, we can also detect that

there exists a discernable set of components that cut across most understandings of the concept.

At the core of these understandings is the overarching concern for human welfare understood here as social well-being. This is coupled with the belief that some form of change is necessary to bring about improvement in this well-being. This change requires intervention and is described as a process. It involves an analysis of the social condition and offers proposals for change based on this analysis. It points to agency in terms of who is responsible for, who participates in, and who benefits from the process and includes some effort at evaluation. Traditionally, the approach has also included a provision of social services, economic growth and social planning from a state induced and directed policy disposition. This was generally accomplished in a 'top-down' manner. More recently, as we have seen, this has given way to greater emphasis on participatory and consultative methods of engaging people in social development and must be part of a social schema.

As these components constitute our model of the social development approach, we employed them as the construct for the analysis of the Social Teaching. Results of this analysis are conveyed in Chapter Four. Before delineating the findings, a situational overview of the Teaching in the context of history as well as its relationship to social development principles is necessary. The next chapter takes up this task.

## Chapter Three

### CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING

Attempting an overview of Catholic Social Teaching is a dangerous proposition for its corpus is vast and complex. Evidence of this complexity emanates from the fact that the Teaching's development is rooted not only in the two thousand year old Christian movement but in ancient Judaic and Greek tradition and experience as well. Its core anthology spans over the twilight of the Nineteenth and all of the Twentieth Century corresponding to and influenced by the momentous changes of recent human history and the modern endeavor. This span of history also marks the tremendous change that has occurred within the Church itself. Its texts are laboriously and meticulously crafted using language, metaphor, and subtle nuance accessible only to a studied and informed minority. Given these realities, an overview risks the very possibility of being terribly inadequate in scope, depth and coverage. And yet, because of the formidable dimensions of the Teaching, an overview becomes an essential, if not summary, component of any inquiry using the corpus as it allows for a contextualization and a frame of reference for the inquiry. This chapter will take up an overview of the Social Teaching on the understanding that it will be necessarily limited by the focus on social development of the present research. It will briefly situate the Teaching in its historical context and illustrate the main themes developed in the documents.

#### Origins and Conveyance

The Social Teaching cannot be found in one document or in one book. Nor is it the product of one Pope or one council. It has evolved from a series of documents and official pronouncements over the history and life of the Church. Its identification as Social Teaching began to take shape in the late Nineteenth Century with the publication of *Rerum Novarum* by Leo XIII (McBrien 1994: 913). Its sources maybe grouped into

four categories. First, the Teaching takes its inspiration from the Sacred Scripture of the Church—the Old Testament as well as the New—with inspiration understood here as a broad umbrella. The reasoning is that while the Popes have often cited scripture in their documents, the arguments do not emanate directly from a scriptural base. This has been a long-standing criticism of the Teaching and as we will see later in this chapter, attempts at using scripture more directly have been most pronounced in more recent documents. Second, Social Teaching incorporates the tradition of Church—the learning and teaching of its scholars, leaders, councils and forbearers. All of the documents continue the Church tradition of locating arguments and basing positions on intellectual work done previously. Examples of these works include previous encyclicals, such as St. Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*, St. Augustine's writings, notably *City of God* and many others from the treasury of the early Church 'Fathers'.

Third, the Social Teaching is based on the lived experience of the Church in the variety of cultural, political, economic and social systems in which it finds itself and inspired by Church thinkers of the day. In this regard, we can readily see the influence of German Catholic social thought and action reflected in *Rerum Novarum* (1891), *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) and in the speeches delivered by Pius XII (1939-58). *Mater et Magistra* (1961) and *Pacem in Terris* (1963) clearly moved beyond the German influence opening to a more 'socialized' Italian-Latin experience (Land 1998: 25, 98-99). Paul VI (1963-1978), a francophone of sorts, employed the ideas of the French Dominican, L. J. Lebret and the broader French notion of liberty that also influenced the work of Gustavo Gutiérrez, the 'father' of liberation theology.<sup>1</sup> The current Pope John Paul's earlier encyclicals bear the mark of his Polish experience and the French inspired

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<sup>1</sup> Lebret was also an inspiration to Dennis Goulet, author of *The Cruel Choice* (see Lebret 1965). Gutiérrez' acclaimed and path breaking work, *A Theology of Liberation* has been repeatedly investigated by the Vatican on orthodoxy grounds and whose notions have been grist of two successive instructions on Liberation Theology by the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith reign (see Gutiérrez 1988).

personalist philosophy. His later writings seem to have shifted away from these influences but at this point in time the source of more recent influence is unclear.

Finally, the Social Teaching is informed by applicable research and inferences of scholars in the scientific and social scientific communities (Charles 1998: 3-4; Henriot, et. al. 1992: 5). These sources may not be made as overt in the Teaching as they would be in scientific papers. Nevertheless, panels of expert advisors from the world scientific, social-scientific, and bio-medical community are available and consulted regularly in the Vatican (for example the Pontifical Academies for Science, Social Sciences, and Life). Furthermore, any quick survey of the programs and publications of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace will reveal participation and contributions by well-known experts and scholars in the social and economic fields (see Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace 1992, 1994; Ward 1973).

The Teaching in its universal form is conveyed most often through encyclicals and apostolic exhortations issued in the name of the Pope. In more rare instances it is promulgated by Council documents such as those issued after Vatican II.<sup>2</sup> The encyclical (or circular letter) is the main vehicle for the Pope to communicate official church instruction on a given topic. The subjects of the encyclicals are varied and most address the faith and moral life of the community of believers. The encyclicals that comprise the corpus of Social Teaching address the condition of humanity particularly with reference to political economy and social relationships.

Episcopal Letters convey the Teaching in its more particular form. They are issued either by the bishop of the local diocese or by the conference of bishops in a particular country. These Episcopal Letters make specific for the local situation and culture the universal teaching emanating from Rome. Some better known examples would be: ‘Economic Justice for All’ (1986) issued by the National Catholic Conference of

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<sup>2</sup> For example *Gaudium et Spes*, the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World and *Dignitatis Humanae*, the Declaration on Religious Freedom.

Bishops in the United States; ‘The Common Good’ (1996) issued by the Catholic Bishops of England and Wales; and ‘*Medellín Conclusiones*’ (1968) issued after the second general conference of the Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM).

The universal teaching has been traditionally addressed to church leaders and the membership who are in ‘communion’ with Rome. Since the pontificate of John XXIII in the early 1960s, ‘All People of Good Will’ has been added thus effectively widening the audience to include non-believers as well (see for example *Pacem in Terris*). Given its propensity to address social situations, the content of the Teaching, however, has never been limited in either analysis or coverage only to the Catholic Church or its membership.

### **Aims and Boundaries**

The aims of the Teaching are twofold. The first is to establish a vision of an ethical social structure of society. In setting out its ethical vision, the Teaching avowedly avoids claiming to establish political or economic systems. Nor does it attempt to campaign for a particular type of system (SRS §41). It is not a ‘blueprint’ for the reform of the world (McBrien, 1994: 913) but rather a framework that seeks to identify those basic truths of the human person and the moral components of social relationships in society (McBrien 1994: 913; Dorr 1983: 9-10).

The second aim is much more particular in that the Teaching seeks to orient behavior that will attend to the vision of the ethical social structure it put forth. This behavior (action) is equally important to the vision as it puts the proverbial ‘flesh on the bone’ and moves to right those injustices that have been highlighted in the social analysis engaged in to establish the vision. The Bishops of the United States describe it in this fashion, ‘The Holy Father can teach; bishops can preach; but unless our social doctrine comes alive in personal conversion and common action, it will lack credibility and effectiveness’ (NCCB 1991: 7).

The Teaching is firmly anchored in theology.<sup>3</sup> The language and structure of the documents is oriented from the perspective of Christian faith and belief. Its philosophical foundation is pointedly scholastic having recourse to St. Thomas Aquinas and natural law. However, when there is an engagement of social structure on any level of theology, the lines of analysis generally provide a cross over from one discipline to another, especially in this case between sociology, anthropology and theology. While fundamentally using a theological construct for analysis, it adopts and assumes techniques from the scientific and social scientific traditions to bring about a fuller understanding of the human social milieu (Charles 1998: 6). John Paul II describes this process as the Teaching ‘entering into dialogue with various disciplines concerned with humankind...’ and ‘assimilat[ing] what these disciplines have to contribute’ (CA §59).

Propelled by the social condition and interaction of humanity, the Teaching is anything but static. Essential to its purpose is to continually update its view of the current social situation and conduct its analysis accordingly. To remain static would be to risk redundancy. Yet, there are elements particularly related to the framework of analysis that endure over time. John Paul II expresses this phenomenon in these terms: ‘On the one hand it [Social Teaching] is constant, for it remains identical in its foundational inspiration, in its ‘principals of reflection’, ‘in its criteria of judgment’, ‘in its basic directives for action... On the other hand, it is ever new, because it is subject to the necessary and opportune adaptation suggested by the changes in the historical conditions and by the unceasing flow of events which are the setting of the life of the people and society’ (SRS, §3). The combination of the constancy and the response to changing situations is a source of novel strength and integrity of the Teaching.

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<sup>3</sup> ‘Theology’ is a veritable lexicon of meaning and understanding (see Gill 1987; Rahner and Vorgrimler 1965). Fundamentally (and for our purpose here), the Church understands it as ‘faith seeking reason’ in which Christians ‘using reason enlightened by divine faith, seek to understand the mysteries of God revealed in and through history’ (Van Ackeren 1967).

## Overview of the Core Documents

### *Rerum Novarum*

Beyond its identification as the initial publication that began the corpus of the Social Teaching, *Rerum Novarum* (1891) clearly points to a significant shift in the Roman Catholic Church. It signifies a renaissance of sorts of Catholic scholarship, in particular scholarship on questions of social relationship and justice seemingly decimated by the Reformation, Enlightenment and the French Revolution. This is not to say that the Church had nothing to say in these areas before this juncture. Rather it is to suggest that following years of challenge and retreat, *Rerum Novarum* marks the beginning of an official and systematic hierarchical articulation and engagement particularly pointed to the issues of political economy and social relationships (see McBrien 1994: 913). In this regard, *Rerum Novarum* further signals a transformation in the Church's official posture in dealing with the prolific social changes occurring in the world. The changes that characterized the decades immediately prior to the encyclical (indeed almost covering the entire eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) were so revolutionary in their impact that the Church was almost given no choice but to respond.

The *acién regime* was all but a memory when Pope Leo authorized the publication of *Rerum Novarum*. Industrialization had intricately transformed the manner of life. It produced new ways of work, new politics, new economics, new styles of living, new associations and very different social and moral problems. All of which inaugurated new challenges to traditional Church loci of family, position, worship, and social involvement. This shift in posture is commonly seen as symbolic (Charles 1998; Dorr 1983). This view is regrettable as the encyclical and the principles it puts forth are a dynamic foundation, propelling the Church into action as well as serving as an entry point for future Church engagement with the social realm. Themes that *Rerum Novarum* addresses include the wholesale exploitation of labor, the rights of labor and the duties of employers, the

concentration of wealth in the hands of a few to the detriment of the masses, the role of private property, the emerging and captivating socialist thought, and the role of government.

Much of the encyclical's inspiration comes from Wilhelm Emmanuel Von Kettler the Bishop of Mainz and a prolific German Catholic social thinker. Leo described him as his great predecessor, 'the man from whom I learned' (Murphy 1993: 9). Von Kettler is also regarded more broadly as the founding architect of social Catholicism (Novak 1989: 61-62). His Advent addresses in 1848 set the agenda for the Church's engagement in the 'social question'. In the sermons, he discussed property, moral freedom, the family, the human vocation, and the authority of the Church (Murphy 1993: 9). But his most incisive contribution from the point of view of social well-being, came in answer to the question of whether the Church should even be involved in the social realm. He argued affirmatively holding that the spiritual life of believers is intrinsically linked and connected to the material conditions and quality of their social life (Novak 1989: 63; Murphy 1993: 10). Neither could exclude the other and the Church had a grave responsibility in inserting itself in the social life of its faithful and indeed all who are in need. This rationale was in part the impetus of *Rerum Novarum* and indeed the encyclical adopted it as a core argument for the necessity to address the social issues of the day.

Other influences on *Rerum Novarum* came from the experiences of two prelates in Britain and in America respectively. Both were dealing with delicate labor issues in their own countries. For Cardinal Gibbons in Baltimore it was the emerging rise to prominence of the Knights of Labor in the latter part of the 1800s. For Cardinal Manning in London it was the dockworker's strike of 1889. The principal issues in both cases were the rights of workers to organize in order to protect and make demands for just compensation, more humane working conditions, and the Church's public and active support of such activities. Both would look to Rome for guidance and affirmation on their positive stands for labor. In the final analysis, their experiences were grist for *Rerum Novarum*, which ultimately

confirmed their action and set it out as the Church's Teaching on labor associations (Murphy 1993: 12-13).

### ***Quadragesimo Anno***

Forty years after the publication of *Rerum Novarum*, Pope Pius XI issued *Quadragesimo Anno* in 1931 to commemorate 'this incomparable encyclical' (QA §1). The commemoration was not a happy one. The encyclical came after two papal generations, a World War, and innumerable changes in the social fabric of societies the world over. The immediate backdrop for the encyclical was wrought with crises. Liberal capitalism had seen its zenith in the roaring twenties as well as its nadir in the stock market crash and the ensuing world depression at the end of the decade. Nationalistic totalitarianism was on the rise as in traditional Catholic strongholds of Portugal, Spain, and Italy. Germany saw National Socialism rooting itself ever more deeply. Great Britain entertained the moderate frame of the Fabian approach to socialism whereas the more extreme form in communism continued to consolidate itself in the Soviet Union. Millions of people across the world were struggling to make ends meet. Unemployment in the industrialized world topped twenty-five million. Poverty gripped the colonies and non-industrialized countries that supplied the industries of the west with raw materials. The gap between those that had and those that did not could not have been more clearly visible.

The sub-title for the English translation of the encyclical was 'Social Reconstruction'. Given the backdrop of the social situation that confronted Pius XI, he saw no alternative but a radical reconstruction of the social order to bring about the changes necessary for the well being of society. There were three main components to this reconstruction. First, Pius argued that governments must implement the principle of subsidiarity where decisions were devolved to the local levels and people could have an opportunity to participate in the processes affecting their own lives. Second, a middle ground had to be established between the 'atomism' of unbridled liberalism and the

‘impersonalism’ of collective socialism. He argued that a probable better way would be the establishment of corporatism whereby management (owners) and labor would work together in partnership sharing a common decision and profit sharing platform toward the common good. He saw these corporatist entities as being independent of the state but supported and encouraged by the state apparatus. Finally, he argued for a more inclusive understanding of private property. Pius averred that the right to hold and own property was a natural right but inherent in the holding of property was also the social nature of that property. It could not be held to the exclusive benefit of the owner but rather should be put at the service of the common good. Pius argued that it would be morally wrong to emphasize one aspect of property over the other in law and in deed.

While the occasion of *Quadragesimo Anno* was the fortieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, its inspiration and foundation were rooted in the same source, Bishop Wilhelm Von Ketteler. The task of drafting the encyclical was entrusted by Pius XI to the Jesuit superior general of the time, Wlodimir Ledoschowski, making it known that the ‘German fathers would have to do most of the work’ (Nell-Breuning 1986: 60). Ledoschowski in turn delegated it to the German Jesuit and scholar Oswald Von Nell-Breuning. Nell-Breuning was a new professor of moral theology and canon law at the University of Frankfurt having just completed his doctorate on the moral dimensions of the stock market. As is tradition in the Church, Nell-Breuning was charged with drafting the encyclical in secret. Other than six paragraphs (§91-96), the document seen today and ascribed to Pius XI is the work of Nell-Breuning. While he worked on the encyclical in secret, he would often surreptitiously consult the Königswinter [Rhine Town] Group by posing questions to this study circle of Catholic social scholars. The ‘group’ owed its existence to the inspiration of Bishop Von Ketteler and its actual organization to his student, the prolific Jesuit economist, Heinrich Pesch. Pesch is credited for developing Von Ketteler’s ideas of self-help through associations such as unions and cooperatives, supported by limited social legislation, into extensive political and economic alternatives

to liberal capitalism and socialism (Kohler 1993 34-37; Novak 1989: 69-80). These concepts have come to be identified as ‘solidarism’ (corporatism) and ‘subsidiarity’, for which the Königswinter Group became the prime advocates, and which ultimately found their way into the Church’s Social Teaching. It is interesting to note that the leader of the Königswinter Group at the time of the encyclical, and to which Nell-Breuning attributed many ideas in *Quadragesimo Anno*, was the Jesuit social philosopher, Gustav Gundlach. Gundlach would go on to be the principal protagonist in the writing of Pius XII’s material in the social arena (Land 1991: 20).

### ***Mater et Magistra and Pacem in Terris***

Pope John XXIII was 77 when he was elected to the Chair of Peter. His age was a sure sign to the world that he was to be a caretaker or bridge pope (Charles 1998: 144) and one that would keep the status quo, not rock the proverbial boat and bide his and the Church’s time until his death when a new ‘younger’ successor could be chosen. The reality was far from this expectation. At his election he was confronted with a world in the tumultuous throes of ‘modernization’. Science and technology were making generational leaps counted in years and not decades. The global political geography was changing rapidly. The ‘super’ powers were playing a very dangerous game of brinkmanship in the former colonies. There were fresh centers of power developing with the advent of new international organizations. Communications and innovative modes of travel were beginning to shrink the world. He was convinced that the Church must become an integral part of these changes and to do so it required an overhaul of how it thought about itself, the modern world and the two together. His policy of *aggiornamento*—an opening out to new realities led him in 1958 to call for the twenty-first Ecumenical Church Council. It was known as Vatican II. The Church has not been the same since. He was a man in a hurry to get his message of hope and joy spreading beyond the symbolic walls of the Vatican City. He was a symbol of something ‘new’.

### ***Mater et Magistra- Mother and Teacher***

Pope John XXIII's first social encyclical, *Mater et Magistra* was issued in 1961 to commemorate the seventieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*. In the encyclical, he affirmed some key themes and ideas of his predecessors as apposite means of enhancing human well-being. These included private initiative and private property, subsidiarity, and just wages and the right to work. He also introduced new themes in response to the 'new challenges' of his day. He argued for a balancing of resources to all segments of society and in particular to the rural, agricultural sectors. He extended this call beyond national boundaries arguing that development must not be limited to those nations that have wealth — resources must be shared and development must be extended to all countries through international cooperation, aid, and emergency assistance. He noted that the continuing imbalances among nations would make efforts at peace more difficult. John's most controversial addition to the corpus of the Social Teaching was centered on his use of the concept 'socialization'.

Up until the publication of *Mater et Magistra*, the popes were unequivocal in their condemnation of any variant forms of socialism and communism. John seemed to at least provide nuance to this stance and at best re-direct it by his explanation of socialization. In the encyclical, he argued that social relationships were becoming increasingly complex in modern society. There was a greater interdependence among people and he posited that associational life was more varied, cross-cutting a number of social spheres (workplace, neighborhood, political, recreational, religious, philanthropic etc.). He also held that the complexity of these relationships were either caused by outside (public or private) intervention and/or that outside intervention was necessitated by the complexity of maintaining a semblance of order. He explained that this socialization was a 'natural' outcome of a progressive society and that intervening structures to maintain order and balance, were necessary and to be welcomed.

The Pope reasoned further that in the new reality of these changed relationships it was pointless for Christians to bemoan, resist, or work to reverse the changes and the new appurtenant structures that came with them (Dorr 1992: 133). A new engagement in the issues raised was necessary. In part, new regulations were required to temper these new relationships. More importantly state intervention was necessary in the web of social relationships to insure well-being without hampering personal freedom. This argument gave the perception that the Pope was tilting the scales toward enhanced state intervention into the social and economic realms and away from the minimal interference stance of liberal capitalism. This became the heart of the controversy surrounding Vatican II, especially in America, earning the encyclical an acerbic characterization from conservative observers: '*Mater si, Magistra, no!*' [Mother yes, teacher no!] (O'Brien and Shannon 1992: 83). On the other side of the aisle, the more progressive minded welcomed the Pope's initiative and saw in it a vindication and affirmation of the so-called 'welfare' state (an issue John Paul sternly addressed in *Centesimus Annus*).

There is another novelty in *Mater et Magistra* that is worth noting. John XXIII, for the first time in Social Teaching, called for private enterprise to be involved and indeed partly responsible for enhancing human well-being (§163-65). He located his argument in the broader context of sharing technology and expertise in order to alleviate the underlying causes of 'poverty and hunger'. His mention was brief and can be readily overlooked. Nonetheless, he clearly widened the circle of responsibility beyond the obvious church, state and citizen planks and framed a reference for further examination into the social responsibility of profit to provide for human well-being.

### ***Pacem in Terris—Peace on Earth***

Not even two years after the publication of *Mater et Magistra*, John issued his second encyclical, *Pacem in Terris* in 1963. This was drafted amidst the Cuban missile crises and would be his consummate contribution to Social Teaching. He would succumb to cancer

just three months after its publication. *Pacem in Terris* can be characterized as a ‘rights’ encyclical. John argued that a person possesses rights and obligations that inhere to him or her because of his or her human heritage and dignity (§8-10). The Pope went on to state that these rights and duties were universal and inviolable; ‘so they cannot in anyway be surrendered’ (§9). He explained, quite cogently, that human welfare was directly linked to human rights and responsibilities. Many of the rights he articulated were not new to the Teaching but were for the first time gathered in one place. These included the right to:

- Life
- Bodily Integrity
- Means for a proper development of life (food, clothing, shelter, rest, medical care, necessary social services)
- Security in the case of sickness, inability to work, widowhood, old age, unemployment or in any other case which results in deprivation of sustenance.
- Freedom of information and of expression
- Basic education and technical training
- Freedom of religion and public and private religious expression
- Choose his or her state of life
- Work, just wage, proper working conditions
- Own property
- Assembly and association.
- Freedom of movement (migration and/or emigration)
- Participation in public affairs and government
- Juridical protection of these rights

He also took the opportunity in the encyclical to delineate a role and responsibility for public authority [civil/state] (§46-47). He argued that such authority was necessary and derived its ultimate force from God. However, this authority had an intrinsic moral dimension and as such, it should be used to promote the common good and to protect human rights. He extended this argument beyond a national conception of civic authority.

He argued that in order to maintain order and secure human rights internationally there must be some kind of structural mechanism established. He mooted the notion of a Universal Public Authority having as its aim the protection and promotion of the universal common good and universal human rights. This idea was articulated after John XXIII discussed what he saw were the problems in international relationships at the time—the arms race, racism, disparity of wealth and development, migration,

inappropriate conditions for inter-governmental aid and assistance—and the remedy of fostering solidarity among the nation states. John did not envisage this universal public authority in competition with the United Nations. In fact, John was convinced of the appropriateness and effectiveness of the UN (see §142-145). Nevertheless, he saw that a universal public authority needed to be different. It needed an authority that would accrue the power necessary to carry out its mandate. It should be such that nations would be bound by its decisions. John XXIII argued that for this to be effective, coercive measures such as force could not be a part of its constitution.

At the time, his concept of the universal public authority, seemed impractical and in the context of the ‘cold war’, impossible. However, in the context of this age of globalization, it is seeing a renaissance of sorts, at least on the discussion tables, as a means of moderating an almost unaccountable set of economic and business processes (Camdessus 2001: 10-12).

### ***Vatican II and Gaudium et Spes—The Church in the Modern World***

Vatican II was the title used for the historic twenty-first worldwide Ecumenical Church Council. The Council was called by Pope John XXIII in 1959, began its meetings in 1962 in Vatican City, and was concluded by Pope Paul VI in 1965. Its delegates included 2,600 Bishops from all over the world and nearly 400 experts, lay, and non-Catholic representatives (McBiren 1994: 656). Nearly all-major Christian Churches were represented (McBiren 1994: 656). The sheer magnitude of the representation provides only part of the historical uniqueness of the Council. The other part of story lies in the reason for and goals of the Council itself. Most Councils, traditionally had been called to fight and/or redress some type of doctrinal heresy or error or to deal with a serious institutional problem of the Church (McBiren 1994: 656). Vatican II departed significantly from this practice.

At the beginning of the Council in 1962, John XXIII explained in his inaugural address that the Council's purpose was not to merely review, re-state or re-hash established doctrine or principles but that in its concern for renewing the Church it must look to the goodness of the world in which the Church existed and draw its inspiration from this goodness (Abbott 1966: 710-719). It must promote truth, peace and the unity of the whole human family. Taking the Pope's lead, the first document issued from the Council merely nine days after its opening was a 'Message to Humanity' (Abbott 1966: 3-7). In it, the Council 'Fathers' sketched what would ultimately be the issues of debate and discussion throughout the deliberations of the Council. They looked to a firm renewal of the Church in dialogue with the modern world. They sought to re-emphasize the servant character of the Church and its leadership. They called for the promotion of peace, unity, cooperation social justice, and human dignity. They pointed to the 'urgent' need to address anxieties of modern 'man' and pledged to 'fix a steady gaze on those who still lacked the opportune help to achieve a way of life worthy of human beings' (Abbott 1966: 5).

This decidedly outward focus of the Council found its primary expression during the first four years of deliberations, in documents and decisions that concerned the Church's internal functioning and articulation of belief. While advancing the Church on a path of renewal in worship and style of governance, it almost seemed as if the Council had forgotten its 'urgent' objective in the opening statement to address the social needs and questions of the world (Dorr 1992: 117). However, in the last session, on an intervention and proposal of the Belgian Cardinal Suenens to address more external matters, the Council took up a final deliberation on what would become the 'Pastoral Constitution of the Church', *Gaudium et Spes*—On the Church in the Modern World. It was the last document to be approved but its impact has continued to reverberate even today especially in relation to the Church's approach and activity in the social realm.

The document inculcates dual dimensions. A not so surreptitious clue to the first dimension is contained in the title itself: *The Church in the Modern World*. The operative word is *in* as the Council's intention was to firmly place the experience of the Church within the experience of humankind. That is to say, the Church is a part of human history and does not stand as an observer but is incarnated in the human experience (§ 40). Of value to the Church in this renewed incarnational view of itself, are the signs of the times, the discernment of God's action in these times, and the ability to scrutinize the experiences to help make them more human. To accomplish this the Council used the broader references of scripture, history and personalist philosophy in its arguments, decidedly shifting to an inductive methodology (Krier-Mich 1999: 128). However, the abstractions of natural law and the principles generated therein were not abandoned but were judiciously nuanced within this inductive construct. The effects of this reshaping of its self-image have been quite dramatic over the years. It has infused a more activist role in the Church with regards to human affairs and social well-being.

The second dimension was a clear effort on the part of the Church to engage and speak to the world. In its survey of the modern world, the Council found vast social changes that were occurring globally. These changes have wrought in their 'wake' positive possibilities but also negative influences. The Council argued that the changes had given all of humanity vast resources and know-how to lead healthy and whole lives. However, even with these possibilities of universal well-being, there remained a large part of humanity in destitution, need, and insecurity. The Council called for an urgent remedy to this unacceptable reality.

The first step in moving towards a remedy was that in reading the 'signs of the times' the recourse to historicism must be nuanced (§4-9). Humanity is not a slave to change but can, if it so desires, effect change for its own good (§9). The Council saw this process as a proactive stance to human well-being. In promoting this well being the Council clearly calls for the building of a 'better world' founded on truth, justice and

peace (GS §55, 73). This process involves a constant improvement in the social order. It is centered in the human person and society and their ‘thirst for a full and free life worthy of man; one in which they can subject to their own welfare all that the modern world can offer them so abundantly’ (GS §9). It requires interdependence, mutuality, respect, harmony, unity and equality that permeates social life at all levels.

The Council’s goal of building a ‘better world’ is centered on the realization of the inherent dignity of the human person as a creation of the divine. This stance is not novel as it echoes the Church’s understanding and comment on the social condition of humanity throughout the ages. However, it is an important principle for the Council as it has bearing on human conscience, social relationships, and religious faith and belief. All of which the Council holds are crucial in the betterment and well being of humankind.

While a better world has at its core the concept of the human person as an individual creation, the Council holds, in traditional fashion, that human beings are social beings and as such form human communities. These communities are not to subvert individual initiative, freedom of thought or action nor individual rights and duties. They are to be a place where individuals may develop and fulfill their human vocation. Further, human communities work for the common good and promote mutual respect even in the face of difference (GS §28).

In pursuit of establishing a ‘better world’ the Council highlights five areas of ‘special urgency’. These include:

- Family and Marriage--The Council sees the disintegration of the institution of marriage and the traditional family unit as a threat to the very cohesive fabric of society. It argues that the families are the foundation of society and that '[t]he well-being of the individual person and of human and Christian society is intimately linked with the healthy condition of that community produced by marriage and family' (GS §47).
- Development of Culture--Described as the most novel of explorations in *Gaudium et Spes*, it is also the most arduous (Abbott 1966, p.190). Its importance, however, is made clear in the opening sentence of the section, '[m]an comes to a true and full humanity only through culture' (GS §53). The Council understands culture as denoting '...everything whereby man develops and perfects his many bodily and spiritual qualities...' (GS §53). The rapid social transformation brought on by a myriad of advances in science and technology requires attention to the process of developing human culture. This process must be mindful of ancient and traditional cultures creating a dialogue with new and emerging cultures having a goal of harmony and offering protection to the traditional constructs where necessary (GS §53).
- Socio-Economic Life--Much of what the Council outlines in this area echo the traditional themes treated in previous social teaching. It reiterates the view that the human person not be a mere cog in the wheels of social and economic development but the center of all development. Technology, the political economy, and progress are means for human development and not the end and must remain firmly under human control. The individual has a right and a responsibility to contribute to his or her own development and to the development of the human community.

- Peace--No matter how optimistic the Council's view of the world, it had to be immediately tempered with the sober reality of war, strife and the fearful build up of armaments that was pervasive in their collective memories as well as a present reality. The Council understands peace not as a mere absence of war nor is it brought about by the strength of a nation's military power; nor can it be established through a dictatorship (GS §78). Peace, it maintains, is an 'enterprise of justice' obtained in the safeguarding of personal well being and a true and trusting sharing of the human community in riches of humanity (GS §78).
- Building up the International Community--The Council takes its lead in this area from Pope John XXIII and his two encyclicals issued right before the Council and in midst of its deliberations. It holds that cooperation and solidarity of the international community is essential in ameliorating dissention among nations and peoples, bringing about peace, and providing for the welfare of the human family. The Council reiterates Pope John's proposal for an 'international authority' to promote the universal common good and it calls for a new and authentic economic order that will rid the world of economic imbalance and provide for the needs of humankind.

*Populorum Progressio, Octogesima Adveniens, Justitia in Mundo, and Evangelii Nuntiandi*

Giovanni Battista Montini was elected Pope on June 21, 1963, just three weeks after the death of John XXIII. He chose the name Paul VI. His selection as pope was considered predictable even allowing the press with some degree of confidence to announce his selection a full two hours before the actual final ballot. The significance of the predictability lies in the perception of the Cardinal electors that the new Pope would need to continue the policy and action that John XXIII had set in motion. This was especially important, as Vatican II had just begun not even a year earlier. Cardinal Montini was the

‘natural’ choice. He had worked closely with John XXIII in preparations for the Council, was intimately involved in their proceedings, had a long history of successive *curia* appointments and a reputation as an ‘urban pastor’. He was seen as possessing the skills and insights needed to guide the Church through an impending cauldron of reform. Moreover, he shared with John an uncompromising concern for justice, peace and the engagement of the Church in the social arena. This concern propelled him to join the other socially progressive Cardinals at Vatican II in calling for a more pronounced dialogue and commitment to the social aspects of the modern world. This stance earned him a reputation in some circles as the ‘red Cardinal’ (Krier-Mich 1998, p. 154). As Pope, the concern would see him address social issues in three papal letters, which would definitively shift the Church’s ‘eurocentric’ focus to a broader global view. One writer would describe this process as John XXIII ‘opening the windows’ and Paul VI as ‘looking out and seeing the world’s poor’ (Filochowski 1998: 60).

### ***Populorum Progressio: The Development of Peoples***

The first of Paul’s social encyclicals, *Populorum Progressio* in 1967, came less than a year and a half after the close of Vatican II and the promulgation of *Gaudium et Spes*. It was issued in the charged global atmosphere being fueled by the escalation of tensions caused by the ‘cold war’. It came near the end of the unimpressive UN-declared first ‘development decade’ which had highlighted more than alleviated the world’s social and economic imbalances. Paul’s goal in publishing the encyclical was to unequivocally argue that development needed to be balanced the world over (Royal 1993: 132).

Before attending to his argument for balanced development, the Pope undertook a graphic social analysis of the world: ‘The world is sick’ asserted Paul VI - ‘sick’ not due so much to the minority control of the resources of the world but to the lack of ‘brotherhood among individuals and peoples’ (PP §66). Paul VI highlighted seven major areas that gave credence to his diagnosis of a ‘sick’ world:

- The first was the struggle of newly independent countries to augment their new political freedom with a ‘fitting autonomous growth’ (PP§6). This growth, Paul argued, was not only economic but social as well;
- Second, he pointed to the ever-growing imbalance between rich nations and poor nations. The imbalance was graphically crystallized in food production. While some nations had the ability to produce surpluses for their populace, others ‘cruelly’ did not (PP §8). Trade regimes that made it difficult for poorer countries to have stable markets and income to purchase what they lacked further exacerbated the problem;
- Third, Paul VI held that ‘social conflicts’ had taken on a world dimension. He argued that the class struggle, which was largely limited to industrializing countries, had moved to encompass those economies that were agrarian in nature (PP §9);
- The fourth area was the ‘glaring’ inequality in the exercise of power. Paul VI maintained that this inequality was a result of a minority holding a preponderance of the resources making it nearly impossible for the majority to have the freedom to provide for themselves (PP §9);
- Fifth, he highlighted the struggle that existed between traditional values and methods with those of the new more modern progressive techniques (PP §10). He argued that there was a significant repression of the traditional in favor of the more modern, which had been detrimental to traditional cultures. This process was all too often contributed to by the Church through well-intentioned missionary activity; and
- Finally, Paul VI believed that the ‘data’ of the sickness was resulting in violent discord evidenced in ‘agitation towards insurrection and a drifting towards

totalitarian ideologies' (PP §11). A very serious situation that was 'evident to all'.

To confront and ameliorate these serious social situations the Pope set out, albeit in a circuitous fashion, a multidimensional process of human development, which he termed 'authentic' development. Borrowing many insights from the work of the French Dominican L.J. Lebret and the Chilean Bishop Manuel Larraín (Dorr 1992: 180; MacEoin 1975: 188), the process was founded on the following fundamental concepts:

- The individual is ultimately responsible for his or her own development;
- As a social being this development occurs not in isolation but in the broader context of society;
- Development is not mere economic growth but its aim is a complete transcendent humanism (PP §§15-16, 20, 42) and includes:
  - A change from 'less human conditions to those that are more human' (PP §19). Examples of less human conditions are lack of material necessities essential for life, moral deficiencies brought on by selfishness, oppressive social structures, exploitation, and abuse of power (PP §21). Conditions considered more human: moving from not enough to having the necessities for life, growth in knowledge, victory over social scourges, increased esteem and dignity for others, a turn to a simpler lifestyle, cooperation for the common good, desire for peace and a transcendent awareness of the human condition and existence (PP §21).
- Progress, growth and development are not ends in themselves but means to the end which is helping the human person realize his or her human vocation. Acquisitiveness and increased possessions are not the ultimate goal. Growth is to be considered 'ambivalent' (PP §19).

On publication, the encyclical was harshly critiqued from all quarters (MacEoin 1975: 188). This criticism ranged from 'all talk and no action' to an affirmation by the encyclical of 'Lennist' policy to a reiteration of President Truman's plank of growth and modernization (see Illich 1992: 93-94; Goulet 1971: 293). However, from the vantage point of the end of the Twentieth Century, it is clear that much of what Paul VI proposed in *Populorum Progressio* has become core principles of accepted mainstream human development philosophy. Lady Barbara Ward confirmed as much when she argued that the encyclical could be considered the blueprint of the movement for a new international economic order [NIEO] (Dorr 1992).

### ***Octogesima Adveniens*—Call to Action**

The second major contribution Paul VI made to Catholic social thought came in the form of an apostolic letter addressed to the head of the Vatican's Peace and Justice Commission. The letter *Octogesima Adveniens*, was issued in 1971 to commemorate the eightieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*. The significance of issuing a letter instead of an encyclical is still debated. What is agreed however is that *Octogesima Adveniens* broke new ground for the Church in terms of the 'social question' and was influenced in its thought by the historic Conference of Latin American Bishop's (CELAM) meeting held at Medellin in 1968. (Dorr 1983; Hobgood 1991; O'Brien 1992; Wiegel 1993; Krier-Mich 1998).

The letter is considered the first formal document of the Church's Teaching to socially evaluate the world within a post-industrial outlook (Hehir 1986: 249). Conscious that the tools of evaluation utilized in previous encyclicals may be inadequate, Paul introduced a significant shift in methodology with the publication of *Octogesima Adveniens*. Previous Teaching relied on a deductive methodology and universal solutions. Paul VI held that while the Teaching had universal appeal, the diversity that existed in social situations the world over demanded action that was tailored and responded to

particular social realities. In his words, '[i]n the face of such widely varying situations it is difficult for us to utter a unified message and to put forward a solution which has universal validity' (OA § 4). He empowered local communities to discern, analyze and formulate action according to their social situations:

It is up to the Christian communities to analyze with objectivity the situation which is proper to their own country, shed on it the light of the Gospel's unalterable words and to draw principles of reflection and norms of judgment and direction and directives for action from the Social Teaching of the Church (OA §4).

The new post-industrial milieu invariably brought with it new challenges to the social fabric of humanity. In response, Paul opened the document setting out his goal to '...extend the Teaching of his predecessors in response to the new needs of a changing world' (OA §1). He described these 'new needs' in terms of newly emerging social questions that had profound impact on human well-being. He delineated these into five major areas.

The first was the effect of urbanization on the individual as well as society. This 'irreversible' phenomenon in human societies, Paul VI argued, radically changed the manner, in which people lived and organized their social relationships. He detected a disintegration of traditional structures of social cohesion and a psycho-sociological outcome for the individual: 'man is experiencing a new loneliness...he feels himself a stranger' (OA §8). Urbanization also had a major effect on any number of segments in society. Paul held that in the 'disordered' growth of the urban setting 'new proletariats are born' (OA §10). These new groupings of the working class lived either on the margins or on unwanted parcels of urban areas. They were victims of discrimination and indifference and almost always lived in 'dehumanizing' conditions. The poor were not the only segment to be severely affected by urbanization. The Pope pointed out that young

families, couples, and individuals found it problematic to afford or obtain a 'decent dwelling' (OA §11).

The second new challenge the Pope pointed to was that of the gap between the generations. Youth, Paul contended, were being adversely affected by the rapid changes in society. They were insecure about their future, traditional values and beliefs had little meaning, authority was suspect, and dialogue with the older generation was difficult, resulting in conflicts (OA §13). The third challenge to social well-being was that of equal rights for women. The Pope asserted that there was a fundamental requirement to recognize and protect 'her independence as a person, and her equal rights to participate in cultural, economic, social and political life (OA §13).

Fourth, the Pope pointed to a new class of marginalized humanity created in the rapidly changing industrial scenario and the subsequent rapid adaptation that was required by this new scenario. He contended that there would be many disadvantaged laborers because they would be unable to adapt. There would be new forms of discrimination and challenges to human dignity resulting from people migrating for work. He held there was also a new class of poor emerging that could not even begin to participate in this highly competitive environment. Among this 'new poor', the Pope identified the handicapped, the maladjusted, the elderly and those on the fringe of society (OA §19).

Finally, he argued that there were new problems associated with the ever-increasing influence of social communication. While the Pope saw advantages to these advances in mass communication, the downside had detrimental impact on individual liberty in the social, economic, political, and ideological spheres. The final challenge Paul VI identified was the challenge to the environment. In his words, '[m]an is suddenly becoming aware that by an ill-considered exploitation of nature he risks destroying it and becoming in his turn the victim of this degradation' (OA §21). He saw in this degradation the creation of new illnesses, an 'intolerable' situation for future generations, and a social problem that affected all of humanity.

These profound challenges to societal well-being wrought by both industrialization and what Paul saw as post industrialization demanded profound changes and new strategies. A repetition of principles, a call for a change in attitudes, or suggestions for fine tuning existing structures would not adequately address the social challenges arising from a post industrial world. What was required were fundamental changes tailored to local situations brought on by collective action. The Pope signaled this 'radical' response in terminology such as 'remake', 'liberation', 'freedom from dependence', and 'new models'. The seriousness with which he regarded the necessity of structural change is portrayed in his revival of a discussion of 'utopias'. While asserting the dangers in utopian ideology, Paul VI argued that it contained creative inspiration to generate new ways of bettering the social condition. In his words:

[b]ut it must clearly be recognized that this kind [utopian] of criticism of existing society often provokes the forward-looking imagination both to perceive in the present the disregarded possibility hidden within it, and to direct itself towards a fresh future; it thus sustains social dynamism by the confidence that it gives to the inventive powers of the human mind and heart... (OA §37).

#### ***Justitia in Mundo—Justice in the World and Evangelii Nuntiandi—Evangelization in the Modern World***

The third and fourth contributions during the pontificate of Paul VI were responses to two worldwide meetings of Catholic bishops. These 'synods' were mandated by Vatican II to continue the reform of the church and to review and consult on topics of Church concern. The synods were seen as consultative bodies as opposed to having a deliberative nature. As such, the documents produced would be internal to the Church and directed to the Pope. It was his prerogative to issue them publicly. The third of these conferences was held in 1971. The results of the deliberations were published in the document *Justitia in Mundo—Justice in the World*. While the document was adopted by the Synod and published under the papal seal, the American Jesuit, Peter Land, oversaw and contributed much of the draft that was finally issued. Fr. Land was on the original drafting committee

of *Mater et Magistra* and during the Synod was on the staff of the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace.

*Justitia in Mundo* came on the heels of *Octogesima Adveniens* and was significantly influenced by the inductive methodological direction forged by Vatican II and further advanced in the Church by *Octogesima Adveniens*. The bishops were so convinced of its merit that they argued in their opening paragraphs that human experience and history contain transcendent revelation that must ‘scrutinized’ in light of the ‘gospel’ to build a more ‘just’ and more human world (see §1-6). Further acknowledgement of a ‘normative’ inductive approach was the fact that the document bore a significant imprint of the growing influence of local churches in the ‘developing’ world and through it, their experience was an important and necessary consideration in shaping Church Teaching (see Henriot 1987: 67).

The introductory paragraphs also contained two additional assertions by the bishops worth noting. The first was a definition of justice. In addressing a definition, the bishops shied away from crafting one in a deductive manner. Instead, they chose to portray what ‘justice is not’ through a situational survey of the world. They pointed to an unjust ‘network of domination, oppression and abuses which stifle freedom and...keep the greater part of humanity in sharing in...a more just and more loving world’ (§3). They asserted that this ‘unjust network’, while entrenched in human experience, was not normative to humanity—a reality that ultimately unites and moves people to ‘liberate themselves’ (§4).

The second important assertion in the introduction was the argument that the Church was bound to act on behalf of justice and to actively work for social change to create a more just world. The bishops held that this Church action was ‘constitutive’ of the ‘gospel’ and was part and parcel of the Church’s mission (§6). In other words, preaching the gospel was not wholly a rhetorical process but one that required the Church

to actively implement the message particularly in this case to create a better and more just world.

Beyond the introduction, the document addressed justice and injustice in the world, justice in the gospel context and the practice of justice. Highlights of these sections include:

- The cogent illustration of the ‘tremendous’ paradox that there exists in world all that is necessary (ideology, resources, technology, structures for unity etc.) for full human dignity and well-being and yet the ‘forces’ allied against the pursuit of dignity and well-being ‘seem today to be increasing in strength’ (§7-12);
- The argument that to counter systemic domination and to bring justice in the world demands a ‘determined will for development’—development that allows for people, regions and nations to attain liberation (§13-16);
- The perceptive insight that the development described above is a basic human right and must inculcate more than economic growth, be culturally sensitive, dialogic in nature, participatory, collectively administered, include ‘self-help and self determination’, and above all predicated on a conversion of heart (§15-20);
- The amplification of the principle initially articulated in *Quadragesimo Anno*, that those involved in the work for justice must be and perceived to be just. The bishops extend this concept to the institutional church holding that as an authentic witness for/to justice the Church must be just itself in word and in deed (§39-41);
- The irreducible and yet hitherto unfulfilled outcome of the Church being an authentic witness to justice in itself: ‘that women should have their own share of responsibility and participation in the community life of society and likewise of the Church (§42);

- The far-reaching and controversial understanding that in order for justice to be achieved in the world, a system of ongoing education to ‘awaken consciences’ to the social realities of justice and injustice is required (§51-55).

The Fourth World Bishop's Conference was held in 1974. Its focus was on evangelization (proclaiming the message of the Gospel) in the modern world. As the bishops in attendance could not come to consensus, they did not produce a concluding document. Instead, they requested Pope Paul VI to collate their discussions and to publish one. This he did, in 1975, in the form of an apostolic exhortation on the tenth anniversary of the closing of Vatican II. While primarily a theological treatise, *Evangelii Nuntiandi* also highlights the social nature of the gospel message and its inherent importance in evangelization. Paul keenly argued that bringing the message of good news to all people was not only a religious/spiritual undertaking but was a temporal one as well (Henriot 1985: 73; see §29, 35). Consequently, the Church in its evangelizing role must attend to the social, economic, and personal dimensions of the human community in tandem with the religious/spiritual dimensions.

#### ***Laborem Exercens, Sollicitudo Rei Socialis, Centesimus Annus***

The death of Paul VI in 1978 left the Church in a bit of a quandary. For more than a decade, Paul had overseen a Church in transition - a Church that was very much trying to implement in letter and spirit the decisions of Vatican II. Along with these attempts came much creativity and experimentation in the liturgy, cultural expression, social action, church governance, theological exploration and religious education. The attempts also wrought much pain and bewilderment as seen in a mass exodus of personnel from religious life and the secular clergy as well as a small but influential cadre within the Church who longed to and lobbied for retreat from the direction of Vatican II. The

question brought to the fore by Paul's death was simple and yet laden with angst: continue with reform or back away?

The College of Cardinals meeting to choose Paul's successor, made the decision to continue with the reform (Holmes and Bickers 1983: 293; Stourton 1998: 62-63). They elected Albino Luciani, the patriarch of Venice. He took the name John Paul to honor the courage of his two predecessors who had initiated and shepherded the Church through reform and to signify his desire and commitment to continue along the same path. He would not have the chance to work at his aspirations. On September 29, just thirty-three days after his election, he was found dead on his bed of an apparent heart attack.

The College was summoned once again and again they had before them the choice of progression or regression. They chose someone they thought to be progressive and to do so they broke a four hundred and fifty year old tradition. They elected the first Polish Pope in the history of the Church, Karol Wojtyla, the Archbishop of Krakow. He would take the name John Paul II for reasons similar to those of John Paul I: to be a symbol of honor for his predecessors and a sign that he would assume their role of implementing Vatican II. The Cardinals and indeed the Church saw embodied in him the hope of something new. He was young, a mere fifty-eight on his election. He was a man of Vatican II having not just attended but played a significant part in its debates, so much so that one of his electors is reported to have acknowledged him as one of the main protagonists behind the far reaching document, *Gaudium et Spes* (Stourton 1998: 67). Moreover, he was Polish, ethnically, culturally, and for almost all of his life, residentially; a fact that placed him outside the suffocating tight knit circle of Rome and the Vatican.

The jury may be still be out on John Paul II's pontificate, but given almost a quarter of a century as Pope, the course on which he has steered the Church seems clear: away from the more progressive leanings of Vatican II and moving back to traditional patterns of structure and control. Some examples include a centralization of approvals on official texts of worship, signaling a retrenchment in collegial governing of the Church;

stricter control on inquiry and dissent into matters of doctrine; an affirmation of the traditional role and position of women in the Church; and encouragement to organizations directly opposed to the spirit of Vatican II. His contribution to the corpus of the Social Teaching can be characterized as robust. He has published three major encyclicals in the long line of the Teaching. The first was *Laborem Exercens* issued on the ninetieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum* in 1981. The second, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* published in 1988, commemorates the twentieth anniversary of the Paul VI's *Populorum Progressio* and the third is *Centesimus Annus* issued in 1991 on the hundredth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*.

All three encyclicals bear the mark of John Paul's life and educational experience in Poland. He brings to his arguments his commitment to a personalist philosophy, which rejects the duality of mind and body and looks to human fulfillment through human creativity and action (Linden 1998: 84-85). He also uses his long experience of patiently dealing with successive oppressive and totalitarian regimes to seize upon the notion of peaceful opposition and internal conversion as the means to securing justice. Both realities have brought significant new insights to social thought: a vigorous affirmation of an integrated humanism, solid support for human creativity as a means to well-being, clear and forceful arguments for freedom as a necessary component to human development and progress, and incisive avowal of the essential role community can and must play in social well-being.

Yet, his experiences have also had an adverse impact on developing areas of social action for human well-being. The two prominent examples are the efforts of liberation theology and the feminist movement within the Church. While pushing at the margins of the traditional Church thought and behavior, both movements gained momentum and inspiration during much of the late sixties and seventies particularly in Latin America and the United States (see OA and JM). John Paul II in his tenure has made a concerted effort to 'rein' in and nuance the stances taken by the protagonists of

both liberation theology and feminist analysis and critique. His efforts at curbing these creative edges have been cogently read in the best case as drawing back the debates to the center and in the worse case as retrenching much of the creative development in Church thinking in promoting human well-being.

### ***Laborem Exercens—The Priority of Labor***

The year 1981 was a difficult year. It contained many symbols of crises in process and crises to come. The world was rapidly slipping into recession. Unemployment was on the rise. Supply side economics ruled economic thought. Conservatism was the politics of the day. Latin America was in the grip of revolution and counter-revolution. Famine gripped almost all of Africa. Debt was mounting in the so-called ‘third world’. There was social unrest in Eastern Europe particularly in Poland where a ‘pitched battle’ was being waged with the labor movement *Solidarność* (Solidarity). John Paul II and Ronald Reagan survived assassination attempts. It was in this milieu that John Paul wrote and issued his encyclical. Many of the events that year would have an influence on him. The most obvious, is his admission that the encyclical was delayed by four months as he recuperated in a Roman clinic from the gun shot wound inflicted on him in St. Peter’s Square (LE §27). He was to issue *Laborem Exercens* in May 1981, commemorating the ninetieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*. It was published in September of that same year. Nevertheless, the greater influence would be his experience and education as a native son of Poland.

The frame of reference for John Paul as he constructs *Laborem Exercens* is his affinity for personalist philosophy, which has as its core emphasis, the creative action of the person. (Linden 1998: 90). To continue to link his ideas with the arguments of his predecessors and in order to bring these potent personalist ideas to bear on tradition he grounds his opening arguments in the story of creation from the Book of Genesis. He holds that work is a person’s participation in the creative action of God (LE §4). It is a

‘fundamental’ dimension of the person’s identity and indeed a dimension of his or her ‘existence’ in this earthly life (LE §4). It is an act of all humanity and is not limited to one class of persons or the other. As such, the intrinsic nature of work to the human person makes it a key to securing human well-being, in ‘making life more human’ (LE §3). To this end, some of the more important themes John Paul develops include:

- The priority of labor over capital and technology. As work is an essential action of being human and is required for human well-being, the person is the subject of work and all other processes or resources are to be used in assisting people to work (§13);
- People before profit. The goal of work is not acquisitiveness but to provide for human well-being;
- The right of every person to find ‘suitable’ employment and the structural impediments that hinder the implementation of this necessity and right (§17, 18);
- Just and adequate remuneration;
- The right to associate and the responsibility to create solidarity. (§8, 20).

### ***Sollicitudo Rei Socialis—On Social Concern***

*Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* comes toward the end of a decade that bore witness to severe economic and social hardship the world over. The economic degradation was particularly poignant in the poorest countries. The remedies foisted to alleviate the misery actually created further misery. The structural adjustment programs aimed at restructuring the economies of nations racked by high debt, high unemployment, low production, unequal access to markets and in some cases political tyranny, caused untold hardships on the poor. The Pope saw this phenomenon for himself on the many trips he made during the eighties literally all over the world. A reporter who accompanied him on one of these trips—a visit to Chile, would place the inspiration for the encyclical squarely on the visit

and in particular, the anti-government protests and the immediate government crackdown on the protestors during an outdoor papal mass with subsequent injuries to those in attendance (McGurn 1993:189). Whether *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* has its origins that event of Santiago or an assemblage of events may never be entirely established; but what is clear is that John Paul II argues that the hopes for development expressed two decades before in *Populorum Progressio* ‘today appear very far from being realized’ (SRS §12). He acknowledges that the plight of many of the poor of the world has actually worsened (§13) and bluntly affirms that the solutions to this endemic poverty cannot be solved with mere economic tools, processes or by increasing economic growth (§28, 29). What is required is what Paul VI called and John Paul II now echoes is an *Authentic Development*—a development that encompasses the whole person and all of society and not just one aspect of the person or one part of the social realm. Authentic development would look to an integration of social, political, economic and spiritual processes that would have human well-being as its primary goal.

The implementation of an authentic development process requires a significant amount of cooperation. The Pope argues that this cooperation, which he calls solidarity, is essential for the creation of and maintaining human community (§33). Solidarity is dependent on a sense of true interdependence that challenges individualized ideas of social and economic action and transforms relationships into cohesive action for the common good (§38,39). The Pope holds that this concept of interdependence extends to human relationships with the environment (§34). Care must be taken not to abuse the earth in development processes and finding ways of sustaining this vital resource for generations to come is a moral imperative.

It is important to note that in the encyclical John Paul II dwells on the raging critique of development in the eighties: unbridled, rapid, limitless growth and progress (§27). He holds that this enlightenment view of development is not an authentic conception of the human development process. Development can never be seen as a mere

mechanism that can be switched on and off at will. To be authentic it must be seen in the context of the human vocation and the steps taken to fulfill this vocation:

It is logical to conclude, at least on the part of those who believe in the word of God, that today's "development" is to be seen as a moment in the story which began at creation, a story which is constantly endangered by reason of infidelity to the Creator's will, and especially by the temptation to idolatry. But this "development" fundamentally corresponds to the first premises. Anyone wishing to renounce the difficult yet noble task of improving the lot of man in his totality, and of all people, with the excuse that the struggle is difficult and that constant effort is required, or simply because of the experience of defeat and the need to begin again, that person would be betraying the will of God the Creator. In this regard, in the Encyclical *Laborem Exercens* I referred to man's vocation to work, in order to emphasize the idea that it is always man who is the protagonist of development (§30).

#### *Centesimus Annus—A Hundred Years*

If anything could have been more predictable or more obvious in the highly inscrutable Vatican, it was the impending encyclical to commemorate the centenary anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*. The run up to the May 1991 anniversary was charged with expectation (Dorr 1992: 340). Some were hoping for a broader consultative process in drafting the commemorative encyclical that would help make it more comprehensive and responsive to the diversity of experiences throughout the world. Fueling these expectations were experiences of the process undertaken to develop the American Bishop's documents on peace, economic justice, and women and those embarked on by the World Council of Churches in preparation for their Canberra Assembly in 1991 (Dorr: 1992: 340). Others looked forward to a document that would address the raging debate on the environment and provide for a more comprehensive Catholic pedagogy on ecology and human interaction with the physical world (see Dorr 1992: 347-48; Krier-Mich 1998: 389-91). Both constituencies would be disappointed.

The encyclical published by John Paul II in 1991, *Centesimus Annus* is clearly a document rooted in the Pope's experience—that of Europe and in particular Eastern Europe. In it, he lavishly reaffirms of the tenets of *Rerum Novarum* and how he has personally seen these implemented in his own lifetime. This re-reading of Leo's

encyclical has been characterized as verging on the ‘anachronistic’ as John Paul II fails to take into account the severe inadequacies of Leo’s arguments on topics such the absolute right to private property, the role of women, class and class mobility that have been brought to light over the years (see Dorr 1992: 341). He goes on in *Centesimus Annus* to recollect the momentous changes that have swept Eastern Europe in 1989, specifically in his native Poland. He connects many of the events and changes to predictions his predecessors made regarding the incongruity of Marxism, socialism and communism with the fundamental notions of the human person (Charles 1998: 342).

Further, John Paul offers, to the delight of many free market and capitalist protagonists, what is taken to be a blanket affirmation of capitalist political economies in the wake of communism’s collapse (see Charles 1998; Novak: 1992; Weigal 1993). While not indiscriminate in his affirmation, the Pope does argue that the inherent freedom present in the free market system, and the appurtenant social and political structures that must support it, is a prerequisite in many ways for human development (CA §42, 43). He qualifies his affirmation by holding that freedom in the market is not freedom characterized by *laissez faire* but one that is tempered by a strong ethical and juridical framework that places persons at its subjective core.

A few paragraphs later, John Paul turns his attention to the subtler forms of socialism that continue to exist and in some cases thrive in the ‘Social Assistance State’. Housed in a section of the encyclical that treats the state and culture, it is juxtaposed and follows a discussion on totalitarianism and democracy. The Pope argues that while the original intent of such a state was to remedy ‘forms of poverty and deprivation unworthy of the human person’, many of these states exhibit severe ‘excesses and abuses’ and are malfunctioning (CA §48). He points to growing populations dependent on welfare services to the detriment of creative human initiative and the escalation of centralized bureaucracy leading to objectification of human relationships (CA §48) He attributes the

problems ultimately to an ‘inadequate’ understanding of the ‘proper’ role of the state and calls for a restructuring using the principle of subsidiarity (CA §48).

Ecology does get a mention in the encyclical albeit a brief one given the length of the document. John Paul II holds that the ‘ecological question’ is a worrying one (§37). He argues that at the center of the problem lies an ‘anthropological error’. He describes this error as humanity, in their capacity to transform the earth and its resources almost at will, ceding to themselves the ‘use of the earth, subjecting it without restraint’ or in consideration of future generations (§37). He avers that a continuation of this impoverished human outlook will result in provoking ‘a rebellion on the part of nature’ (§37). While environmentalists would find these views *au current*, the Pope does not develop them to any large extent and in a sense, draws back on their poignancy by overshadowing the discussion with what he sees as the more serious dilemma, the degradation of ‘human ecology’ (§38; Dorr 1992: 348-349). This perceived slight has led to the derogatory characterization of environmental issues in the Teaching to be anthropocentric (Dorr 1992: 348; Krier-Mich 1998: 389-91). This is more of a truism than the critique implies.

## Chapter Four

### THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE IN CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING

In the opening paragraph of his encyclical, *Sollicitudo Rei Sociales*, Pope John Paul II declared, ‘The social concern of the Church, directed towards an authentic development of man and society which would respect and promote all the dimensions of the human person, has always expressed itself in the most varied ways’ (SRS §1). This statement is an apt prelude for this Chapter in two ways.

First, we can detect in the statement an echo of the Church’s enduring concern in the Social Teaching for human development. This ‘authentic’ development, as we have noted in the last Chapter, has at its core a process of social transformation that would move the human community from social conditions that are ‘less human’ to those that are adjudged ‘more human’. This process of advancing human well-being must, as John Paul II asserts, actively encourage development that values and ‘promotes’ all existential facets of the person—political, cultural, social, economic and spiritual, a stance that mirrors much of the social development paradigm as discussed in Chapter Two.

Second, the statement sets out our task for this Chapter in that John Paul II acknowledges that the Church’s concern has a variegated articulation. This articulation, as we have illustrated in our overview of the Social Teaching, is prolific, spans over a century of development and has largely been examined from theological or economic perspectives. Human welfare approaches particularly those that frame development ideologies have had little to no purchase in the considerations of the Teaching. Our task for this Chapter is an examination of the Teaching using the social development construct that we have articulated in Chapter Two. Practically, we will analyze the corpus of the Teaching using the five components we distilled from the various approaches to social

development drawing out those elements and principles that engender the Teaching's social development perspective. The analytical components include ways and means of social appraisal, envisaged social change, roles of responsibility in the development process, methods of development and evaluative measures of the social development process. At the conclusion of each section of analysis we will draw a comparison between the Church's approach and that promoted by 'secular' social development.

### **Social Appraisal**

Social appraisal is a key component of social development thinking and practice. The prevailing and primary technique or framework used in the Church's appraisal of society has been and continues to be 'natural law'. Articulated and promoted by St. Thomas Aquinas in his magnum opus, *Summa Theologica* (1266-1273), it has its origins in Stoic Philosophy. To the contemporary mind, the term 'law' generally conjures up images associated with the legal profession, the courts and impenetrable code. Here, however, what Aquinas means and the Church understands law to entail, will have an ultimate bearing on 'legal law' but is quite different from it at this stage in its evolution. For the Church, this kind of law signifies 'right' principles that guide human choice and action. In this light, Aquinas defines law as a 'rule and a measure of acts whereby man is induced to act or is restrained from acting' (ST 2-3, q. 90, a.1). The emphasis here is not on whether there is human action but given that humans are 'bound to act', it considers in what manner should they act and how their action should be evaluated.<sup>1</sup>

The basic argument of natural law is that there exists in human beings an innate sense of what is right and through reason, humans come to know, access and understand

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<sup>1</sup> Aquinas goes on to argue that it is by human reason that we discover, direct, and measure 'right' action (ST 2-3, q. 90, a.1). The use of the word 'natural' is intentional here as it distinguishes this law from the eternal or divine law and human or legal law. Its use is also descriptive. The law is rendered 'natural' as it pertains and is constitutive of human nature. 'natural' does not connote the origin of the 'law' as the Church holds that its ultimate 'author' is God, the creator of humankind and that it springs up from humanity's participation in the 'divine' law (ST 2-3, q.91, a.2).

this sense—these moral ‘principles and values’ (McBrien 1994: 959-960). This ability to reason is not transcendent but immanent (McBrien 1994: 961). That is to say, it is part of the human constitution and not outside or above it. It is universal and not dependent on culture or geography. Both the innate sense of what is right and the ability through reason to know it has existed throughout all of human existence and essentially remains unchanged. Everyone has access to it and it guides human choice and action:

In the depths of his conscience, man detects a law, which he does not impose upon himself, but which holds him to obedience. Always summoning him to love good and avoid evil, the voice of conscience when necessary speaks to his heart: do this, shun that. For man has in his heart a law written by God; to obey it is the very dignity of man; according to it he will be judged (GS §16).

Allied and emanating from the understanding of natural law is the concept of natural order. As with natural law, the basic understanding is that there is an innate sense of right relationships in the world that may be understood through human reason. These relationships are human-to-human, human to the material world, human to the environment, human to the animal world and so on. The correctness of these relationships are immanent to human existence, are universal, and fundamentally immutable. Pius XXII in his Christmas message commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, describes it in this manner:

There is a natural order, and even if forms change over time with social developments, the essential lines have been and will always be the same: the family and private property as the basis for personal security, then complementary to them, local groupings and professional associations and, finally the state (as quoted in Calvez and Perrin 1961: 44).

At the central core of the natural order is the human person, ‘created in the image and likeness of the God’. The person is a free, rational, responsible, self-reflective and distinct being called to live out the human vocation to its fullest potential. Aquinas maintains and the Church echoes (see GS §16) that this vocation—the ‘first’ principle of natural law, is simply to ‘do good and avoid evil’ (ST 1-2, q.4, a.2). A more

contemporary rendering would hold that as the person who is created by God, he or she is called to share and extend in his or her lifetime the ongoing work of creation (McBrien 1994: 158; see LE and GS).

The primacy of the person should not imply that he or she stands in isolation. By the very fact of being created by God, the person is part of a greater whole that is the human community. The first and foremost experience of the social milieu is the family, the cornerstone of human society. The Church maintains that it is from the family that the person initially understands, enters into and benefits from human relationships. Beyond the family, these relationships expand and open out to the wider sphere of the human community—locally, regionally, nationally and even globally. The human community, however important, is always subordinate to the person and is of service to the person in pursuing his or her human vocation. Pius XII describes it in this way, ‘...[the person] is and ought always to be the subject of it [society], its ground and its end’ (Calvez and Perrin 1961: 103). The person on the other hand regardless of his or her freedom of action has a responsibility to conform to these actions so that the common good of the community is respected and fostered.

In natural law and natural order, well-being is viewed from two fundamental perspectives: that of the individual and that of the society. The two are not mutually exclusive but integral, complimentary and inextricably linked. The individual must be ensured the freedom to act and govern his or her own affairs in accord with her or his own human vocation (PT §4-7; GS §16; SRS §1). This entails having ability and right to the fruits of his or her own labor and equal access and a share in the nation’s and ultimately the world’s resources. This then allows the person to adequately provide for his or her livelihood, that of the family and to be able to contribute to the common good of humanity (RN §9, 14; PT §56; LE §10; CA §34). It further requires that individuals be respected as persons, accorded the dignity, equality and rights that inhere to him or her by the mere fact of being human (RN §26; PT §9). Social well-being is considered to be the

state of social peace and harmony. This peace is ‘tranquility resulting from order’ (Barry 1994: 942). To achieve order, social relationships are subject to individual rights and responsibilities and individuals are subject to the common good (PT §4-7). The peace and harmony resulting from order provides a fertile atmosphere that supports and sustains the individual’s pursuit of his or her human vocation. It is in this atmosphere that society strives for and attains true human unity and solidarity (QA §85).

In the Church’s social appraisal for over more than a century now it has employed these fundamental principles and insights from natural law to test, explore, and measure social and individual well-being. While not being static in its pursuit of analyzing the prevailing state of affairs in the world, this methodology of social analysis is primarily deductive using reason and immutable absolutes to evaluate individual and social relationships and human action (Henriot 1985: 20-21). It rarely relies on any empirical or positivist techniques or data and never engages reason in a dialogue with experience (Henriot 1985: 21). In a manner, we can say that the Church, in using natural law for social appraisal, begins from the ideal principle and ends with the ideal principle, commenting and testing what it sees as the universal contemporary situation somewhere in between.

Despite the fact that natural law has predominated in the Church’s social thought, there has been a move since Vatican II in the mid sixties to shift the methodology away from its more ‘narrow’ and static inclinations (Dorr 1992: 368; Henriot 1983: 19-21; Vallet 1998: 9-11). This shift is characterized first by the understanding that God ‘speaks’ through human history as well as the ‘signs of the times’ (Henriot 1983: 19; Vallet 1998: 11). What this means is that the Church engages in a dialogue with human experience and not just with philosophical ideals when analyzing social and individual relationships. It shifts from a deductive method to a more inductive one. Secondly, the signs of the times are measured more carefully against scripture and gospel values in a search for ‘what is more objectively human’ (Henriot 1983: 20). Finally, there is a move

away from presenting a mere social ideal toward ‘praxis’— action arising out of reflection on human experience (Henriot 1983: 21).

These shifts have been welcomed, especially in relation to the appraisal of social situations (Schuck 1991: 156-157) in a way that appreciates human experience. However, the pervasive influence of natural law philosophy continues to play a foundational role in Church Teaching. Dorr points out that the arguments in *Gaudium et Spes* that are philosophical in tenor tend to employ natural law reasoning augmented by ‘existential idiom’ (1992: 153). Pope John Paul II, while describing the analysis of social situations from the perspective of ‘Christian Anthropology’, avers that the source of this anthropology emanates from *truth* both *revealed* and *natural* (see CA §29, 38 and his encyclical *Fides et Ratio* issued in 1998).

The advantage in the natural law approach to social appraisal, from a social development perspective, is lodged in what could be called its greatest weakness: ideals. In promoting and using natural law arguments, the Church holds that there is a core truth or truths to human existence and social relationships transcendently ordained. These truths (ideals) are universal and because they are divinely ‘authored’, eternal. As such, these truths engender principles that become the ‘touch stone’ to measure human action or inaction. Dorr renders a helpful example in his discussion of Paul VI’s *Populorum Progressio* (1992: 180-181). Dorr argues that Paul delineates a novel and viable approach to development that goes beyond the methods that were being employed at the time and that were affirmed in *Gaudium et Spes*. The example Dorr uses showcases what a principled approach can achieve. His analogy:

Two people asked to describe their ideal house in two different ways:

-One may say: ‘ My ideal house would be smaller than my present house; it would have better insulation; it would have solar panels on the roof instead of roof tiles, etc.

-The other person may say: ‘My ideal house would be smaller than my present house; is one where my family can work, eat sleep, and relax, with a maximum of ease at a minimum cost to themselves, to the community, and the environment; etc (Dorr 1992).

In the explanation of the analogy, Dorr argues that beginning from what exists may not be the best path for human development. He shows that if Paul VI continued to affirm the *status quo* at the time on development methods (i.e. modernization and economic growth), as had Vatican II, there was great danger of being cornered into accepting economic norms that directly oppose core values in the Teaching and that are not congruent with the central concern of the person. Continuing with the argument, Dorr illustrates how Paul VI embraced the second perspective in the analogy, setting out basic standards or a framework for human development, sharply distancing him from the dominant development dispensation readily accepted at the time.

While 'ideals' in the natural law appraisal may be a significant advantage, they are also the source of greatest limitations. These limitations are most poignant when the Teaching engages the issue of gender relations. It is what two clerical scholars term the 'biggest' and 'most egregious' lacuna in Catholic social thought: the consideration of the identity, role and liberation of women (Dorr 1992: 372; Land 1991: 177). The Teaching, as with much of the official work of the Church, is unarguably androcentric. Male domination is evident at every stage of the process. It is initiated, researched and drafted by men. The topics are viewed through a male perspective, based on previously male generated ideas and arguments and if there is any consultation, it is male constituted, directed, and attended by males. Given this, it has been said that the 'teaching is written by males about males' (Land 1991: 178).

Feminist scholars argue that the Teaching bases its conception of women primarily on biological function and roles that flow from these functions (Hobgood 1991: 121; Gudorf 1989: 252-255; Riley 1989: 81). Women are imagined in the Teaching as wives, mothers and child rearers. Even though they may hold a job, this is not the ideal. Their place is in the home protected and dependent on their husbands. Their identity, rights, vocation and responsibility are associated with the family and the domestic milieu and are primarily contained therein. This is their 'natural' and 'proper' role thought to be

divinely ordained (Riley 1989: 81). These notions of women are not limited to those in 'family' life. Women's religious congregations were limited in their apostolic endeavors because of the cloister rule, which up until the late Nineteenth Century saw vowed women enclosed in convents with severely limited mobility. This era also saw leadership of many of these organizations vested in the clergy reserving at least a nominal control and in many cases firm control over the female leaders. Even today, many of the 'local' convents, even though a part of an autonomous organizational structure, remain beholden to the local clergy.

Stark examples of these views are incessant in the early Teaching. Leo XIII argues that women 'are intended by nature' for work at home allowing their 'modesty' to be protected and providing for the 'well-being of the family' (RN §60). His arguments are couched in the broader context of work, noting that women (and children) should not be subjected to or are incapable of occupations that 'a strong adult man' has the ability to accomplish (RN §60). Pius XI holds that a man's wage must be adequate to support his family so that his wife may not be forced to work to supplement the family income and more importantly, so as to help her remain at home to look after the children, her 'proper' care and 'duty' (QA §71). Further, he maintains that 'mothers [read women], concentrating on household duties, should work primarily in the home or in its immediate vicinity' (QA §71).

Scholars report a shift in the rhetoric of the Teaching concerning women with the publication of *Pacem in Terris* (Riley 1989: 81; Hobgood 1991: 140). However, Pius XII precedes this with a slight modification principally concerning a 'just' wage. Culled from a number of speeches made between 1945-46, he demands that more attention be given to the role of women in society, their rights in political and social life and that their insistence on equal pay for equal work be met (Calvez and Perrin 1961: 88-89). Nevertheless, the 'traditional, naturally ordained' view of women, dependent and family

oriented, dominates the pope's understanding throughout his pontificate (Gudorf 1989: 298-302).

John XXIII's shift concerning women advances Pius XII's argument when he extracts the ideas of women's rights and dignity from the workplace and home and associates them directly with that of the person.

...it is obvious to everyone that women are now taking a part in public life...Since women are becoming ever more conscious of their human dignity, they will not tolerate being treated as mere material instruments, but demand rights befitting a human person both in domestic and in public life (PT §41).

He also argues for the first time in the Teaching that men and women have equal rights and duties in the family (PT §15). As with Pius XII, as progressive as these ideas are, they are tempered with the views and understanding John held and expressed in other writings concerning the nature and role of women: that of mother and 'housekeep[er] within the patriarchal family' (Hobgood 1991: 140; see Gudorf 1989: 302-312).

Vatican II affirmed the direction John initiated. The Council held that rights inhere in the human person, and person here refers to both men and women (Riley 1989: 82). It calls on all forms of discrimination including that of 'sex' to be eradicated as 'contrary to God's intent' (Riley 1989: 82; GS §29). As with Pius and John, the Council also 'slips' into traditional notions of women. These are noticeable for their use of pointed masculine terminology (such as brotherly dialogue and brotherhood) and when associating, in the context of culture, women's rights with her 'proper role' and nature (Riley 1989: 83; see GS §52, 58).

Paul VI continued and solidified the ambiguous understanding the Church holds concerning women (Gudorf 1989: 314) He is the epitome of conundrum on the subject. On the one hand, he is noted for making the most progress toward rhetorical equality between men and women (Gudorf 1989: 314). Yet, on the other, it is clear that he held firmly to the traditional notion of women advanced by his predecessors (Gudorf 1989:

315; Riley 1989: 83-84). A vivid example is in *Octogesima Adveniens* wherein he seizes on the rights and dignity of women as persons but then immediately draws back to the notion of the ‘proper’ role of women based on biological considerations (§13).

Pope John Paul II makes some progress in allaying the ambiguity by nudging the arguments back to the more traditional viewpoints. In his first encyclical, he acknowledges that women work outside the home and should be treated fairly. However, he is not satisfied with this situation arguing that their ‘proper’ nature and role is in the home and that one way to support this position is to actually ‘pay’ them for their domestic work (Hobgood 1991: 181-82; LE §19). His two other social encyclicals, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* and *Centesimus Annus* are restricted in their analysis of women (Riley 1989: 87). Nevertheless, we can detect slight progress in language use in these encyclicals. There is a rhetorical pattern of delineating ‘men and women’ particularly when referring to themes of rights, dignity, shared tasks and development (for example, SRS §14, 25, 26, 28, 30; CA §57). Despite this progress, the shift remains rhetorical; the pope (and the Church) continues to be largely entrenched in the ‘natural’ notions of women’s identity emanating from their ‘proper’ roles (see National Conference of Catholic Bishops 1997).

The core impediment that is evident in the survey above concerning women is the duality in which the Teaching speaks about the person (Riley 1989: 89). In differentiating between woman and man, the Teaching’s normative conception of the person is masculine. Human nature is equated with man’s nature and woman’s nature is relegated to her ‘proper’ nature, which is role specific. Truly, this creates an inherent inequality that has the capacity to blind, skew, or otherwise affect social appraisal for social development processes. Examples could include:

- Limited participation of women in decisions that affect their lives;
- Social intervention processes that limit options for women to their ‘proper’ roles;

- In advocating for women's rights, concentration would be on the ideal and not focus on the reality of the situation; for instance, differential in wages and participation in the economy.

### ***Secular and Church Social Appraisal Processes Compared***

The most obvious observation between the approaches is vividly illustrated in the methodological differences of conducting social appraisals. As we have seen above, the Church largely takes its cue on social appraisal from an deductive, reasoned/principled approach grounded in natural law.<sup>2</sup> This has recently been 'peppered' with more inductive reasoning inculcating human experience and scriptural prescripts. Nevertheless, even with this 'peppering' it essentially remains an deductive exercise.

While Teaching has called for participation and ownership of persons ultimately partaking in a developmental process, the Church's appraisal of social relationships and realities is primarily 'elite' generated with little consultation or feedback. On the other hand, the 'secular' approach to social appraisal is clearly influenced by the rigorous end of the social sciences and is primarily inductive. This inductive methodology generally employs quantitative and measurable empirical techniques as well as qualitative procedures to test and examine social realities. The latter in particular are largely participative, particularly at the data gathering stage and in the initial analysis. It also relies heavily on 'expert' initiative, design, and scrutiny but is more pliable in soliciting contributions and input from those to be affected.

In these differences, it is clear that each approach has significant weaknesses and inherent strengths. The limitations can clearly be overcome if inductive, deductive and participatory methods were cogently integrated thereby building on the strengths of each

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<sup>2</sup>In literature examining the Social Teaching, 'deductive' reasoning is by and large a process that utilizes the principles of natural law and Church doctrine to examine social problems and then to arrive at conclusions based on the principles applied. Inductive reasoning generally refers to a more scientific

method. Undoubtedly, this has been recognized as a critical question in both approaches. Since the early sixties, the Church has struggled (at least rhetorically) to integrate more inductive and participatory techniques into its assessment of social reality. This has met with limited success as the desire to guard eternal moral truths sways the balance of fully considering human experience, action and broad participation: moral truth cannot be democratically instituted. Consequently, broad based participation in developing the social thought of the Church is avoided. The overall implication is an intransigence to even enter into dialogue with emerging social thought that may be of significant help in understanding social realities (see section on women; see the Church's stance on Liberation Theology; Asian Christology). Moreover, the disinclination or inability of the Church to be more participative in crafting its social thought leaves it largely 'eurocentric' and north-centric and inattentive to the experience of the ever growing majority of adherents in Asia, Africa and Latin America (Hug 1992; Pieris 1996: 79-89; see *Centesimus Annus* in Chapter Three).

Secular social development practitioners have apprehended a gap that exists between empirical social analysis and an ultimate set of criteria with which to test the findings. Questions of cross cultural standards and values in social relationships as well as concerns of 'appropriate' levels of development given the social milieu are perennial concerns for social development practitioners (see Rist 1997; Sachs 1992; Schumacher 1973). The post-modern, post-structural conceptualizations further complicate the search for broadly accepted principles in social appraisal. Moreover, as we discussed in Chapter Two, ideological frameworks of social development that are apt to generate congealing ideals are elusive. Even in the participatory setting, a common minimum set of standards is actively sought after in interpreting data generated by participatory appraisals (see Cooke and Kothari 2001; Midgely 1993). Absence of such standards has the ability to

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approach to examining social situations. This understanding differs from the normative descriptions of the terms in their use in the study of Logic.

derail such appraisals, make comparisons irrelevant, and plans futile. Even where there is a concerted effort at combining participatory techniques with empirical assessment methods—a process that is highly advantageous in ascertaining a better, more complete picture of the social situation being examined—the ability to adequately convey non-economic components such as exclusion remains an obstacle to apprehending the whole situation (Booth, et. al. 1978).

The plane of convergence of the two approaches is poignant but nonetheless obvious. Whether the methodology of conducting the social appraisal is inductive, deductive, participative or non- participative what is fundamental to a social development process that is shared by both secular and Catholic Social Teaching approaches is the concept that human welfare is a right for all persons. As members of the human community, everyone, regardless of social position, ethnicity, geographical location, religious belief, and so on, is entitled to the opportunities and access to the resources that provide for human well-being. Consequently, both approaches share the core objective in a social development appraisal process of seeking to understand persons, their social relationships and how the realities of the human situation, in all its complexity, enhances, provides for, degrades or otherwise prevents human well-being (see, for example, the UNDP's Human Development Reports).

Before concluding this section, there are a couple of *caveats* to be mentioned. First, we have painted the differences and the convergence of the two approaches to social development in an absolute manner for illustrative effect. The reality of implementing social appraisals is far from absolute. In dealing with persons and human social situations, the fact is that there are many areas of nuance and overlap that must be attended to, each in their own right. Second, social appraisal happens on a variety of levels in a social development process. For example, the larger, more macro-focused level of appraisal looks to assess humanity and human relationships from a global/universal perspective. Appraisals in this realm are largely used for policy

formulation that engender and direct action. The more micro-focused appraisal is local in its orientation looking to appraise the social situation at community levels for specific projects or action to ameliorate social distress or enhance welfare. As a result, it should be noted that while the Church may be partial to a certain methodology at one level, it does not and has not precluded it from employing a different methodology at another. More specifically, at local project levels, the Church is quite adept at and regularly employs social scientific methodology in its social appraisals.

## **Social Change**

As illustrated in the last chapter, each of the documents that comprise the Teaching of the Church contains specific changes that correspond to the time the document was written. We recall that these documents are very much ‘products’ of their eras responding to specific social crises or issues current in those periods. As such, the Teaching does not shy away from calling for specific changes to social structures and/or values that would be appropriate to foster human well-being. Examples include reference to trades unions, labor laws, acceptance of human rights, better international trade regimes, and so on. Many of these suggestions may not be appropriate, successful or required in every age or place. However, we can delineate from them some consistent thematic patterns that advocate change to ensure the well-being of society. For the sake of manageability, here we divide them into four categories: change in values; change in political systems and functioning of those systems; change in economic processes and philosophy; and finally, societal change.

### ***Change in Values***

The Church has consistently argued that what is required to ensure human well-being is the acknowledgement, acceptance, and understanding of the intrinsic value of the human person. This fundamental worth and dignity of the person emanates from the belief that

he or she is created by and in the image of God. Worth is not based on one's social status, race, color, or up-bringing but is a dignity that inheres to the person by being human. Unless it is a move to not only embrace but to also act out of this fundamental value, attempts at enhancing human welfare for all of humanity will remain elusive.

### ***Political Change***

The Church in its Teaching in principle over the years, has time and again attempted to remain neutral on the type or form of political organization in a country or that a people may choose or have chosen (PT §68; GS §75). It has not, however, been silent on political systems or ideologies that it considers contradictory to its understanding of the dignity of the human person (see RN §7-11, 29; QA §111-117; CA §44). Pope John Paul II says it succinctly: 'Her [the Church's] contribution to the political order is precisely her vision of the dignity of the person revealed in all its fullest in the mystery of the Incarnate Word' (CA §47).

It is from this understanding of dignity that the Church proceeds to call for changes in the political sphere to ensure the well-being of society. The recurring theme is that the political order must guarantee, protect and promote freedom (CA §25). Freedom in this concept of well-being has two integral constitutive components. The first is that the person must be free to pursue with dignity his or her human vocation in concert with the 'common good' (PT §73). This includes the right to participate and have voice in all decisions that affect his or her life. Further, that these decisions be made in and devolve to the nearest proximity of where they will have the greatest impact. This principle, normatively termed 'subsidiarity', goes beyond the individual person and is extrapolated to include all civil institutions, organizations and communities at all levels—local, regional, national, and global (QA §79).

The linkage of the person's ability to participate and have a voice to democratic principles is overt and unmistakable and since Pius XII it has been a key feature of the

Teaching. John Paul II sums it up in this way: 'The Church values the democratic system inasmuch as it ensures the participation of citizens in making political choices, guarantees to the governed the possibility both of electing and holding accountable those who govern them, and of replacing them through peaceful means when appropriate' (CA §46). However, no matter how closely the tenets of the Teaching correspond to that of democratic principles, wholesale acceptance of all democratic ideology is qualified:

Nowadays there is a tendency to claim that agnosticism and skeptical relativism are the philosophy and the basic attitude, which correspond to democratic forms of political life. Those who are convinced that they know the truth and firmly adhere to it are considered unreliable from a democratic point of view, since they do not accept that truth is determined by the majority, or that it is subject to variation according to different political trends. It must be observed in this regard that if there is no ultimate truth to guide and direct political activity, then ideas and convictions can easily be manipulated for reasons of power. As history demonstrates, a democracy without values easily turns into open or thinly disguised totalitarianism (CA §46).

The second component of freedom is that of liberty. Liberty here entails a freedom of persons and society to live and enjoy a 'more human life', a life that is devoid of any structure that would hamper, oppress, or otherwise marginalize the human family from pursuing its human vocation (SRS §46). The Latin American theologian, Gustavo Gutiérrez, argues that this freedom is a 'liberation from all that limits or keeps human beings from self-fulfillment' (Gutiérrez 1988: 18). Paul VI describes it as the 'struggle to overcome everything which condemns them [persons] to remain on the margin of life' (EN §30). The attainment of liberty is crucial to a life befitting the intrinsic worth and dignity of the human person. Yet, as compelling and important as liberty and liberation are, they are just as controversial and have either been embraced forcefully or are exceedingly nuanced in the Teaching.

At the heart of the argument, is the question, 'how far does one go in challenging the status quo?' Does one affirm an immediate and radical change in structure or does one work with and through the status quo gradually for change? The Teaching has vacillated

on a definitive answer, causing ambiguity in the type and extent of change being sought (Hobgood 1991: 227-228; Gudorf 1980: 341). On the one hand, the pursuit of liberty as described, will always bring one into confrontation with structures that block persons from becoming fully human. These structures often times support those in power, those of means or help maintain social equilibrium. The radical shifts necessary to transform, free, and change these limiting structures and in a very real sense those in power, those of means and the social equilibrium directly challenge and confront the status quo. Paul VI argues in this example that this process maybe crucial for human well-being: 'If certain landed estates impede the general prosperity because they are extensive, unused or poorly used, or because they bring hardship to peoples or are detrimental to the interests of the country, the common good sometimes demands their expropriation' (PP §24).

On the other hand, the Teaching places a heavy emphasis on the value of harmony in social relationships that inevitably leads to a nuanced stance on confronting impeding structures of the status quo (see Dorr 1992: 216). In this dispensation, consensus, conciliation, and personal choice coupled with a reliance on and an acquiescence of those who hold power are characteristic of the approach to change (Dorr 1988: 332; Charles 1998: 399-400; Hobgood 1991: 188; CA §39-40). A classic example of this approach is found in *Rerum Novarum* when Leo XIII consoles the poor to be happy with their lot in light of the 'eternal reward' in the life hereafter and to be reasonable in their demands for a livelihood (RN §37). In the same passage, he uses the gospel warning of the rich being brought down so as to hold out hope that this admonition would move those of means to 'kindness' in their relationship with the poor. The effort at liberation is an effort of a change in heart and solidarity between those who have and those who have not so as to maintain social peace and eventually provide liberty for all.

No matter which path is taken, the Church's understanding is that the move toward freedom will largely entail a change in the political sphere and this change will involve some form of political action. These political moves will not only see revised

power dispensations but also a shift in ideologies and mores that embrace a more human centric philosophy. Its context however, must remain rooted in the wider vision society, in the notion that political change is but a part of the whole effort of enhancing well-being and that the necessity for change is for the common good and social well-being (OA §24).

### ***Economic Change***

Economics is a key area of commentary for the Social Teaching of the Church. As with political ideology and systems, the Church has pointedly argued that it does not purport nor have an intention to pose alternatives to existing or proposed systems. What it does hold is that it has a **no**bligation to offer an evaluation and critique of such processes, systems and ideologies particularly with regard to their ethical/moral rendering as well as their affect on human well-being. The Church understands the role of economics as being the mechanisms that provide for human needs that ultimately enhance human dignity. These needs can be either material and/or spiritual. It further understands that economics is a means and not an end to human well-being. It is a 'service' for humanity and is one element, albeit an important one, in a mix of processes that provide for human welfare.

The foundation of the Church's commentary and critique of economic systems, processes and ideology is based on its prime concern for the human person. As we have described above, the essential understanding in this concern is that the person is created by God and endowed with an intrinsic worth—a dignity befitting the divine creation. When economics is evaluated against this backdrop, we can delineate three central observations. First, as God creates all persons equal, there must be an equitable sharing of resources in the world so that human needs are met. This approach to equity is not an egalitarian vision but one that recognizes differences among people's needs and aspirations. It values that no one should be in want, needs should be met for the entire population, and that the needs go beyond just subsistence. People should have the ability and access to resources befitting their dignity as a human person.

Second, the Church argues that labor (paid work) is an essential means of providing for one's family and one's own welfare. To this end, there must be an emphasis in all economics on the 'the priority of labor over capital' (LE §12). In this understanding, production, whether it is agricultural, industrial, technological, or service oriented, is indispensable to the process of earning a livelihood. Capital on the other hand has a social value that requires that its deployment cannot be of a pure profit motivation but must be a response to ensuring human well-being and the building up of the common good. Allied concepts to the notion of labor include:

- An understanding that the purpose of work is the fulfillment of the human vocation consequently, everyone has an 'obligation' to work;
- The opportunity to Work for all person--full employment;
- A 'just' wage to support families and to provide a level of comfort befitting the human person;
- The right of labor to organize;
- The integral and necessary link between labor and capital;
- An understanding that increased production is not the only measure of human well-being.

Finally, as economics is a means to providing for human well-being, there must be a certain amount of freedom present within the systems in order for human creativity and ingenuity to flourish in providing for this well-being. The Church argues that although this 'freedom' is essential, economies cannot be left to their own devices and must have a framework of checks and balances so that they remain of service to meeting and enhancing human welfare.

## ***Societal Change***

Throughout the Teaching, we can see three major themes that emerge in the social sphere to enhance human well-being. The first is the family. As we discussed briefly in the section above, the family has a unique place in the social milieu. The Church holds that it is the crucible of life — the ‘sacred’ place where human life is transmitted and welcomed (MM §193; CA §85). It is the essential cell and the foundation of human society (PT §16; GS §52) The family is the first place a person learns what it means to be a social being, to become aware of dignity, to love and receive love, to understand compassion, conciliation and forgiveness (GS §48; CA §85). It is where humanity learns what it means to be authentically human (GS §52; CA §85). As such, the Church further argues that the well-being of persons and society is intimately connected to and rests upon strong and ‘healthy’ families (GS §47). While holding up the family as an essential and vital social institution, the Church also recognizes the sobering reality of the distress and challenges that families must face today: divorce, violence, poverty, social, and economic pressures (see GS §47). Given these challenges it calls for efforts of all peoples including public authorities, private endeavors and even itself, to foster and build up conditions in society where strong and stable families may grow and develop (GS §52).

The second is solidarity — the linking of persons and communities together in a bond of human ‘fellowship’ for the common good. The actual word solidarity came to the English language from the French a little more than a century ago (Lamb 1994: 908). It found its way into the Teaching late in the Nineteenth Century by way of the German rendering of the word *solidarismus*, which was employed to distinguish the Catholic concept of social relationships from that of liberalism and communism particularly with regard to the labor movement of the late nineteenth and early Twentieth Century (Lamb 1994: 908). The notion of solidarity, however, went beyond the labor organizing movement to include society in general and by no means was solely a Nineteenth Century invention in Church thought.

As we detailed in the introduction of this section the over arching concept in the Teaching is the primacy of the human person as a created by God. We also briefly showed that the person is not seen as a solitary being but one that is social and is created as such. St. Augustine argued that the very laws of nature' compel humanity into 'fellowship' and that the 'best' life is a life united to others in society (as quoted in Burt 1999: 56). St. Thomas Aquinas held that humans by their nature are 'social animals' and need each other to develop and 'live well' (ETH 1, lect. 1, n.4). It is in these social aspects — the compelling nature of human unity and the person's essential need of others to become fully human, that we find the foundation of the Church's concept of solidarity. John Paul II describes it as interdependence 'among individuals and nations' (SRS §38). He argues that it is not merely a sense of compassion felt in light the 'misfortunes' of 'other' persons but an active, 'firm and persevering determination' of each person to commit oneself for the common good — 'because we all are really responsible for all' (SRS §38). Characteristics of solidarity include:

- A call for greater societal cohesion and unity as a means to combat the de-humanizing and isolating aspects of rugged individualism and to respond to the 'natural' inclinations of humanity toward unity (QA §83; PT §99; GS §32; PP§17; OA §23);
- A sense of inclusion and mutuality that evidences itself in a mutual trust and collaboration among peoples regardless of social standing, religion, country or race. This sense of mutuality and inclusiveness is further manifested in an equity of give and take of human respect and friendship. (RN §37; MM §220; PP §62, 63, 64);
- A call to recognize and appreciate diversity among cultures and peoples and the unique gifts each brings to the building up of the human family (PT 100; GS §60);

- A commitment to dialogue understanding that concrete, honest, charitable interaction among peoples opens horizons, allows us to see each other as persons, and provides for a platform of mutual change for the enhancement of well-being (JM: 292; SRS §39); and
- An obligation to mutual aid realizing that unity demands all persons share in goodness that human ingenuity and the earth provides. This sharing is based on a sense of justice as well as charity — a charity that emanates not from a thinly veiled compassion but that is manifested in human communion understanding that we each are a part of the other (RN §37; GS §32; PP §48; OA §18; SRS §39).

Allied and closely linked to solidarity is the third theme, the 'preferential option' for people who are poor, oppressed and/or marginalized. As the Church calls for greater solidarity among humankind, it argues that in this solidarity there is a 'preference' in these relationships for those who are poor and marginalized (SRS §42). It is not a preference that excludes, but one that invites all people to unite around the cause of justice for those in society who are less fortunate (CA §57). The rhetoric of the 'preferential option for the poor' has been embraced by the Teaching relatively recently. It was delineated in an official way by the Latin American Bishop's Conference (CELAM) in documents adopted at their second and third general conferences held at Medellín, Colombia and Puebla, México in 1968 and 1979 respectively. Since then, the Synod of Bishops in 1985 employed it as well as has many religious congregations in their documents and constitutions to capture a manner in which the Church wants and is required to relate socially with and to the poor. Pope John Paul II has used it in speeches and it has been an important part of his encyclicals on social matters (see SRS and CA).

Prior to this, however, 'liberation' theologians were developing the preferential option as the central theme in a theology that was to respond to the concrete reality of the

‘irruption of the poor’ particularly in the Latin American context (Gutiérrez 1988: xx, xxv). The Church in Latin America, because of its enduring links to the colonial powers of the region, has a long history of being identified with the powerful, the landed class, and the rich (Massaro 2000: 159-160). This identification was a paradox for while the image of the church in Latin America was framed in privilege; the actual majority of the church was and are poor and mostly indigenous people. To be responsive to this population socially and more importantly religiously means a dramatic reorientation of the historical image in deed and in fact (Massaro 2000: 159-160). A core theme of this reorientation, then, is the preferential option for the poor.

While the rhetoric of the Teaching has only recently adopted the ‘preferential option for the poor’, the sentiment and concept of a concern for the poor and those on the margins of society is as old as Christianity itself. The concern is founded in the Gospel messages of Jesus that the poor have a special place in human society and that those with means should not ignore them but assisted and helped (see for example Matthew 25: 31-46). The Church ‘fathers’ have preached this concern for centuries, admonishing Christians to a ‘radical’ charity that links alms with justice:

You are not making a gift of your possessions to the poor person. You are handing over to him what is his. For what has been given in common for the use of all, you have arrogated to yourself. The world is given to all, and not only to the rich (St. Ambrose, Fourth Century, as quoted in PP §23).

The Teaching has echoed this admonition in one form or the other in each document expanding and refining it as the time and place has dictated, its latest avatar being the ‘preferential option’ (for example RN §23, 24; QA §50; MM § 161, 173; PT § 125; GS §69; OA §42).

The use of the preferential of the poor requires an understanding of four basic concepts. The first is the ‘preference for the poor’, which we have described above as not exclusive but an inclusive call for all persons, including the poor, to work for justice and share what material wealth is available with those who have less or are in need. The

second is the notion of ‘option’. Option in this case does not mean a choice (Dorr 1991: 4-5; Gutiérrez 1988: 26). As we have seen above, the admonition to help the poor is grave and certainly the Gospel message does not signify that one can ignore this admonition. However, to make the admonition more than rhetorical and to raise it to a lived experience, ‘option’ is used here to characterize a commitment - a commitment that signals both a personal and a community pledge to actualize the obligation of working with and for the poor (see SRS §42, 43; CA §58). The third is a definition of the ‘poor’. While an economic understanding under girds almost any definition of the poor, the Teaching has evolved an understanding that envelops groups of persons where economic poverty may be a symptom but is not the main characteristic of their poverty. These groups, termed ‘the new poor’, include the physically and mentally challenged, the elderly, migrants, refugees, and those marginalized to the edges of society because of a lack of political power, by virtue of caste, color, illiteracy, consumerism, employment status, and/or race (OA §15; JM §10,16; SRS §15; CA §57).

The fourth implication is not as explicit as the other three but it is nonetheless important and central to the ‘option’. One of the basic tenets of liberation theology is that it is a process that is inductive - it begins from and builds on experience (Boff and Boff 1987: 1-6). This experience is garnered from a presence with the poor, sharing their lives and reflecting on their struggles. It is a presence which validates the ‘option’, makes those who are poor ‘real’ persons, and provides for an understanding that goes beyond formulaic explanations of the poor and their world. The necessity of this proximate presence is due to the fact that poverty is a way of life - a ‘universe’ that belies socio-economic constructs (Gutiérrez 1988: xxi). The ultimate impact of such an experience with the poor will enable a deeper and more profound transformation in understanding, commitment to and efforts for human well-being especially among those who are less fortunate (see MM §236; OA §3, 50; CA §58; Puebla §1137 as cited in Gremillion 1976).

To recap this discussion on various aspects of change, the Teaching fundamentally calls for a primary shift in values that would promote a fertile ground for human well-being. To this end it calls for:

- A personal commitment on the part of every person to work for human welfare;
- Economic structures and processes to be utilized as a means for ensuring human well-being and focused primarily on this cause;
- Political institutions to guarantee the necessary framework to protect and advance human dignity and the mandatory freedoms that are integral to this dignity;
- Families to be recognized as the ‘crucible’ of human welfare and strengthened to successfully carry out this role;
- Solidarity—a greater connectedness between peoples at all levels of social interaction orientated to the common good and well-being of human society; and
- Preferential attention, concern, and urgent action on behalf of those who are poor and marginalized.

#### ***The Secular and Church Perspectives on Social Change Compared***

In broad terms, the concept of social change in the social development paradigm has near complete congruence in the two approaches. This congruence is evident in three key areas. First, the belief that universal human welfare is attainable. To achieve it, social change is necessary and must be accomplished through human intervention. Humanity must work and is responsible for its well-being. The change necessary to bring about human welfare is rarely the result of an endogenous process and therefore requires some

form of catalyzing agent. It is a gradual process transforming structures and systems in a peaceful manner.

Second, the principle change that is required is a change in attitudes and values. These attitudes and values must be imbued with and acknowledge the notion of the intrinsic value and dignity of the human person. Furthermore, this dignity requires that all human endeavors be centered on the provision and attainment of human well-being for all persons.

Finally, political and economic systems are means to the human welfare end and have as their primary concern the well-being of all humanity regardless of nationality or locale and this is the case both for a secular social development perspective and Catholic Social Teaching.

### **Social Roles**

Two basic questions present themselves when considering roles in a social development process, 'who directly benefits from the process?' and 'who are the players and what responsibilities do they have in the process to effect change?' The Church argues in the Teaching that the benefits of any action, activity or process of human well-being must accrue ultimately to all persons, the riders to this argument being that equality need not be rendered in egalitarian form and that those who are in most need be given preference in welfare endeavors (see the 'preferential option' discussed above).

As to the second question, the Teaching links the protagonists' roles and the responsibilities that accrue to them, to be fundamental to the right order in society and as such, they are essential to overall human well-being. The Church argues that the promotion of human welfare necessitates leadership and catalyzing agents in order to be effective and sustainable. The Teaching demarcates these roles into three distinct entities: the individual which also includes groups of individuals like cooperatives, unions, social organizations, and so on; the state which is also called the public authority and is

understood not only in a national sense but inclusive of international intergovernmental bodies such as the United Nations; and the Church. While distinct, the three are not mutually exclusive. The shared goals of well-being and the common good inextricably link the three together in a complex web of relationships. It is with the understanding that we delineate the respective roles and responsibilities knowing that there are many gray areas and the boundaries will undoubtedly overlap in many actual instances.

### ***The Role of the Individual***

The core argument of the Church on the role of the individual in the process of providing for or enhancing well-being, is tied to the belief that the person is created by God (see SRS §29). As such, in their creation, the person receives all that is necessary in him or her self for living: intelligence, talents, ‘aptitudes and qualities’ (PP §15).<sup>3</sup> In this scenario, the ultimate responsibility for well-being rests on the person (GS §25; PP§16) However, the living out of the human vocation is not done and cannot be done in isolation. Human development happens in a context of relationships and human well-being and development is dependent on these relationships. The duty of the person, the Church argues, is to work to build up society based on the common good, creating the conditions whereby there is space for all people to develop and pursue their call in dignity and without need (MM §59, 60; PT §53; GS §32; PP §17; SRS §29). To this end, the person is ‘obligated’ to advance the common welfare of all. Some examples of what this obligation entails include participating in civil, social and religious groups; working to provide for the needs of not only individual needs but for the family, sharing material and

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<sup>3</sup> These, of course, are not in full form at birth but with time, experience and ‘education’ they mature and the person is called to develop and utilize them to fully live his or her human vocation. This self-fulfillment is not an option but is necessary and a ‘natural’ course in human life — a duty of being human as created by God (PP §16).

talents for the well being of those less fortunate, and making investments to enhance livelihoods and not for mere profit.<sup>4</sup>

There are two caveats that must be added to this discussion of the person's role in establishing well-being. The first is an interpretation of the highly localized responsibility for human development and well-being on the person. One could quite naturally draw from this argument that most if not all deficiency in human well-being is derived from a person not fulfilling his or her vocation and/or not fully employing all his or her talents. Over the last fifty or more years what we have come to realize is that this is far from reality and that deficiency in human welfare largely results from a complex combination of current and historical social, cultural, economic and political structures. What the Church does by arguing that the ultimate responsibility lies with the person is that it believes human development begins with an interior disposition or a desire to live fully and to work for the common good and human well-being. It is with this personal desire and experience that we enter society and are able to transform those structures that block human welfare (see SRS §31, 32).

The second *caveat* concerns the role of person in the imagination of the Teaching and ostensibly in the Church. While we have tried to be sensitive to gender, particularly in the rhetoric in the arguments above, the actual text in the Teaching when it refers to and analyzes the role of the person, is decidedly androcentric (see RN §20; section on social appraisal above). This masculine image of the person is very often associated with the head of the household — the father and 'breadwinner' providing for well-being through work (see RN; QA; MM; LE). Women are duty bound in this scheme to maintain the domestic household. Even when the Church argues for equity of rights for women as persons, it is couched very much in terms of her role in the family and in the house (see

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<sup>4</sup> John Paul characterizes it in this manner, 'The obligation to commit oneself to the development of peoples is not just an individual duty, and still less an individualistic one, as if it were possible to achieve this development through the isolated efforts of each individual. It is an imperative, which obliges each and every man and woman, as well as societies and nations' (SRS §32).

PT §15; OA § 15). From a social development perspective this ‘organic imaging’ of a person’s role is limiting at best. It tends to reduce the woman’s role in human well-being primarily to domestic chores describing it as her natural place (RN §60). While this may be the ideal in the Church’s imagination, the reality is that in most societies today both in the south as well as the north, women are prime participants in a variety of public roles, from that of ‘breadwinner’ to political activists. Domestic responsibility is one aspect in a long list of involvement and is not the defining characteristic of a woman nor is it the sole value orientation of who she may be as a person. To continue to subscribe to this image of biologically based roles results in not seeing women as true equal partners in the enhancement of human well-being and ultimately in fulfilling the vocation to become fully human (Land 1991; Riley 1994: 990-991).

### ***The Role of the State, Government and Public Authority***

Inscribed on the majestic state legislative building in Bangalore, Karnataka, the *Vidhana Soudha*, is the phrase, ‘Government work is God’s Work’. The sentiments of the Church in the Teaching concerning the role of the state in advancing human well-being echo this aphorism. The Church argues that public authority, because of its place, must take the ‘ethical’ high ground in all of its activities and structures. Its focus should be on the national and international (universal) common good and on how it can be of service to society in general in promoting and protecting this good for human well-being. Key areas for the promotion of the common good include:

- Encouraging and facilitating structures, institutions, and policies that provide equity and access to jobs, infrastructure, resources, technology, essential services, education, and health care to all segments of the population (MM §79; PT §64);
- Adopting policies and initiating programs that emphasize a balanced and integral ‘social’ as well as ‘economic’ development of all its citizens (PT §64; GS §86);

- Endorsing and advancing active solidarity among peoples at all levels, local, regional, national and international (peoples to peoples and government to government), providing for the formation and cooperation with intermediate groupings of citizens (PT §99; GS §84; PP §44, 84; SRS §39,45).

Core ‘protection’ elements include:

- Juridical and actual protection of human dignity and human rights (a list of the specific rights are delineated in Chapter Three);
- Regulation of the economy to the extent necessary in order to promote the common good and protect and enable those who are weak or emerging participants (RN §25; MM §52, 115; GS §70; 87);
- Limit government so that it does not usurp rights and responsibilities of individuals, families, or groups of individuals (civil society) but augments and encourages people’s participation in these rights and responsibilities (RN §13, 52; QA §79; MM §55; PT §63; GS §73; SRS §25);
- Creation of juridical and social structures and programs that assist and protect those who are less fortunate in society—‘social safety nets’ and provide for basic needs not only within national borders but among all peoples and countries (RN §25; QA §25; MM §79; PT §64, 96; GS §84; SRS §33);
- Ensure balanced development and attention to all sections of the polity and to geographical areas (MM §54, 79; PT §65);
- Juridical safeguards for minorities and minority rights and an emphasis on recognition of difference and development of culture (PT §96; GS §59; CA §44); and
- Preserve, maintain and promote peace and harmony in all spheres: nationally and internationally (RN §53; GS §77, 78; PP §76; SRS §10, 39).

One of the more important roles of the state with regard to human well-being has been and remains its responsibility for welfare and social service provisioning. As we noted in the section covering social welfare in Chapter Three, this responsibility has evolved greatly since the Eighteenth Century and has become a core issue of good governance in many countries (north and south) the world over. The Church's view of states assuming this role of welfare provisioning has also evolved. While early Teaching (RN and QA), held that the state had a large role to play in protecting public welfare and in leading the transformation of institutions and structures to enhance welfare, the Church was greatly suspicious of states gaining too much control in the lives of its citizens. Its vociferous opposition to anything 'socialist' was a particular example of this. In more moderate tones, the Church cautioned that the rights of the person and the freedom and responsibility to exercise those rights are prior to the state and accrue naturally to the person. Therefore, the state must respect, protect and allow these rights to be exercised. Welfare programs and laws enacted to enhance well-being often times impinged on this freedom of action particularly when they had been directed at family issues, property, and employment.

In the more recent Teaching, beginning with John XXIII, the central concern of abrogating freedom and responsibility and creating dependency are still important in the critique of welfare policy. However, welfare programs were seen much more positively as a way of augmenting human well-being. Issues such as social insurance, social security, medical aid, access to education, provision of a certain standard of living, essential services and so on, were all suggested as ways for states to ensure that there was a standard of welfare insured to each citizen and indeed to each person in the world. John XXIII pointed to the ever-increasing complexity of this network of interdependent relationships for well-being that include not only private associations but also the 'growing intervention of public authority' (MM§ 61). He cautions that there is danger to human dignity wrought in this phenomenon but at the same time the possibilities for

social advancement are great and should be pursued with an ethical foresight (MM §61-65). Vatican II furthered this thought when it held that the complexity of the relationship often impacts the ability to provide for well-being. In such cases, it argued that state intervention to re-establish order was necessary even if it meant suspending rights during the intervention. However, this was seen as a transitory measure: 'But when the exercise of rights is restricted temporarily for the common good, freedom should be restored immediately upon change of circumstances' (GS §75).

Paul VI went slightly beyond John XXIII and Vatican II when he argued that the deficiency experienced in many places of the world and by many people is beyond the solution of the individual, families or groups of individuals. The remedy, he posited, needed the intervention and action of the state: 'It pertains to the public authorities to choose, even to lay down the objectives to be pursued, the ends to be achieved, and the means for attaining these, and it is for them to stimulate all the forces engaged in this common activity' (PP §33). Nevertheless, the state is not exclusive in this activity. He argued that it must involve private associations and intermediate bodies to 'avoid the danger of complete collectivization or of arbitrary planning' that would lead to an abrogation of human liberty (PP §33).

In the latest engagement of the Church with the concept of state intervention in welfare, John Paul II steps back from Paul VI's enthusiasm and takes a critical view of the current state of affairs. He notes in his 1991 encyclical that the intervention has 'vastly expanded in some cases...' (CA §46). He takes strong exception to that the fact that in many countries the principle of subsidiarity has been lost in social welfare programs resulting in a loss of 'human energies' to embrace solutions on local levels and in a widespread scourge of 'bureaucratic thinking' in administering and designing welfare programs and policies (CA §49). He also points out that welfare assistance many times only addresses one aspect of the problem and does not see the deficiency in human welfare in the context of the whole. He cites examples of drug addiction, refugees, the

elderly, and immigrants. To combat the ‘malfunction and defects’ what John Paul II calls for is the ‘humanization’ of the state’s invention into welfare. He argues that the person be understood as the subject of welfare programs and policies and not the object; that persons be empowered and participate in enhancing their own well-being and not just be ‘assisted’; and that welfare programs devolve to local levels where a contextualization of the deficiencies are better known and addressed (Dorr 1992: 345-347; Glennon 1994: 984-985).

### ***The Role of the Church***

The role the Church sees for itself in the promotion of human well-being is primarily a religious one. At the heart of this role is the transcendent nature of the human person and the ethical truth this engenders. These truths are not mere ethereal but are incarnated in human action and affect daily life (MM §3; GS §42). However, the Church argues that for these values to direct efficacious action, persons must learn them so that they become an enlightened constituent of their consciousness. The Church holds that it is ‘best’ suited and endowed to accomplish this instruction and formation (RN §25; QA §17, 41; MM §218; SRS §41).

Secondary but integral to this pedagogical process and role is a concern for the immediate state of the human condition. While the Church argues that right values will direct right action, it understands clearly that people suffer and live in desperate situations. It sees itself as an agent for ameliorating these conditions: ‘It is the Church, again, that strives not only to instruct the mind but to regulate by her precepts the life and morals of individuals, that ameliorates the condition of the workers through her numerous and beneficent institutions...’(RN §25; see also QA §18; MM §158, 159). In understanding itself as an ‘agent’, it clearly assumes a leadership role both in instruction and in action. It holds that its leadership should not only be trained and schooled in the ‘social’ realm but also embody a keen sense of justice (QA §142). This agency is not

limited to the ‘clergy’ but is closely allied with social action initiated and carried out by the ‘laity’.

With the pontificate of John XXIII, two new dimensions were inculcated into the role the Church had delineated for itself. The first of these was a sense that the Church journeys and experiences the same ‘earthly lot’ as the world experiences (MM §180; GS §40; OA §1, 42). Prior to this articulation, the Church imaged itself as passionate observer of human action and experience but not as terribly shaped by it. It was an entity unto itself — timeless, eternal and ageless. Vatican II revolutionized this understanding arguing that the Church was in and a part of the modern world and the actions and desires of God could be discerned through human experience in the world (*Gaudium et Spes*). It must be said however, that while Vatican II has reshaped Church rhetoric, there are many early examples of this experience of walking ‘shoulder to shoulder’ with people especially those of missionaries (see PP §12).

The second dimension is the concept of witness. The Church argues that in order for its word to be credible and influential it must be a witness to the world of what it speaks. Witness here not only implies action on the part of the Church, its personnel, its followers and its institutions but it is a challenge for the Church itself to change its own structures and functioning in order to be more just in its relationships (GS §42; JW §36, 39, 59; CA §57). The principles espoused in the Teaching must work on the Church as well as the world.

### ***Social Roles Compared***

*Individual(s)*- Both approaches agree that the prime responsibility for well-being falls to the person. This is not understood as an individualistic responsibility but as a responsibility that is integral to the social milieu that is a natural part of human existence. The common human denominator calls forth the human community’s duty to work for the welfare of each of its members. Even when the rhetoric of both approaches seem to

suggest a more isolationist or individualistic notion, inherent in the argument is that the person is a social being and ultimately human welfare is a product of the social relationships that persons are involved in. For example, when social development practitioners use the concepts of 'self-help' and self-determination' to describe a process of participation and ownership of those ultimately affected by social development processes, 'self' does not mean individual but is understood as some form of group or collective of individuals. So too with the rhetoric in the Teaching, for when the Church ascribes ultimate responsibility and importance in social action and structure on the person, it does so understanding that the person does not exist in isolation but is part of a larger social milieu (for a cogent elaboration, see Bihl's summary of Raymundo Panikar's work [Bihl 2001: 54-56]).

Moreover, this social milieu is the key arena for the person to attain and sustain his or her well-being and is therefore essential to the person. It is not an option to opt out of human community. Yet as plain as this may be, it is not clear whether every secular approach of social development would ascribe to and share the Church's manifest insistence on the primacy of the person over and above the social collective. This question becomes all the more important in the context of the pervasive acceptance of the social capital construct in social development ideology and initiatives, which by and large see the collective and the relationships therein as primary in the social development process (see Brown and Ashman 1996; Coleman 2000; Dasgupta and Serageldin 2000; Fukuyama 1997; Putnam 1993).

*Government and Public Authority*- There is convergence in both approaches on the basic fact that governments have a significant responsibility to play in human well-being. How this responsibility manifests itself is where the divergence can be found. The Church argues that the state should see itself as being of service to humanity by promoting, protecting and providing the structures necessary for ensuring the common good and

ultimate human welfare. It cautions that the government should not aggregate to itself what can be accomplished by individuals nor should it assume decisions at the center that could be best made closer to where the effect of the decision will be felt.

Some approaches to secular social development would agree entirely with the Church's position. Others, especially those who ascribe to more 'statist' approaches, would hold that the state has near ultimate responsibility to advance and provide for human welfare through policies and institutions that would guarantee it (see for example Midgley 1995: 102-138). These 'statist' notions have become more pronounced with the assimilation of a social exclusion approach whereby human welfare is analyzed in terms of how people are excluded from society. This analysis, in its original conceptualization in Europe, is founded on a social policy supposition that implies a contract between the nation state and its citizenry (see Rodgers, et. al. 1995). As such, the role of the state in provisioning and leading welfare initiatives is not only requisite but also pre-eminent. Moreover, when juxtaposed to the notions of social capital the ideological terrain of social development and state involvement becomes all the more contested.

*The Church*-The Church is convinced that it has a key role to play in human well-being. It sees itself as a watchdog for and an educator in moral values that will assist humanity in making well-being for all persons a prime objective of the human endeavor. It also sees a role for itself in ameliorating human distress and misery through its structures as well as its membership. It does not seem to hold to an exclusivity of function in these areas but sees itself as part of a larger network of institutions involved in facilitating human welfare.

It is unclear what role secular social development theorists see for the Church. Apart from more general statements about the role of philanthropic organisations, charity and non-governmental actors in social development, there are hardly any references in the literature to the Church's social development activities or to the possible effects religious

attitudes and beliefs have on social well-being. Having said that we can detect through example what is in reality working out to be the Church's role. We have noted that in the Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development (WSSD 1995) the spiritual dimension and vision of social development found a prominent place alongside political and economic dimensions.

In addition, the Church was a vociferous player in preparatory commissions leading up to the Summit as well as at the Summit itself. On a more regular basis, church organizations are key partners with the United Nations and other governmental and non-governmental agencies in administering emergency relief and in facilitating development processes in a variety of contexts. Recent evidence of influence is that the faith dimensions of development have gained increasing currency in some development circles to the point that the President of the World Bank and the Archbishop of Canterbury have established an inter-faith 'think tank' based in Oxford to research and explore such topics (see WFDD 2000; Belshaw, Calderisi, and Sugden 2001; Chapter One).

Two other points are important in this discussion of roles. The first is that while both the secular and the Church approaches would ultimately lay responsibility for well-being on the person, both would agree that an overall system to provide the necessary resources for well-being requires 'experts'. A large part of their responsibility is to act as catalysts for change. Without the leadership and advocacy of these change agents, well-being may never become a prime objective within the systems that can provide the resources necessary. Second, both approaches agree that the weakest sections of society require preferential treatment in the provision of well-being. While policy and action should provide for all persons, those who are found to be in the greatest need have the right to be attended to on a priority basis.

## **Methods of Social Development**

The Church asserts that it has no ‘technical solutions’ to offer when it articulates its social thought. It further argues that it does not have any alternative political or economic systems and/or programs in mind either. Nevertheless, it may not claim to possess a ‘blueprint’ or detailed map but it does have clear ideas about what ought to go into these systems and solutions in order that human happiness and well-being is enhanced and pursued. Many details of these ideas are intimately connected to the ‘changes’ and the ‘roles’ that have been outlined in detail above. In the following section we discuss and develop three more concepts integral to a social development methodology compatible with the Teaching: authentic development, private property, and solidarism.

### ***‘Authentic’ Development***

The overall framework of a social development methodology in the Teaching can be characterized by what Paul VI describes as ‘authentic development’ (PP §20; SRS §17, 33, 39 and briefly highlighted in the last chapter). The starting point of authentic development is the human person and the understanding that the person is a complex and multifaceted being. Consequently, the Church asserts that development cannot be limited to one part or one aspect of human ecology but must inculcate the whole. The Church argues that in any attempt to secure or promote human well-being, the multifaceted universe of the person — the whole person must be at the center of any intervention plan and/or process:

Development which is merely economic is incapable of setting man free; on the contrary, it will end by enslaving him further. Development that does not include the cultural, transcendent and religious dimensions of man and society, to the extent that it does not recognize the existence of such dimensions and does not endeavor to direct its goals and priorities towards the same, is even less conducive to authentic liberation. Human beings are totally free only when they are completely themselves, in the fullness of their rights and duties. The same can be said about society as a whole (SRS §46).

Further, Paul VI holds that that the aim of this ‘authentic’ development is a complete, transcendent humanism (PP §20, 42). He argues that humanism that does not look beyond itself is destined to isolation but more important he argues that it regresses to an ‘inhuman humanism’ as it does not recognize God who gives human life true meaning (PP §42). The Church is convinced that the spiritual dimension to human existence is a pervasive reality that must not only be recognized as a fact but also carefully attended to in the human development process. It is what gives ultimate meaning to human life. It guides right action and is a powerful motivator for the common good.

Authentic development is defined as a process of change from ‘less human conditions to those that are more human’ (PP §19). Examples of less human conditions are lack of material necessities essential for life, moral deficiencies brought on by selfishness, oppressive social structures, exploitation, and abuse of power (PP §21). Conditions considered more human: moving from not enough to having the necessities for life, growth in knowledge, victory over social scourges, increased esteem and dignity for others, a turn to a simpler lifestyle, cooperation for the common good, desire for peace and a transcendent awareness of the human condition and existence (PP §21).

The process of change — of moving to conditions that are more human does not materialize of its own accord but requires planning and intervention. Paul calls for ‘concerted planning’ that will encompass a ‘careful’ situation analysis, articulation and development of desired outcomes, means to get to the outcomes, as well as change in present structures to meet needs today and provide for the future (PP §13, 33, 50). John Paul II takes this planning as a given not only in social development arenas but as a reality of modern life (see GS §5; SRS §26, 33; CA § 32, 38). However, John Paul cautions that this planning must be imbued with moral values (SRS §33). He issues this caution particularly with regard to the use of natural resources and the impact of development on the environment. He argues that the biblical admonition to humanity to become masters of the earth and to subdue it does not give humanity ‘*carte blanche*’ and

absolute power to use, abuse, and dispose of the earth's resources at will (SRS §26, 33).

He is convinced that there must be respect and responsibility for maintenance, regeneration and sustainability of the earth's resources for this generation and generations to come.

With the publication of *Mater et Magistra*, the intimate connection of local action, national support and international cooperation in the process of change for social well-being was acknowledged and affirmed by John XXIII.<sup>5</sup> Here the Pope pointedly affirmed and promoted the United Nations, and its commissions and organizations as a favorable means to enhance human welfare through international cooperation and action. Paul VI extended this understanding. He argued that while local and individual initiative was helpful, the 'present' situation demanded a broader response and system of changes. The challenge of human well-being was not merely a local or even a national issue but for true and effective efforts to enhance well-being there needed to be a 'global' outlook. In this process, there is a call for systemic structural changes that will support local efforts for without them local initiatives are doomed to be transitory and unsustainable. The Church understands that the changes will need protracted lobbying, as well as partnering in programs and projects at all levels — governmental, intergovernmental, non-governmental, church, and citizen groups. It commits itself to both. Examples of this commitment include:

- The establishment of the Papal Peace and Justice Commission and the corresponding commissions in each Conference of Catholic Bishops around the world to promote issues related to social justice, human dignity, human rights and peace;

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<sup>5</sup> In promoting the approach of authentic development, the Church realizes and understands that the development process must occur at all levels of society, up to national as well as international levels. In the early Teaching of Leo XIII and Pius XI there was a notion that for change to be effective it must occur primarily on a micro/local level with the support of the larger national institutions and governments. Linkages beyond the national level were not given much consideration.

- The institution of national campaigns and organizations to educate people on social situations; create solidarity; and to share material resources between people of prosperous countries and those who need assistance. Some better known examples include, the Campaign for Human Development and Catholic Relief Services of the United States Catholic Conference; Misereor and Missio of the German Bishop's Conference, Cordaid of the Netherlands Conference; CAFOD of England and Wales Conference, Caritas Internationalis; and the now defunct ecumenical initiative, Society for Development and Peace (SODEPAX);
- Increased participation in the United Nations bodies and conferences, which has resulted in incisive interventions and adoption of key concepts espoused in the Social Teaching:
  - The concept of Family and religion as key components in the social development process which is included in the final document emanating from the Copenhagen conference;
  - The concept of the 'universal common good' which has been inculcated in the Charter on the Rights and Duties of States as the obligation of states to the international common good (Land 1993: 29-30);
  - Controversial but effective lobbying for language and position changes that reflect the Church Teaching in statements on abortion at the Beijing and Cairo conferences;
- The active participation of the Vatican in the events of the late eighties that eventually led to the 'demise' of Communism in Europe.

### ***Private Property***

A primary and substantive area of commentary in the Teaching has been the question of private ownership and control of property. The Church's treatment of property ownership has been a careful balancing act. It has attempted to walk the fine line between an individual's right to privately owned property and the social attributes of that property. It has argued that private ownership is a 'natural' right of individuals and that any institution including the state cannot usurp this right. At the same time, it has also asserted that property has an inherent social function and value. Individual ownership does not abrogate the social nature of property but requires its owners to use the property in their care toward the common good of society (SRS §42). These aspects of the Church's position on property ownership have fuelled intense debates and have been the source of considerable criticism particularly from proponents of differing political or economic ideologies (see Calvez and Perrin 1961: 220-223; Gudorf 1991: 118-121; Novak 1989; Weigel and Royal 1993).

The value of the Church's Teaching on ownership in a social development perspective is not a product of its assertion that it is a fundamental right (although this adds substantial currency to its argument). Nor does it entirely result from the fact and belief that the earth and the gifts of the earth belong to all persons. Its value for human welfare lies in the Church's understanding of the *function* of property. The Church holds that property and the ability to hold it, is a way for persons to be free, to act freely and a means for meeting human needs. Ownership of property provides the person with power, recognition and capacity. In the earlier Teaching, property ownership was based on 'land' holding. To own land meant certain recognition in society politically, economically and socially. It provided the person with the ability to support him or herself freely and sustainably. Ownership also provided a modicum of social equality and the Church argued that all persons had a right and indeed the necessity to possess property to ensure human dignity. Recent Teaching has recognized that forms of property ownership have

changed and it may not be necessary or desirable for some to own land as some other form of durable asset would be adequate. In noting the change however, the Teaching continues to maintain that the right and the ability to privately hold property is necessary and valid:

A person who is deprived of something he can call "his own," and of the possibility of earning a living through his own initiative, comes to depend on the social machine and on those who control it. This makes it much more difficult for him to recognize his dignity as a person... (CA §13; see also MM §109).

As we see in the above quote from Pope John Paul II, the ability to hold property proffers a capacity for the person to provide for his or her well-being. Again, the early Teaching envisaged land as a way in which this could be accomplished. It was seen as an enduring and durable means to sustenance and a livelihood through the application of human creativity and labor. If one 'worked' for a living in a non-agricultural sense, one of the goals of that work was to provide the possibility of securing property (RN §4; MM §112). Later Teaching regards private ownership in a broader context, arguing that it is the means for ensuring and promoting production so as to create employment and aid persons in laboring for an adequate livelihood (LE §14; SRS §42).

In maintaining that private ownership afforded the person the capacity to provide for his or her well-being, the Church was not unaware that capacity was not capability. The means (land or employment) to a livelihood could be present but the wherewithal (skills, techniques, implements, resources, compensation) could be absent or wholly inadequate. To this end, the Teaching calls for processes to enhance or inculcate capabilities, example of these included living wages, infrastructure for agriculturists and training opportunities for all workers (RN §65; QA §71; MM §127; GS §66, 85; LE 4; 56).

At this juncture, it is necessary to point out two extensions to the arguments above that are inbuilt but not very apparent. The first is that the social nature of property

demands that private ownership not limit the benefits of such property to a sole party. Property is to be for the benefit for all humanity and the common good. Even if a person has private possession, the possession is subject to not only his or her welfare but also to the extent possible, to assisting the well-being of all humanity. Second, private ownership does not preclude public ownership. The Church argues that it may be necessary and desirable for the state to own property or the means of production so as that the common good is served. However, there are conditions to this stance. State ownership is to be subject to the principle of subsidiarity. That is, its decision-making apparatus and processes must devolve to the level closest to where they will have the greatest effect.<sup>6</sup> Further, a system of state ownership should not reduce or destroy the general right to private ownership and initiative but should augment and promote it in the context of the common good. Finally, should the state find it necessary to promote production through state owned corporations, efforts must be made to ensure that these endeavors and the benefits derived from them serve all segments of the population and not just those who may serve as the administrators or protagonists of such endeavors (MM §115-118; PT §138; GS §71).

The essential implications in a social development process of the Church's private property are twofold. For the poor and those who are unable to possess the necessary property for their livelihood and security, it implies that a process is required to ensure the garnering of property for their needs and well-being. This process includes the protection of the right to own and possess as well as society to make this right a reality. Continued dispossession of or inadequate of property will not allow the poor the ability to lead lives befitting of human dignity. For those who own property, the Church argues that the

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<sup>6</sup> An example would be a resolution by the state to establish an industry in an area where property is owned and indigenous population. The Church would hold that while the state may have the ultimate juridical right of eminent domain, it must insure that the decisions that affect the lives of the local population must be made with their participation and direction.

inherent social nature of property demands that these resources be shared and/or placed in the service of the common good.

### ***Corporatism***

Corporatism refers to a manner in which society, principally industrial society, is organized. Inspired by the trade guilds of the middle-ages and promoted on the European continent during the late nineteenth to the middle Twentieth Century, it seeks to establish associations, groups or syndicates of workers and employers by trades and/or professions working together for social prosperity. These ‘groups’, voluntary in some instances but mostly required either through legislation or social pressure, would achieve decisions on profit, wages, inventory targets, etc. in the spirit of corporate cooperation.

The Church’s interest in and first extended reference to corporatism as a means for establishing social well-being came in *Quadragesimo Anno* although allusions to it can be found in *Rerum Novarum*. Its appeal for the Church lies in its aim of bringing together in a harmonious way both worker and employers. The animosity created between the two sections of society was difficult to overcome. Lasting social harmony would require a radical institutional reformation based on the dignity of the person and the social responsibility that accrues therein. Employers and workers would need to come together to labor for the common good of all. In order for this to happen there needed to be a middle way found between the rugged individualism and unrestrained competition of the liberal political economy and the confrontational and collective ownership approach of socialism. The Church argued that this middle way was a system of voluntary associations that would promote employment for as many as possible, participation and devolution of decisions to the local level, responsible wages that would move eventually to a share in profits, and the social well-being of society in general. The corporative system would bring people together not by their position in the market but by their function (QA §43). For corporatism to be effective and encouraged, the Church foresaw

the realignment of social policy to support its implementation. However, it eschewed any direct state control of the associations.

The viability of such a system in organizing modern industrial and now post-industrial society is readily questioned and the proposition of corporatism all but summarily dismissed as an antiquated alternative to a sophisticated and efficient society in most scholarly literature analyzing the Teaching (Hobgood 1998: 113ff; Novak 1989: 121-123). Its realistic consideration is further clouded by its association with Italian fascism and the authoritarian regimes of Spain, Portugal, Austria, Brazil and France for more than half of the Twentieth Century. The Church, however, convinced of its attributes in the first half of the century, seems also to have serious reservations about its practicability given its silence on the idea since 1960 (Giblin 1994: 246). John XXIII affirmed and extended Pius XI's concept of subsidiarity but made no mention of remaining aspects of corporatism.

Despite the general papal silence over the last forty years and the questions of viability, the tenets of corporatism still influence Church thought and action (see Krier-Mich 1998: 85). John Paul II draws extensively from it particularly when arguing the necessity of the worker sharing in the fruits of his or her labor beyond just a wage component (LE § 66-67). Corporatism is still grist for Catholic organizations, profit as well as non-profit, looking for an alternative to current organizational structures and processes. Examples among others include the Mondragon System founded in the Basque region of Spain, the Institute of Integrated Rural Development in Bangladesh, the Catholic Business Forum in Chicago and the Blistex Corporation of Oak Brook, Illinois (see Gunther 2001; Morrison 1991). Further, The Center for Economic and Social Justice, an ecumenical think tank based in Washington, D.C. actively promotes the concept and others allied with it (for instance, employee stock ownership programs (ESOPs) and profit sharing) as way for curing world poverty (Ferree 1997; Miller 1994).

The main components of corporatism in a methodology of social development are threefold. First, enhancing and providing well-being requires a concerted effort at establishing social cohesion. Without societal unity, the animosity in the divisions that exist socially and economically will create lasting difficulties in the provision of human welfare to all segments. Participation and access especially to those who have traditionally been excluded are key dimensions to establishing social unity around the common goal of social well-being. Bringing together workers, owners, investors into a corporate whole with a common goal will undoubtedly be a quantum advantage in human welfare.

Second, the shift to a more cohesive society does not occur automatically. Change requires intervention and the state has a role to play in this intervention through social policy. The challenge for the state is to be a stimulus and animator and not a controller in the process of intervention. Pius XI argues that the state must ultimately seek to devolve the whole system of decisions to the local level in the intervention and reformation process (QA §77-80).

Finally, promotion of well-being demands alternatives to currently structured economic and social relationships. Systems that repress, dispossess, undermine human dignity, and the access to resources necessary for human welfare need 'radicalized' adjustments to make them more humane. Pius argues that the rugged individualism of the capitalist system coupled with its socially imbalanced reliance on private property is a sustaining cause of social misery (QA §53-54). At the same time, he avers that state hegemony proposed and installed in socialist systems, even the most moderate forms, can not be the lasting and moral answer to providing for human well-being (QA §111-115).

Beyond the Church, social development scholars have advanced corporatist ideology and methods as a positive approach to enhance human well-being. Midgley points to the Scandinavian, Japanese and Swiss experiences as exceptionally successful cases (Midgley 1995:147-48, 170-171). He also points to the corporatist system in

Austria whereby labor, industry, and the state put in place decisions that direct the economy and enable benefits to accrue to society as a whole. He cites the example of these policies as the essential reason for low unemployment rates despite the severe economic down turn of the eighties in Austria while the rest of Europe suffered huge contractions in the labor market (Midgley 1995: 171). It should be noted that corporatism became an official system in the Austrian state by virtue of its constitution in 1934 (Nell-Breuning 1986: 64). This was just three years after the publication of *Quadragesimo Anno* at which Pius XI 'expressed high appreciation for the *Quadragesimo Anno* state' much to the chagrin of its drafter (Nell-Breuning 1986: 64). Nell-Breuning's discomfort resulted from the notion that the encyclical promoted the establishment of a corporatist state, a notion that was contradictory to the principles of non-state control that the encyclical held (1986: 64). To relieve some of the anxiety he posited the possibility that Pius was not affirming state control of the corporatist system but recognizing what was required to advance the 'QA picture' (Nell-Breuning 1986: 64). No matter what the understanding actually was, what is evident is that the corporatist ideology has a longstanding history in the Catholic country of Austria and has been quite effective in enhancing human welfare among its citizens.

### ***Social Development Methods Compared***

The core concept of social development holds that that development must be an integrated process that recognizes the complexity of the person and the multifaceted social relationships that constitute the human community. Both the Church and secular approaches call for this key concept of integration to be at the heart of any development process and methodology. To be truly reflective of the human condition, action to ensure and enhance well-being must be integrated and unified in approach having at its focus the human person. As further example of congruence, the Copenhagen Declaration's twenty-one-point framework for action (WSSD 1995: 9-11) consistently resonates with the

principles of social development developed throughout the Teaching. We list in Table 4.1 for illustration some key examples of this congruence.

### **Evaluation and Assessment of Social Change and Development**

Integral to any action of change is an ability to evaluate whether the need for the change, the actual process to arrive at change and the new dispensation of following the changes are and have been a beneficial experience, and what has been learned to make it better in the future. Without iterative deliberation and evaluation, those processes of intervention are doomed to mediocrity or more problematically of worsening the problem the process set out to alleviate and address. Techniques for this kind of evaluation have been honed and perfected over the years.<sup>7</sup> The Church in its activities has employed them and their results have periodically been consulted in drafting the Teaching. However, the Teaching does not overtly apply such evaluation results in its arguments.

Moreover, given its constitution that includes a cross range of values, a span of time that traverses more than a century of development, and implementation in a multitude of cultural settings, the Teaching does not readily lend itself to this type of measurement. This is not to say that it is devoid of any evaluation. Evaluative components are present and do point to assessment of impact and iterative development. These efforts at evaluation can be delineated on two levels: a general review and an ultimate ‘idioverse’.

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<sup>7</sup> They range from qualitative inquiry to quantitative measurement to financial assessments and have been based on materialist, structural, post materialist and post structural ideology. Most generate their conclusions in indices and techniques that are generally project oriented.

**Table 4.1****Elements of Congruence: Catholic Social Teaching and the Copenhagen Declaration**

Copenhagen Declaration	Social Teaching
a. Place people at the center of development...	<p>+For the beginning subject and the goal of all social institutions is and must be the human person... (GS §25)</p> <p>+Development cannot be limited to mere economic growth...it has to promote the good of every man and of the whole man (PP §14; see also SRS §27-29)</p>
b. Fulfill our responsibility for present and future generations...	<p>The second consideration is based on the realization which is perhaps more urgent that natural resources are limited; some are not, as it is said, renewable. Using them as if they were inexhaustible, with absolute dominion, seriously endangers their availability not only for the present generation but above all for generations to come (SRS §33).</p>
c. ...while social development is a national responsibility, it cannot be successfully achieved without collective commitment and efforts of the international community.	<p>The interdependence of the entire world and the necessity of international cooperation in provision and enhancing human welfare is a consistent call in the Teaching (see MM §59, 157-170, 200-211; GS § 85-86; PP§ 43-78; SRS §33).</p>
f. Promote democracy, human dignity, social justice, solidarity at regional, national and international levels...	<p>+The Church values the democratic system inasmuch as it ensures the participation of its citizens...(CA §46).</p> <p>+Any human society...must lay down as a foundation this principle...that every human being is a person...his nature endowed with intelligence and free will...(PT §9; see also GS §12)</p> <p>+Action on behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world appear to us as a constitutive dimension of preaching the Gospel... (JM §6)</p> <p>+Solidarity helps us see the 'other'—whether a person, people or nation...as our 'neighbor', a 'helper', to be made a sharer on par with ourselves... (SRS §39)</p>
g. Promote equitable distribution of income and greater access to resources	<p>...the right to have a share of earthly goods sufficient for oneself and one's family belongs to everyone (GS §69; see also PP §22)</p>
h. Recognize the family as the basic unit of society, and acknowledge that it plays a key role in social development and as such should be strengthened...	<p>The first and fundamental structure for 'human ecology' is the family...(CA §39; see also GS §52; PP §36)</p>

*Sources: World Summit for Social Development 1995 and Documents that comprise the Church Social Teaching*

### ***The General Review***

As most of the social documents issued since *Rerum Novarum* are in some way connected to an anniversary of it or a subsequent milestone, the documents published in commemoration generally include a review of the tenets of the commemorated and previous documents. This allows the new document to be linked and form part of something that has gone before, creating a synergy but also affirming ‘truth’, which the Church looks to as immutable. It also gives the pope issuing the newer Teaching the latitude to affirm, interpret, nuance or correct what went before so as to update the thought for the current situation and thinking.

This technique is not new for the Church nor is it limited to the Teaching. It is employed throughout Church documents and is seen as one of the important marks of validity. We can see these techniques employed vividly in *Quadragesimo Anno*, *Mater et Magistra*, *Laborem Exercens*, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, and *Centesimus Annus*. For our purposes here, we cite an example from *Quadragesimo Anno* and *Gaudium et Spes* as an illustration.

Pius XI made it a point to survey *Rerum Novarum* for benefits that had been derived from the encyclical (QA §16). He divided these ‘benefits’ into four areas. The first set of benefits accrued to the change in Church doctrine. He affirmed the fact that *Rerum Novarum* pulled the Church from its proverbial enclosure and engaged it with the modern social realities (QA §18). He pointed out that the encyclical had a profound impact on the number of Church leaders as well the laity studying social and economic sciences. He held that this led to the acceptance of these discipline in intellectual Church investigation and that they have led the Church to see new developments (QA §19). The second set of benefits is categorized as practical applications. These include, affirmation and social value placed on work and workers subsequent to the encyclical and increased activity and organization of the Church in providing for social welfare in a variety of situations but especially in the new institutions founded for mutual support

among workers (QA §23,24). Civil society demarcates the third sets of benefits. The Pope pointed out in this category that many countries in the western world adopted the principles of *Rerum Novarum* in their Civil codes. This was especially true after the 'great' war (World War I) (QA §22,22,26,27). He also pointed out that a new branch of jurisprudence had been developed in light of Leo XIII's encyclical, that of labor law (QA §28). The final area of benefits is accrued to the 'parties themselves'. These include among others, the beneficial proliferation of unions and associations of workers with a Catholic ethos and the establishment of associations of owners and managers (QA §31-38).

A well-documented example of a 'course correction' is the one Pius XI made concerning the role of private ownership. *Rerum Novarum* clearly argued for the right of private ownership as a natural right. This argument was so forceful that in any analysis of it, the individual right was seen as primary and could be construed to be the only authentic measure for action. Pius was under pains to moderate this position and in *Quadragesimo Anno* he clearly argued for both private ownership as a natural right and the social nature and responsibility of property that inhered in this ownership. As mentioned above, this balanced view of the nature of property and ownership is central to the Teaching and since *Rerum Novarum* has been an explicit dimension of it. Another issue of note is the nuance of language to be more inclusive of women in *Gaudium et Spes*. As explained above, women were rarely mentioned in their own right in the Teaching before John XXIII. The generic use of 'man' was intended to include women particularly in addressing all of humanity. Vatican II broke with this tradition in a significant way. In the original Latin text of the document the more inclusive word *homo* is used, denoting the human person as opposed to the word *vir*, which connotes the male person and was used in previous documents (Riley 1989: 82).

### ***Universal Peace***

The understanding of the Teaching is that the ultimate goal and process of social development to secure human well-being is not limited to a certain project or an immediate action plan. It looks to a process that encompasses variegated constituencies that are represented in the complexity of human persons, their relationships to one another and to their world. As such, it is not 'one off' nor can it be instantaneous. It is a long-term, intentional endeavor that takes place over generations but is not construed to be 'utopic'.

With such a durable process and goal, there must be an equal outcome. As the title, 'Universal Peace' suggests, this outcome is seen as the ultimate evaluation of any pursuit of human well-being: peace - a peace that is pervasive, not limited to individuals or by locale or national borders (MM §166). The Church argues that this peace is not the normative understanding of the absence of war. It is a peace that is inextricably linked to justice--a peace that is in the end, the consequence of justice (PT §77ff; SRS §26.). A justice that inspires a society, which cherishes human dignity, where people are not in need, and humanity has a sense of community. This is not a peace of the '*parousia*' but can be achieved in our lifetime by assiduously working for human development. Paul VI declares and John Paul II echoes that this development is the new name for peace.

### ***Evaluation and Assessment Techniques Compared***

As with social appraisal, in a social development process compatible with the Teaching, evaluation occurs at many levels. The fundamental purpose of these evaluations is to measure how the intervention processes have enhanced, provided for or otherwise affected human well-being. The ultimate issue in the evaluation is not an academic scoring or ranking but an understanding of how the development process becomes better and more effective (see Beall 1997: 13). While the Church has not been so inclined to use social scientific techniques to measure the impact of the principles expounded in the

Teaching for human welfare, it has employed, in a variety of local situations, the techniques to evaluate its social action initiatives (see Mardsen, et. al.1994).

Convergence between the approaches comes from the larger more macro view of the effects of social development intervention. As we have detailed above, the Church argues that the definitive assessment of any process to augment human well-being is the establishment of peace. It sees this peace as a realistic outcome of development. This theme of linking peace to development is echoed in the Copenhagen Declaration as well as the in the rhetoric outlining the goals of the Inter-University Consortium for International Social Development (IUCISD).

## **Summary**

To broadly sum up our examination and analysis of a social development perspective in the Social Teaching we find from this Chapter, when coupled with the overview of the Teaching in Chapter Three, a robust concern in the corpus for human welfare and for engaging and framing a process to ensure and/or augment that welfare. Secondly, this process is normatively developmental and must be multidimensional. As such, the Teaching encompasses more than just the spiritual, ethical and economic considerations in human development. It sees these critical aspects as components of a larger social development endeavor cognizant of the full range of the human milieu. Thirdly, we find that the ‘secular’ and Church approaches to social development are largely congruent with cogent core similarities such as human welfare are process oriented, person-centered, participatory and necessitating leadership and planning. Divergence between the two approaches in such areas as gender and/or role responsibilities are fundamentally due to the faith orientation of the Teaching and are near irreconcilable because of this orientation.

The best test of policy is its implementation. To this end we take up this task in the next three Chapters by developing the case of the Ranchi Archdiocese. In the case we

will primarily seek to uncover how the Church in this one geographical area has operationalized and inculcated the principles of social development found in the Social Teaching into its development activities.

## Chapter Five

### ANTECEDENTS OF THE CHOTANAGPUR CATHOLIC MISSION: A HISTORY OF THE CHOTANAGPUR ADIVASIS

This Chapter begins our case illustration of the Ranchi Archdiocese and how the Church over the last one hundred and forty years effected a course of action for the well being of the tribal population in the geographical area of its influence. As we noted in the previous chapter our goal in developing this case is to examine how the principles of social development are implemented in the establishment of a 'local' Church and in that Church's action for the welfare of its faithful and others in its purview.

These actions, as with all incisive development processes that aim to bring about positive social change, do not occur in a vacuum nor, do they abstractly materialize. They are almost always embedded in the broad cultural and social realities of the people and place, as well as the institutions involved. It is often these realities that make the changes necessary in the first place, while at the same time forming the context in which change takes place and interventions have to become sustainable. This Chapter then explores the historical and social contexts that not only brought about the Church's social action but also allowed for its genesis.

Before we begin a note about descriptive titles, both for the Church and for the geographical area, is in order. We have described our case as that of the Ranchi Archdiocese, which is the current official title given by the Catholic Church to the area of enquiry. However, this description represents a progressive development and institutionalization of the Church centered at Ranchi. At its inception the Church was a part of the West Bengal Mission and was alternatively referred to as the Lohardugga (the civil division at the time and now transliterated as Lohardaga) Mission or the Chotanagpur Mission. Later, when it was granted its independence from the West Bengal Mission, it was often referred to as the Ranchi Mission. Since the time frame of our

discussion in this Chapter corresponds to the period of the Chotanagpur Mission we will employ this title at this juncture.

### **The History of Chotanagpur**

Chotanagpur is the name commonly given since colonial times to the southern districts that comprise the erstwhile-unified Indian state of Bihar and that now makes up most of the newly formed state of Jharkhand with its capital city being Ranchi. The area is located on a high plateau to the west of what we know as West Bengal, to the north of Orissa and to the East of Madhya Pradesh, which is now the state of Chhattisgarh.<sup>1</sup>

The geography of the region is a mélange of undulating hills, lowlands, small forests, large rivers, and granite 'mountains'. Centuries of unregulated deforestation account for its topography being described as a 'well cultivated plain' (Banerjee 1989: 29). Prior to the Mogul period, however, the countryside was a dense forest as wild as any that could be found in Asia. This forest coupled with its inaccessibility on account of the plateau made the area so inhospitable that it stopped explorers and Buddhist missionaries from even attempting to enter its precincts (Banerjee 1989: 132). It is the primary and richest source of India's minerals such as magnesium, coal, iron ore, bauxite, and uranium but also an area of considerable poverty (Banerjee 1989: 35; GOI 1999: 602).

While there is no complete historical certification there is archaeological evidence that the territory had been inhabited from antiquity (Ranchi District Gazetteer 1970: 37). The original settlers seemed to have been 'pre-Aryan' aborigines dependent on the natural resources of the plateau. These included the primitive semi-nomadic forest tribes such as the *Korwas*, the basket making *Pahiras*, the monkey catching *Birhors* and the iron smelting *Asuras* and *Birjias* (Banerjee 1989: 61, 67). They were joined in about 600 B.C. by the semi-agricultural, hunting and gathering *Mundas*, *Hos* (*Larka Kols*), and *Santhals*.

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<sup>1</sup> Prior to independence and the division of the states in the new Indian Republic, the territory also included those areas of Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh that formed part of the plateau.

These were also pre-Aryan aborigines (*adivasis*), who had inhabited many places in North India from the Punjab through to the areas along the fertile Gangetic plain. Traces of their language can still be found today in geographical names and in the vocabulary of the people of these areas. They were successively driven from their previous habitat by the incoming Aryans eventually to enter the Chotanagpur plateau from Rohtasgarh in the north (see Banerjee 1989: 67-72; Roy 1995: 1-69). The *Santhals* settled on the east and northeastern edge of the plateau (Manbhum) while the *Ho* settled in the southeast (Chaibassa) and the *Mundas* made their home in central (Ranchi) and south central areas.

The next wave of migration occurred in about 100 B.C. again from the Rohtasgarh. These were the *Oraons* (Uraon, Kurukh), an aboriginal people, speaking a Dravidian based language and thought to have originated from the Deccan Plateau in South India (see Kujur 1989; Roy 1915, 1999; Tirkey 1989). Scholars and ethnographers have speculated that the *Oraon* are the same forest dwellers mentioned in Hindu literature that assisted Lord Ram in his epic battles. *Oraon* folklore seems to verify the claim, holding that the tribe had ancestral links to Ravana of Ceylon fame (Banerjee 1989: 148-163). Whatever the case of their ancestry, what is clear is that they had significantly more interaction with the Aryans than did the *Mundas* and that their habitation of the Ruidras hills near Rohtasgarh was much longer and more influential. Even today one can find remnants of their culture and language among the peoples of this area.<sup>2</sup> Not long after the migration of the *Oraon*, the final incoming tribe, the *Kharias*, settled on the plateau. They

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<sup>2</sup> Their flight from Rohtasgarh was caused by a battle of legendary proportion. As the story goes, the enemy attacked the *Oraon* fortress during the annual celebration of the *Sarhul* festival when all the men folk were intoxicated by their local brew. The women, dressed as men, valiantly defended their homesteads but were eventually over-powered and the tribe was forced to leave. In their departure, they split into two groups. One group followed the Ganges to the east and settled in the Rajmahal hills and are known today as the *Maler* (Kujur 1989: 34). The other group migrated southward along the Son and North Koel Rivers finally settling on the Chotanagpur plateau.

too came from the Rohtasgarh area and are thought to have originated somewhere in central Asia but had a wandering pattern in North India similar to that of the *Mundas*.<sup>3</sup>

The coexistence among the tribes was peaceful. The *Mundas* welcomed the *Oraon* and allowed them territory commensurate with their advanced agricultural prowess. The *Mundas* retained or moved to the forested areas best suited for their foraging and hunting requirements (Kujur 1989: 35; Roy 1995: 77-78). Even in their acquiescence to and acceptance of the numerically stronger *Oraon*, the *Mundas* retained pre-eminent status as 'original' settlers. The *Mundas* extended the same courtesy to the migrating *Kharias* as well. The harmonious relationship between the tribes seemed to be the result of largely non-competitive livelihoods, similar spiritual-cultural values and the desire to live without fear of intrusion (Clarysse 1985: 88-89; Kujur 1989: 34-35).

Yet, the harmony did not include co-habitation and intermingling. The three tribes were separate and maintained their traditions, culture, and customs as homogeneous units. There was no intermarriage and 'mixed' villages were unheard of until recent times. This is not to say that the tribes were not influenced by one another, on the contrary, they influenced and learned from one another. The *Oraon* having more sophisticated agricultural techniques influenced the *Mundas* into accepting these skills, particularly the introduction and usage of the plough. Conversely, the *Oraon* adopted the social governance system of the *Munda* as well as some of their religious practices and totemic surnames. It is with these groups – the *Mundas*, *Oraons*, and the *Kharias* - that the Catholic Mission of Chotanagpur is most strongly identified.

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<sup>3</sup> Their migration however, occurred in two stages most likely caused by an ideological split in the tribe (Clarysse 1985: 93). The *Dhelki Kharias* were the first group to migrate eventually settling to the west (Madhya Pradesh) and extreme south (North Orissa) of the Chotanagpur plateau. The *Dudh Kharias* followed, inhabiting the valley of the South Koel River between the *Oraons* and the *Mundas* (Clarysse 1985: 93).

### ***Social and Political Organization of the Chotanagpur Adivasis***

While all the tribes are distinct, their social and political organization mirrors much of that developed by the *Mundas*. The organization is primarily structured around kinship, religious beliefs and land. When the *Mundas* arrived on the Chotanagpur plateau they were faced with dense forests and one of their first tasks was to make a clearing to establish places for their dwellings. This process was also followed in later times when they cleared the forest to establish agricultural areas. A family or a group of related families did the clearing. Boundaries were marked in ritual form and then designated with marking stones at the four corners. Special areas in nearby tree groves were also designated as burial places (*sasan*) and sacred worship sites (*sarna*). Once the boundaries had been set, the land was divided among the families for their use. The village community held absolute ownership of the land in perpetuity. It was never to be sold or alienated. Right of usage and possession passed through inheritance to the male descendants. If there were no male descendants or a male next of kin, the property reverted back to the community. Property was not seen as a mere possession or a source of livelihood but represented a critical link between the living members of the community and with their ancestors.<sup>4</sup>

The village was called a *Khunt* and generally consisted of the original settlers or their descendants, called *Khuntkattidars*, tenants who were also *Mundas* called *Parjas* (*Parhas*) and non-*Munda* craftsmen. The *Parjas* were commonly relatives from the female side of the family and were given land to till on a temporary basis by the village community. The craftsmen were an underprivileged class in the village brought in to perform non-agricultural work such as blacksmithing, basket making, and so on. In

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<sup>4</sup> We should note that the burial of a father and the erection of the stone marking the site in the village burial area were not just a religious act of honor and prescription but a civil deed of inheritance and the right of usufruct of the community property as well. As such, the temporal significance linking people, land and rights would not only be key to the social well-being for the people of the plateau but also a fulcrum for social distress as well.

general, they were not given land to cultivate and made their living from their crafts purchasing or bartering for their provisions.

The head of the village was known as a *Pahan*, the village priest. He came to this position by virtue of either being the founder of the village or the oldest descendent of the founder. As priest he was responsible for offering sacrifices during certain times of the year for the well-being of the whole village, for an abundant harvest, to guard against misfortune, and for a successful hunt. As head of the village he exercised civil responsibility in addition to his religious duties. He convened and presided over the village council, called *panchayat*, which was made up of village elders. The *panchayat* incorporated within itself both executive and judicial power. They settled disputes, established punishments for infraction against community norms, granted the tenancy to the *Parjas*, and so on. Members of the village had free access to place issues before the elders. Decisions were sometimes arduous as the *panchayat* largely relied on consensus when making judgments or pronouncements.

As time went on there was a modification to the village leadership. The *Pahan* took on an assistant to help him with his civil responsibilities. This assistant was called the *Munda* and he eventually came to be solely responsible for the temporal leadership of the village. In the *Munda* system of governance, leadership was not an aspiration but came as one's duty. It was seen as a service to the community and a function of maintaining temporal as well as spiritual harmony. It did not carry remuneration nor were there special praedial privileges attached to office. As presider and priest the *Munda* and the *Pahan* were seen as first among equals, sharing the commons equally with the rest of the village.

Beyond the village there was a further civil structure. To protect their common interests and for defense several villages (ten to twelve) of the same clan (*Killi*) in proximate location to one another came together and form a confederacy called a *patti* led

by a *Manki*.<sup>5</sup> As with the *Pahan/Munda* in the village structure, the *Manki*'s service was voluntary and no special privilege accrued to the position. He was seen as a chief among equals.

The *Oraon* generally follow the same structure as the *Munda* with some variation. There are two differences worth noting. While the *Munda* see ownership of the property in community terms, the *Oraon* see it in terms of the family.<sup>6</sup> The second difference is a nuance in language describing the leader of the village confederation. As we mentioned earlier the *Oraon* adopted the two-step governance structure employed by the *Mundas*. The heads of the *Oraon* village were the *Baiga*, the village priest and the *Mahato*, the civil leader. Both had to be descendants of the original settlers. Their role was voluntary, characteristically service oriented and unremunerated. There was also a village *panchayat*—a council of elders whose authority in public matters was unquestioned. The second step as in the *Munda* system was a confederacy of neighboring villages called a *parha panch*. A village headman equivalent to the *Manki* headed the confederation assisted by a council of elders of all the village headmen in the confederation. The *Oraon* called the head of the confederation the *parha raja*, most likely selecting the term *raja* from their previous association with the Aryans before entering the Chotanagpur plateau. However, the use of *raja* (king) as a title for the leader of the confederation was not construed by the *Oraon* to mean he was to accrue any trappings associated with royalty. As a matter of fact, behavioral treatment and response of the *parha raja* in the tribal milieu was largely congruent with the *Munda* style of functioning. His role was a role of service to the villages in the *parha* confederation. The service practice and prescriptions

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<sup>5</sup> The governing structure of the *patti* mirrored that of the village. The leader of the *patti* was called a *Manki* and usually was the strongest and or most influential *Munda* of the participating villages. He led the *patti* along with a *panchayat* which consisted of the leaders of the member villages. The primary role of the *Manki* was to keep the peace between the villages in the confederacy, settle major disputes that went beyond the local village and to defend the villages as needed by raising or calling for a militia.

<sup>6</sup> As the original *Oraon* settlers came to Chotanagpur they too cleared the land for agriculture and dwellings in groups or clans. However, ownership of the cleared property for cultivation cohered to the family that cleared it and their male descendants. Village communal land was limited to public lands, the

notwithstanding, the use of the term with its allied delimitation of royal class, power and privilege would eventually have a detrimental impact on tribal life for the whole of the Chotanagpur plateau.

### **The Dispossession of the Chotanagpur *Adivasis***

The next development in the history of the lives of the Chotanagpur *Adivasis* began centuries of subjugation and dispossession that in one form or another continues even today. Much of this oppression is characterized by non-tribal influence and rule, has at its core a near pejorative view of the indigenous populace and primarily concerns rights and ownership of property. More importantly, however, it was a major catalyzing agent for the Mission's endeavors in social development on the plateau.

### ***Origin and Establishment of the Chotanagpur Raja***

The migration and settlement of the *Oraon* to Chotanagpur invariably complicated matters of governance on the plateau. They were prolific and vastly outnumbered the other tribes, especially the *Mundas*. With the increase in population and the multiplication of villages the localized village confederations of each tribe were inadequate to meet the need of corporately defending the area and protecting the people against outside intrusion or invasion (see de Sa 1975: 14; Kujur 1989: 36-37; Tete 1997: 262). To rectify this, leaders of the village confederations (*Mankis* and *Parha Rajas*) gathered to elect a chief. There is no mention of whether the *Kharias* were a part of this gathering or even present on the plateau when it occurred. This new chief of chiefs would take the title of *Raja*. There is much divergence on the approximate date of this election. Historians have situated it as early as the First Century A.D. and as late as the Tenth Century (Tete 1997: 264). The District Gazetteer fixes it in the Sixth Century (RDG 1970: 42). The chronicle

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*sarna (jaher)*, and wastelands. The original settlers or their descendants were called *bhuiniars* corresponding to the *Munda, khunkattidars*.

of the *Raja*'s household (*Nagbansabali*), which has been characterized as being a bit liberal, places the election at *Sambat* 121 corresponding to 64 A.D. (Banerjee 1989: 259-262; Roy 1912: 86-87).

The election of the *Raja* seems clearly to have been a one-plank necessity: defense. He had no court or administration. He was not a part of the village confederations nor did he have a role in their governance. He had no claim to property and the tributes offered to him were voluntary gifts of grain and forest produce channeled through the confederation headmen. He exercised neither judicial authority nor does he seemed to have played any formal role in making or blessing decisions between the tribes or village confederations. His only authority seemed to have been the ability to call up men from the confederations for defense of the plateau.

The first *Raja* is said to have been Phani Mukut Rai. His antecedents are not clear but whatever is the case, it is accepted that the *Raja* of Chotanagpur was beyond the pale of tribal society and had a 'Hinduized' lifestyle.<sup>7</sup> The earliest records that have survived into the present reference the dynasty as that of the *Nagbhansi* and ascribe the Rajput (warrior) caste to the royal family (Banerjee 1993). Initially during their reign, the *Rajas* did not interfere in the life of the villages nor in the system of voluntary tributes. However, as time went on, the kings began to usurp power and make demands on the *adivasis*. The voluntary tribute was converted into a codified subscription called a *chanda*. While this subscription has been characterized as 'nominal' and 'variable', its implementation coupled with the *Raja* assuming additional power seriously offended the democratic and traditional sensibilities of the *Mundas* (Roy 1912: 87). Their response was

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<sup>7</sup> *Munda* legend has him as the foster son of the *Manki* of Sutiambe inheriting his father's seat in a 'Romulus-Remus' type myth in which he is tacitly linked to *Munda* culture and heritage (Roy 1912: 83). Alternatively, there have been suggestions that he began from a tribal background and either by intermarriage or from outside influence he and his family adopted a more Hindu identity (Banerjee 1993: 104). Others have suggested that he was a descendent of the Chero-Kol royalty of Palamu (Grignard 1909 as referenced in Kujur 1989: 36 and Roy 1912 83-84).

to move as far away from the Raja's reach as possible.<sup>8</sup> However, they did not by their migration intend to circumvent their traditional responsibilities of defense and tributes and were faithful to these even in their seclusion (Roy 1912: 92).

#### ***Royal Education, New Migration and Dispossession***

For nearly two millennia the inhabitants of the Chotanagpur lived in near blissful isolation from 'outside' influence. The *adivasis* were free to live their traditional life, practice their religion, and go about the daily work of providing for their welfare. On those occasions when their freedom was challenged, they seemed to have been successful in meeting those challenges and maintaining their exclusive hold over their habitat. Other than these incursions the only contact with the 'other' world was the occasional explorer or religious mendicant passing through the plateau. The rise to power and solidification of the Moghul Empire in north India definitively altered this contact and more importantly unwittingly began a chain of events that progressively wrought disaster on the fabric of tribal society.

Generally, the Moguls were uninterested in governing the plateau. Their interest lay initially in diamonds and elephants (1538) and later in making the Raja of Kokra, as they knew him, a tributary (*malguzar*) contributing regularly to the Emperor [1585] (Banerjee 1993).

Akbar died in 1605 and his son Jahangir assumed the throne. There was also a change in the Raja of Chotanagpur. In the wake of the changes the Raja defaulted on his tribute to the Imperial Court. The reason for the default is unclear. Some speculate that after Akbar's demise, the *Nagbhansis* exerted their independence once again. Others postulate that there were no funds to pay the tribute given the voluntary and material

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<sup>8</sup> Historians have noted this move in a major migration of a large part of the *Munda* population settled in the central part of the plateau (Ranchi) to the south and southeast of the plateau ostensibly deeper into the forested hills (Roy 1912: 87). In migrating to these more isolated tracts, the *Mundas* ensured that they had little contact with the royal seat.

nature of the *chanda* from the villages (de Sa 1975: 34). Whatever the case, the default was taken seriously. In 1616 Jehangir sent two thousand cavalry and other troops to invade Khokrah and to bring the Raja, Durjansal into submission (Banerjee 1993: 209). For his part Durjansal offered the invading party a handsome ransom of jewels, gold, silver and twenty-three elephants for his freedom (Roy 1912: 96). But the *Nawab* (deputy of the Emperor) who led the invasion would not release him and he along with the ransom was taken back to Delhi. Durjansal was jailed for the next twelve years at the royal city of Gwalior with other rajas suffering the same fate. It was during these years of incarceration that he was educated in the fine art and tradition of Indian and Hindu royalty.

On his release and return to the plateau, Durjansal began the task of installing himself as a 'proper' sovereign of Chotanagpur. He changed his title to Maharaja (literally 'big/great king') and replaced *Rai* with *Sahi* in his name in recognition of his new status within the Moghul Empire. He also set about building his royal court in the tradition of Hindu kings as he had learned and absorbed in Gwalior. He brought in Brahmin priests, warriors, clerks, administrators and servants. They in turn brought in their own families, servants, and associates. This created a new wave of migration of people to Chotanagpur that had not been experienced in centuries. Moreover, when his royal companions of the Gwalior incarceration visited him, they found him in buildings unbecoming of a Maharaja. Up until this point, while the royal houses were large, they were constructed in the traditional village style using locally available material. To assist Durjansal in creating 'proper' palaces, appurtenant buildings and temples, his royal colleagues sent him architects, masons, and marble and stone craftsmen (Roy 1912: 97). They too came with their families and associates further adding to the influx of new comers to the plateau. Invariably this creation of the royal court and household was an expensive affair and had to be paid for. The primary source of 'revenue' for the Maharaja

was from his subjects by way of their voluntary contributions and feudal service. These would somehow have to provide for his newfound affluence.

The first change in this new dispensation was to the *chanda* offered by the villages. This was fixed and standardized across the territory (Roy 1912: 104). No longer was it an offering based on the ability to give but an obligation based on a flat rate. Even with the standardization, the Maharaja had difficulty paying for the services of his court, the upkeep of the priests, and the running of the temples. As a solution he instituted a system whereby court officials were granted direct rights to the *chanda* collected from the villages. These grants based on service rendered were called *jagirs* and although new to the plateau, they were very common in the courts of the rajas of central provinces (Roy 1912: 103). In all likelihood, the Maharaja's intention in granting the *jagirs* was only to transfer his rights to the *chanda*, given in the form of supplies. In essence however, the written format (*pattah*) of the *jagirs* was akin to rights and rent to land in use in the areas from whence the Maharaja's courtiers came (Roy 1912: 101; Tete 1986: 6). This coupled with the *jagirdars* desire to have concrete rights to the land began a systemic dispossession of property from the original settlers of the plateau and caused a large-scale introduction of 'middlemen' and strangers into the tribal social milieu.

The *jagirdars* method of acquiring land and land rights was simple but dubious. They argued that since the Maharaja was entitled to supplies/produce from the land, he held an intrinsic right to those lands that produced the supplies/produce and by transferring his rights to the *jagirdar* they (the *jagirdars*) had a claim to those lands (Roy 1912: 103). This argument added two new classifications of property to the plateau: *rajhihas* (share of the raja) and *majihihas* (share of the servant). Thus the *jagirdars* acquired for themselves some of the most fertile property available that they cultivated with the assistance of their servants and the feudal service of the *adivasis*. In a further affront they also established the concept of land use rent. Using the same logic, the *jagirdars* argued that the *chanda* was a rent payment for use of land essentially usurping

the ancestral ownership from the *adivasis* and their community. Consequently, this ‘new’ method of land ownership on the plateau reduced the *adivasis* too little more than tenants and sharecroppers in the ‘country’ they founded, developed and called their own.

The reaction of the tribal community to this new social structure was not favorable (Roy 1912: 105). They refused to be cowed, would not remit the *chanda*, and refused to accept the outsiders. They revolted. Warriors brought in by the Maharaja forced them into acquiescence and submission. There was further migration of the *Mundas* to the south and southeast of the plateau but eventually they had nowhere else to go. The new system changed their governance structure as well. The *jagirdars*, in their dispensation as landlords assumed the positions of *mankis* and *parha rajas*. Even in the current political make-up of Chotanagpur many of the village civil leaders (elected or appointed) especially at the confederation level are descendants of the *jagirdars* and continue to exert feudal control over the community. As a consolation for a loss of power to the ‘foreign’ *mankis* and *parhas*, the ‘tribal’ *mankis* and *pahans* were ‘allotted’ rent-free land.

### ***British Rule***

There are two realities that we must recall when considering British Rule in India in general and Chotanagpur in particular. The first is that British presence on the subcontinent until the mid Nineteenth Century was mitigated through a commercial trading entity — the East India Company. Its primary objective was trade and not governance. Its commercial objective far outweighed any other consideration. Second, the military units attached to it were there to secure the safety of the officials, free access resources, and to maintain peace so that the company could go about its business. Revenue collected by the company through tributes or taxes were largely collected to offset the expenses required for administering the military presence and other administrative infrastructure. These two aspects shaped much of the action and interaction of the company with the people in the territory controlled by them.

Chotanagpur was ceded to the British East India Company in 1765 by Emperor Shah Alam as part of the *Diwani* (Revenue agency) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Initially, it did not attract much attention from the Company nor did the new rule have much impact on the people of the plateau. The Company followed a similar pattern of administration as the Moghuls had, allowing the local Rajas (known to them as *Zemindars*—*landlords*) handle the administration. Consequently, since the Maharaja of Chotanagpur was made a vassal to the Raja of Ramgarh in 1731, the Company for its part was only interested in the party who paid the tribute: the Raja of Ramgarh. Further, as Chotanagpur held no trade value for the company, being described as eighteen thousand square miles of ‘very inconsiderable value’, it educed even less attention (Roy 1912: 119).

In 1772 after a British officer, Captain Camac, successfully came to the aid of the Raja of Palamau, Gopal Rai, and reinstalled him. The Maharaja of Chotanagpur, Durpanath Sahi took advantage of the proximity of the honorable ‘sahib’ and made an offer to ally himself to the ‘Honorable Company’ and to double his tribute if he were returned to his ancestral position and status with the administration. The Maharaja’s reasons were not limited to pride. He saw the power that could be brought to bear by having an ally in the British and that among other advantages, this protective resource would be helpful to him in his own efforts to keep the *adivasis* subjugated particularly those causing trouble from Tamar, Toree and the five Perganas (see Roy 1912: 118-120). The Company accepted the Maharaja’s petition for it now saw a value in Chotanagpur as it provided a strategic defensive buffer between the Bengal territory and the regions to the west controlled by the unfriendly *Marathas*. The new tribute was set at Rupees six thousand and an additional six thousand as rent. This was subsequently increased to Rupees fifteen thousand.

The direct effect of this new arrangement between the Company and the Maharaja was not extraordinarily noticeable for the *adivasis*. The Maharaja and his *jagirdars*

continued to maintain full and independent administration of the plateau under the agreement (Roy 1912: 118). There was an increase in the rents and *chanda* commensurate with the contractual amounts guaranteed to the company but this was a common occurrence on the plateau. The consequences were also all too common. You could not collect what was not there and as the arrears mounted more ancestral land fell into the hands and control of the *jagirdars* further dispossessing the *adivasis*. The quandary of a small revenue resource base coupled with low collection rates was problematic for the Maharaja, as he himself could not meet the tributary demands and revenue expectations of the Company (Roy 1912: 118).

The indirect effect of the agreement was more serious for the long term. By continuing what seemed to be the historical proprietary rights and governance responsibilities of the Maharaja, the Company contributed to a progressive institutionalization of oppression and marginalization of the *adivasis* ushered in during the Moghul rule. The Company ostensibly supplied legitimacy to the claim of proprietary rights to the land of the *adivasis* by the Maharaja and his *jagirdars*. And to make matters worse, they supported this legitimacy with force (see Roy 1912: 118-120; Jha 1964: 40-41).

The next stage in the institutionalization was the Permanent Settlement of the Bengal Territories in 1793. The Settlement had two pertinent aspects to it that greatly exacerbated the problems on the plateau. The first was that it officially provided for the transfer of land in favor of the landlords (*zemindars*).<sup>9</sup> The second aspect was the introduction of new taxes. Up until this point, the tax burden on the *adivasis* was fundamentally a land rent, a *chanda* or tribute to the Maharaja, and feudal service. There

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<sup>9</sup> The rationale of Lord Cornwallis in promulgating such a policy was based largely upon the concept that 'someone' must own the land and that 'someone' was the rajas or their grantees. This notion had its roots in and was based on the traditional British landholding system and on the experience of the Company primarily in traditional, caste oriented Hindu communities: There is a non-tilling owner of the land and a tilling non-owner. In the case of the *adivasis*, they were considered the tilling non-owner. The Settlement provisions were applied throughout the territory regardless of the local situations, consideration, or history.

was also ‘contributory’ labor forced from them by the *jagirdars* for a variety of purposes. The permanent settlement added to this mix an excise tax to each household, an opium tax, additional ‘contributed’ labor services for roads and so on, a postal tax on each household, and a *batta* (exchange fee) for converting copper into silver. Beyond the actual financial burden this added to a largely barter and subsistence economy, the cultural insensitivity and implications were legion. The excise tax was particularly pugnacious. The *adivasis* brewed two local liquors, one made of fermented rice, herbs and roots (*Illi* or *Hanria*) and the other distilled from the flower of the *Muhua* tree (*Dharu*) again using local ingredients. For the *Mundas*, the rice ‘beer’ has spiritual roots. It was a drink given by *Sing Bonga* (supreme deity) to the first woman and man to allay their inhibitions in order to procreate. It is also used culturally in festivals, as a recompense for community work in the fields, for medicinal purposes, and in some research has been shown to be a nutritional supplement in the *adivasi* diet (Lakra, B: personal interview). The tax on such an integral aspect of tribal life would be analogous to a tax on water or air.

The Settlement also ushered in a change in the social make-up of the plateau. The taxes needed to be assessed and collected. A new regime made up of outsiders mainly from Bihar and Bengal was installed. Composed of mid-level government revenue servants, their expertise in implementing the new tax regime was commendable. However, their understanding and ability to grasp the local situations in Chotanagpur was poor due to their different cultural experience and language deficiency. It also added another class of people to the plateau, essentially moving the *adivasi* community further down the social ladder. Furthermore the additional taxes created need for cash in the villages. As *adivasis* had little need of cash, bartering for what they required at the village markets, somehow they had to convert their goods into money to pay the taxes. When the produce did not bring in the required amount or they had too little grain to sell they were forced to look elsewhere. This need for cash created a new market on the plateau:

moneylenders. Traditionally from the *mahajan* or *sahu* castes, they had honed their skill for centuries throughout India (see Thapur 1966: 251). On the plateau, they found a substantial and gullible market in which to deal. For the *adivasis*, the exercise of being in debt was again an experience of dispossession of their ancestral heritage and rights as the moneylenders were quick to have land as collateral. In default, they moved to acquire the same.

In response to the imposition of the settlement, there were continual uprisings on the plateau. Social unrest among the *adivasis* was palpable. The Company was quick to send aid in the form of armed soldiers to the Maharaja to keep the peace. In 1809, it ordered the Maharaja to establish a village policing system to assist in quieting the unrest. Under the program each village would have a village guard (*chowkidar*). Maintenance of these guards would fall to the Maharaja who in turn established a 'quitrent' (*Police Pacha*) on the villages to offset the costs (Roy 1912: 137). Invariably these village police were 'foreigners' mainly from Bihar and had more affinity with the landlords than with the villagers who supported their maintenance. The establishment of the village guards did little to quell the unrest and actually inflamed it. In 1811, the *adivasis* again rose in revolt and again were subdued using Company assistance. In 1817, the plateau was brought under direct control of the Company ostensibly ending the Maharaja's governance of the plateau. However, this adjustment did not cause any loss or redress of his ownership rights.

In 1822, a change in Maharajas occurred in on the plateau. The nineteen-year old son Govindnath Sahi succeeded his father Raj Deo Nath Sahi who had died. While Govindnath had no direct role in the governance of Chotanagpur, he nonetheless added to the adversity on the plateau. Described as a spendthrift, he went about expending funds he did have. To pay for the extravagance he turned to the traditional method of the royal court: land grants. He ceded villages to the merchants on a temporary basis. These temporary leases were called *thikas*. The *thikadars* were of the trading class and included

Muslims, Sikhs, as well as Hindus. And so ensued a new migration and the introduction of another abusive element in the village social structure. The *thikadars*, knowing full well that their grants were temporary, employed every means possible to extract what they could from the *adivasis* under the lease and acquire for themselves as much property in any manner they could (Roy 1912: 128). The excesses foisted on the *adivasis* by the *thikadars* were not only material but included appropriation of tribal women as well.

The collective brutality of the *thikadars* galvanized the *Mundas* into a widespread insurrection that the plateau had not seen to date. The spark that united the population in action was the temporary land leases made by the Maharaja's brother to *thikadars* in Sonepur. The leases dispossessed twelve villages of their ancestral property including the property of the *manki* of the village confederation (Roy 1912: 128).<sup>10</sup> The *Mundas* began their direct collective action in January 1832. The objective of the insurrection was to oust the *dikus* (foreigners) from the villages. The revolting *Mundas* numbered in the thousands at their peak and were joined by their tribal 'cousins' the Hos. While their attacks were vicious on the *jagirdars* and *thikadars*, the *Mundas* did not take up their quarrel directly with the Maharaja or the Company officials or troops. The Company, however, sent its troops into quell the insurrection not with substantial loss of life to *sepoy*s who engaged the revolting *Mundas*. Much of the revolt was put down by May 1832 through the military and personal efforts of a British Officer, Sir (Captain) Thomas Wilkinson.<sup>11</sup>

The consequences of the uprising were radical. In the ensuing investigations into the causes of the insurrection and subsequent reports, particularly that of the Mr. Blunt, a member of the Governor-General's Council, it was clear that the *adivasis* held genuine grievances and were not resorting to mere 'savagery' (Jha 1964: 197). This realization

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<sup>10</sup> Coupled with this was the seduction or ravishing of the *manki*'s two sisters and his very public incarceration on false charges by the *thikadars* (Roy 1912: 120).

<sup>11</sup> Wilkinson was one of the few British officials who had the confidence of the *Mundas* through his knowledge of their language. They knew him somewhat affectionately as 'Alikisun Saheb' (Roy 1912: 132).

provoked the Company to reassess its method of administration and governance of the plateau. This reassessment led to three significant changes. The first was the establishment of a non-regulation province called the Southwestern Frontier Agency (Roy 1912: 137). As a non-regulation province, the regulations heretofore implemented initially by the Bengal Permanent Settlement would no longer be applicable in Chotanagpur. The core significance of this change is in the recognition from Company officials that these regulations were inappropriate to the plateau and that they were a contributing element to the *adivasis* plight: ‘...and I think a serious error was committed in introducing our Regulations into Chotanagpur, or in attempting to create a revenue from taxes levied from subjects so uncivilized and so poor’ (Blunt 1832 as quoted in Roy 1912: 134). Practically, the creation of the new province carried with it a review and a reconsideration of the tax and revenue structure of the plateau.

The second change was the establishment on the plateau of an administrative and judicial infrastructure. Prior to the creation of the province, the territory was controlled from Ramgarh and Gaya (*Sherghatti*) simultaneously. Even after the Company deposed the Maharaja as a tributary, there existed no permanent Company representative on the plateau except for a variety of revenue officials charged with assessing and collecting taxes. Under the new administrative system, courts were established at Lohardaga about fifty miles to the northeast of Ranchi and the administrative offices along with the garrison were established at Ranchi itself. The courts were later relocated to Ranchi.

The third change was the institution of a police force on the plateau. The system provided a police force at government expense headquartered at the seat of the main *Zemindars* (landlords) of the territory. Ostensibly this move was to improve and extend protection to the landlords and to maintain the peace among the *adivasis*. Ultimately accountable to the agent at Ranchi, in actuality the police became endeared to and controlled by the landlords of the locale. Their presence gave prove to the further

entrenchment of the oppressive control of the tribal population by non-tribal inhabitants of the plateau.

The changes, while an improvement to the administration of the territory did little to ameliorate the conditions of the *adivasis* (Roy 1912: 139). The question of returning ancestral lands was reduced to restoring the lands of the *mankis* and *parha rajas*; the Company officials believing this to be the normal course as they were the ‘original’ landlords. This still left a significant amount of property usurped by the *jagirdars* and *thikadars* in the ‘foreigners’ hands, a condition unacceptable to the tribal population. Further still, the administrative and judicial structure introduced an alien form of justice, with new outside ‘middlemen’ (*vakils*, advocates), and conducted in a language (Urdu or Hindi) unfamiliar to the *adivasis*. Redress of their grievances, while possible, was unfathomable and almost never successful, not too mention cost prohibitive. Consequently, the *adivasis* found that they were again at an extreme disadvantage and that their marginalization was more acute. The Company, while well intentioned, in effect did further harm to the tribal population, as was indeed anticipated: ‘...the extension of our laws and of the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of justice into such tracks [Chotanagpur] will be both premature and injurious, both to the peace of the country and to the welfare of the people...’ (Blunt 1832 as quoted in Roy 1912: 135).

### **Christianity Comes to Chotanagpur**

The first Christian missionaries to arrive on the Chotanagpur plateau were from the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission, a missionary society founded in 1826 by John Baptist Gossner of Berlin (de Sa 1975: 72; Roy 1999: 336). Gossner was ordained a Catholic priest but left the Church and became a Lutheran (de Sa 1975: 72). His four pioneering missionaries arrived in Ranchi from Calcutta in November 1845. Their interest in the Chotanagpur territory came from their acquaintance and work with some *adivasis* laborers in Calcutta and encouragement from friendly officials who informed them of the

opportunity to work in the uncharted areas of Chotanagpur (de Sa 1975: 73; Roy 1912: 145-146).

The work of the mission was painstakingly slow in its first five years. The *adivasis* were skeptical. For their part the missionaries were diligent in their work. Their technique was Moravian inspired with emphasis on fellowship, community, living what they preached and establishing self-sufficient and locally governed churches. They set up mission stations to provide an outlet for their preaching, translated material into the vernacular, made forays into the village to encourage the *adivasis* to listen to the message of the Christian Gospel, distributed medicines, and established schools. All seemed for naught. In some villages they were stoned. Their Church's remained empty on Sundays and the schools had no pupils. It was not that there was no contact. There was curiosity among the tribal population even some wanting to 'meet' Jesus of whom the missionaries preached (de Sa 1975: 76). However, they were not immediately willing to embrace a new belief that would have them break their traditions of eating with non-*adivasis* and giving up the 'rice' beer they so much enjoyed. They were also unconvinced of the motives of these 'new' Europeans they encountered. Up until this point they had to deal with the British who were decidedly part of the governance, justice and policing system and as such were perceived to be allied with the 'ruling' landlords. As time went on and the *adivasis* entered into deeper dialogues with the missionaries and the missionaries were able to communicate better in the local dialects, their authenticity and sincerity were acknowledged and appreciated. The first tribal Christians were baptized in June 1850. They were *Orion* and had been part of the *Kabir* movement earlier (de Sa 1975: 76; also see Roy 1999: 339ff.). The cautious *Mundas* would not have their first converts until the following year. Once the conversions began they were steady. By 1857, the year of the Sepoy Mutiny that raged throughout India, the mission counted 900 baptized and 2000 on the enquiry list.

The impact of the mission on the plateau was considerable. For the first time, the *adivasis* found a true ally in their social difficulties. The missionaries were patient listeners and empathized with the plight of their congregations especially with regard to the long suffering at the hands of the landlords. In their empathy the missionaries counseled and advised the people on their rights and responsibilities under the law. They also arranged good and honest legal practitioners to assist the new Christians in their cases. These cases became examples of success and on the whole the Christian litigants achieved victory more often than not. This new found understanding of their rights coupled with the rudimentary education imparted in the normal course of the process caused the *adivasis* to become ennobled and empowered the tribal Christian to confront the unjust and oppressive tactics of the landlords.

The landlords were emphatically opposed to the new developments. Their control and preeminent position were under assault. In response, they instituted false cases against the new Christians, used the *Zemindari* police to make arrests and imprison the *adivasis* on false pretenses, damaged crops and nearly beat to death one of the missionaries (Roy 1912: 155). During the Sepoy Mutiny (1857), they took advantage of the mayhem to destroy mission properties and hounded the Christians from their lands. In the ferocity of their opposition, the landlords were in fact broadcasting an affirmation of the mission and Christianity to the *adivasis* (Davies 1859 as quoted in Roy 1912: 145). Though surreptitious, this affirmation was not lost on the tribal population and the move to Christianity continued.

The government's view of the conversions to Christianity could be initially characterized as at least benign if not favorable. The mission brought with it education and social services that were not heretofore provided on the plateau. It also afforded an impetus for the tribal population to approach the courts and to act in a 'civilized' manner to the newly instituted method of governance in Chotanagpur. However, the newfound

boldness of the Christian *adivasis* would prove to be a thorn in the side of the government.

Following the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857, there were two more uprisings of the *adivasis* in the Chotanagpur territory. Upon quelling these, the government began a serious inquiry into land reform in the territory. What resulted was the appointment of a special commissioner charged with the task of surveying and recording all *bhuinhari* land. We recall here that *bhuinhari* land pertained particularly to the original clearers of the soil in the *Oraon* social system and was land that belonged to a particular family and not to the community, as did the *khuntikatti* lands in the *Munda* system. The special commissioner did not have the ability to adjudicate disputes and his survey was constrained by the fact that he did not consider the upper (*tanr*) and lowlands (*don*) in his purview. However the courts recognized his records. He died before a complete survey could be finished. Faced with the incomplete survey and the withdrawal of Indian Councils Act, the government abandoned the effort upon which disputes again erupted between the *adivasis* and the landlords.

In an attempt to bring some closure and finality to the property question of Chotanagpur the government followed the *bhuinhari* survey with a legislative act to restore and protect *bhuinhari* lands. Entitled the Chotanagpur Tenures Act II it was passed into law in July 1869. The Act provided for a scientific spot survey and settlement of *bhuinhari* lands across the plateau. While its intention was laudable, its execution met with very limited success. The core causes of the Act's failure are four-fold (see Roy 1912: 169-173). The first was that for all intents and purposes the Act was much too late in coming. By the time the survey was conducted in 1869 it was clear to all involved how vast the alienation and dispossession of *bhuinhari* lands from the original settlers had progressed. Secondly, the Act was limited in its scope. It did not address the issue of common forest rights of the *adivasis*, the rights to lowlands cleared for plantation nor the odious practice of the landlords demanding unpaid labor. Moreover, the Act was silent on

the *khuntikatti* lands of the *Munda* as its drafters failed to understand the import of the tribal social structure and the corresponding land ownership patterns. Finally, even with the encouragement and assistance in publication of the Act by the mission and the effort of the government to bring the implementation of the Act to the villages, skepticism and misunderstandings of the intentions of the government among the *adivasis* were rife. Some were convinced that the process was designed to implement new taxes. Others were lured or goaded by the landlords to either make no declarations or false declarations thus preserving the land holding status quo. And still others, especially the *Mundas*, did not declare all their lands because they believed that the *khuntikatti* lands were part of their ancestral heritage and inherently not in the purview of the Act.

The failure of the Act to satiate the tribal population in what they believed to be their legitimate property rights coupled with government inaction in attending to the other grievances such as the forced unpaid labor once again became fodder for social unrest. The new agitation was led primarily by the Lutheran converts and in its initial stages took the form of written protests sent to the government at the district level, Government of Bengal, the Government of India and to the Queen herself, much to the chagrin of the officials. In their various 'memorials', the *sardars* (leaders) as they were called, attempted to present their case regarding the historical dispossession of their ancestral lands, the inadequacy of the *bhunihari* settlements and survey, their desire to pay the rents directly to the government and their desire to be allowed to form themselves in their traditional village confederations directly accountable to the government and freed from the control of the landlords (de Sa 1975: 113-115). These appeals were all rejected the government arguing that the *Bhuinhari* survey was the best they could do for the people (de Sa 1975: 113). After a series of appeals went to London at the end of the 1870s and were rejected, the government through the district officials tried to get the *sardars* to stop their agitation. They impressed upon the mission their request and enlisted their help (de Sa 1975: 113). The mission for its part complied and tried to explain to the *sardars* the

position of the government and convince them to stop their petitions. This did not work and the *sardars* continued their petitions vigorously. Thus began a serious strain on the relationship between the *adivasi* Christians and their pastors. So as not to encourage the movements and run foul of the government, the missionaries also curtailed their active court advocacy for the people. This further disillusioned the Christian *adivasis* and many left the mission only to take up pseudo-Christian practices and a declaration to create their own *rai* (literally kingdom or rule akin to the British Raj or the Reign of God).

At the time of the *sardar* movement (1869) the Lutheran mission suffered a further crises and setback. Six of its senior pastors in the Chotanagpur mission had protracted irreconcilable disagreements with the leadership in Berlin that succeeded Gossner upon his death the same year. With no possibility of resolution, they approached the Anglican Church officials in Calcutta and they and their followers were welcomed into the Anglican Communion. The six pastors returned to Ranchi and with their followers under the aegis and assistance of the Society for the Proclamation of the Gospel opened the Anglican mission in Ranchi. Unrelated to this issue but nonetheless significant to the plateau and the other Christian denominations is that the Catholic Church in the same year sent its first missionary, the Belgian Jesuit Father Stockman, to the plateau. He established himself at Chaibasa to the southeast of Ranchi.

### **Summary**

Before we move on to the establishment and activities of the Catholic Mission of Chotanagpur it is important to pause and review the major social dimensions and movements that this earlier mission encountered on entering the plateau. Recapitulation is also valuable at this juncture as many of the social realities that were rooted in centuries of history and were present on the plateau would ultimately shape and structure the Church's response and development action.

- The geographical attributes of Chotanagpur provided a refuge—a safe haven for the *adivasis* seeking to distance themselves from an ever-expanding Aryan sphere of influence. In their migration to and settlement of the plateau, they were undisturbed by any significant outside influence for over a millennia. Other than functional readjustment within Chotanagpur, they saw no need for further migration off the plateau until the late Eighteenth Century.
- The act and process of settling the plateau endeared the tribal population to the land. This endearment was poignant as the land and forests were a source of sustenance, a vital link with their ancestors, home to the spirits whom they worshiped, and were the foundation of their social and political arrangements.
- Ownership of property was a perpetual right passed patrilineally from one generation to the next. Evidence and record of ownership derives from the burial of ancestors in the village cemetery and corresponding stones that mark the graves. The *Mundas* owned property jointly as a village unit. The original settlers and their descendants have preeminent possession and ownership. The *Oraons* on the other hand had communal property consisting of forests, grazing lands, and some village areas but the owned the cleared farming areas as family units.
- The plateau had become so important and valuable to the *adivasis*, that they found it necessary to create a coordinating structure for its protection by electing a king.
- The King was seen as a *primus inter pares*—the first among equals. Separate from tribal culture he had no role in its governance. His duty was the defense of the plateau and for his maintenance, the confederation of villages offered voluntary tributes of forest produce and grain.
- The Moghuls made the Raja of Chotanagpur (Kokrah) a tributary to the Imperial Court circumscribing him with ‘royal’ powers of ownership over and against what the *adivasis* envisaged. In assuming the role, the *Raja* introduced a new class and

culture of people to the plateau and a new method of ownership evolved that gave land/property rights to the raja and his delegates contrary to the ancestral and primary ownership rights of the *adivasis*.

- The British, assuming control and administration from the Moghuls, continued the view that the Maharaja and his delegates had ownership and revenue rights to the land and forests of the plateau. After numerous uprisings of the tribal population they began to address and restore property rights with limited success. However, the new 'rulers' did not comprehend the entire tribal social milieu, nor the disastrous impact of the landlord systems were having on the *adivasis*. The affirmation of this oppressive landlord system was further asserted with the introduction of the Zemindari police force on the plateau.
- The advent of Christian Missionary activity on the plateau had a positive impact on ameliorating the exploitation of the tribal community particularly those who embraced Christianity. But as the tribal Christians became sensitized to the severe infringement of their rights they became more belligerent in their demands of redress. Their newfound 'independence' fractured their relationships with the leadership of the mission and ultimately with the government leading to confrontation and disenchantment.

### **Of Religious Reasons and Temporal Causes**

At this juncture it is also incumbent upon us to note and discuss the rationale of Christian missionary activity at the time and the corresponding view of conversion during the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century. It is a process that has an important purchase for the people of the plateau not only spiritually but temporally as well. It is also a point of contention at various stages in the history of Chotanagpur and indeed throughout the history of India itself and remains a significant point of conflict even today.

To be able to apprehend the larger picture of the dramatic social changes that occurred in Chotanagpur during the mid to late Nineteenth Century and in particular those changes largely effected by the implantation of Christianity among the *adivasis*, we need to explore the answers to two fundamental questions: Why did the Church engage in missionary activity and what was the motivation of the missionary; and why would the *adivasis* of the plateau be attracted to Christianity so much so as to accept conversion? Certainly, the search for answers to these questions has and continues to be in itself grist for focused and detailed research. Our purpose here is not a comprehensive inquiry but an exercise that details the core arguments and evidence in order to better understand the social change that occurred, the action(s) that engendered it and the response(s) to it.

Christian missionary activity has clearly been part of the Church's action dating back to the apostolic age and followed almost immediately after Jesus' death with the sharing of his story and message. Famous examples of this activity are chronicled in detail in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Letters of St. Paul to the various fledgling Christian Communities that Paul and the early believers founded in Greece, Asia Minor and in Rome. Grounded in the mandate of Jesus to proclaim to the whole world the 'good news' — the gospel and to witness to its precepts in deed, missionary action became not just an aspect of the Church but *the* constitutive element of the Church (see EN §59; Kirk 1999: 30-31). It is what constitutes the core identity of Christianity. For if the Church and likewise every Christian is not propelled to announce in word and living example the Reign of God and all it entails — justice, peace, mercy, compassion, inclusion, reconciliation, and so on — as proclaimed and lived by Jesus, the Church ceases to be Church and the Christian becomes nominal at best (see Kirk 1999: 30-31). At the heart of Christian missionary activity is the belief in Jesus as the savior of humankind. To accept the good news is to accept Jesus, his message, the truth it represents and the ultimate salvation it brings. In one way or the other this is the motivation that has impelled and continues to impel missionaries and mission activities of the Church.

If the desire that Jesus and his message be known and accepted by the *adivasis* of Chotanagpur propelled the Christian missionaries to the plateau, what propelled the *adivasis* to accept Jesus and be baptized? There are no simple one-dimensional answers to this question but a series of multidimensional factors that contribute to the *adivasis* embracing a new religion. We delineate here three of the major factors. First, the oppression of the *adivasis* and the continual deprivation of their property and rights by the landlords inculcated a fundamental desire in the tribal population for redress and change. To remedy the situation and initiate the restoration of their ancestral rights the *adivasis* resorted to the only methods available to them: armed rebellion and migration. As has been illustrated above both solutions eventually proved to be 'dead-ends'. The armed rebellions were forcefully quelled initially by warriors of the Maharaja and subsequently by British forces in support of the Maharaja and his agents (landlords). Moreover, to discourage and contain future action, the leaders were pursued, arrested and jailed and policing systems were created that further reinforced the landlord's social control and power. Migration became increasingly difficult as the uninhabited areas on the plateau were limited and the reach of the government as well as the landlords became pervasive. Even when the government provided what it thought was redress through initial survey and land tenures, the measures were not adequate and actually introduced a complex system of justice that further enhanced and legitimized the rights of the landlords.

The effect of this was that the *adivasis* were caught in a 'pincer maneuver' trapping them in the status quo. If they tried to physically escape from the oppression, they could not do so in a manner that would restore them their property and dignity. The avenues open to migration were to the cities such as Calcutta where they had no access to property, they were outsiders and jobs were menial and low paid; or to the tea gardens where the living conditions were abysmal, the abuse systematic and the terms of employment tantamount to indentured service. If they turned to the government, the system of justice/redress was not understood nor did the *adivasis* have the wherewithal to

adequately function within the governance/judicial system. Furthermore, when petitioned, the government did grasp nor sympathize with their grievances.

The arrival of the missionaries and the introduction of Christianity on the plateau brought an alternative. In the missionaries the *adivasis* found genuine advocates that believed their grievances were just. They did not distinguish the national differences between the missionaries from Germany/Belgium and the British officers but surmised equality between them. This was an important feature as their new advocates would be seen socially as 'above' the landlords but not in league with them possessing the ability to intercede on the behalf of the *adivasis* directly with the government and hopefully be heard. Their newfound advocates were also pragmatic; they established schools that readily illuminated and inculcated new perspectives on life and began advising the *adivasis* in their court cases with much success. Embracing Christianity was the change that would provide the best chance for liberation from their misery (see Roy 1912: 185). In a manner, the *adivasis* of Chotanagpur by converting were following centuries old traditions that have been chronicled as a mitigating rationale for changing to another religious system: the act of conversion was an act of deviance (see Stark 1996: 17-18). It was deviance in the sense that by becoming Christians, the *adivasis* embraced a new social identity that radically separated them from the prevailing social structures and the parts they heretofore played in those structures. As the conversions progressed, the deviance took the form of solidarity binding the tribal Christians together in a common identity that boldly set them against endemic oppression. The development of a strong consanguine community with the ability to face the bitter social difficulties made the new religious system even more attractive to the community minded *adivasis* drawing even more to the movement. Conversion was not only an act of protest but an act of social kinship as well.

The second set of factors congregate around the *adivasi* belief and spiritual system. Traditionally identified as animists, there is debate on whether this label is

complete and or valid (de Sa 1975: 19). There are aspects of the belief system that would lead to the conclusion of an animistic structure such as the worship of natural occurring objects and to a lesser extent natural phenomenon. On the other hand there are other components such as the belief in a supreme entity suggesting more theistic dimensions. Some early missionaries and British officials harshly characterized the *adivasi* belief system as 'demon' worship. However this characterization seems to be a misnomer. At the core of tribal spirituality is the belief in a central supreme being as ultimate creator, controller, and life force. For the *Mundas*, this is *Singbonga*, for the *Oraons*, *Dharmes*, and for the *Kharias*, *Parameshwar* whose personification is the Sun (*Bero*). The ethical dimension—the knowledge of what is right and wrong emanates from this Supreme Being. Beyond the Supreme Being are the spirits—immaterial entities wielding power and influence of good or evil over people and their affairs (de Sa 1975:17-18; also see Clarysse 1985: 91-94; Hoffmann 1998: Vol. II; Roy 1999: 15-114; Roy 1912: 295-306). These spirits consisted of those of the ancestors or those of nature and they inhabit a spiritual world of their own which the living could not cross. The spirits could be beneficent or evil and had control over all aspects of life and natural resources. They required worship and appeasement through sacrifice. The village priests, as we have indicated earlier, were the prime mediums for these sacrifices and the subject of the offering was generally some kind of fowl.

In their oppression and troubles, the spirits did not seem to be of much help to the *adivasis* (see Roy 1999: 336-337). The spirits did not bring the fortune and happiness that was sought through the required sacrifices. Undoubtedly when the Christians had success in their cases and were relieved of the oppressive burdens placed on them by the landlords, a collective longing of the people in both instances, it was evident that the spirits that the Christians worshiped must be more powerful and beneficent and they didn't require stock to produce results!

Religious belief for the *adivasis* was not compartmentalized. It was an integral whole that permeated their entire existence — social life, political structures, property ownership, daily activities, and so on. If they were blessed and protected by the spirits, there would be concrete evidence in their lives of this blessing and protection. The missionaries and Christianity provided them with a new set of protective and beneficent spirits.

Heretofore, there were no other options. The religion (Hinduism) of the landlords was not accessible nor was it appealing. The *adivasis*, particularly the *Oraon*, who had encountered the *Bhakti* movements and had embraced this form of religious belief found no significant social change that accompanied the belief system (Roy 1999: 337). Christianity offered a difference: new ‘spirits’ and new life. Moreover, the ideological and behavioral jump to Christianity was not beyond reach, an asset that arguably makes acceptance of a new religion plausible if not outright attractive (see Stark 1996: 55). It should be noted that the crossover was bit more difficult with the Protestants because of the rules on tithing and the admonitions on dancing, drinking, and eating that were at the core of tribal culture. But with the Catholics the jump was easier as these prerequisites were absent.

The third set of factors is actually a collection that does not congeal under a particular category but are nonetheless important in the mix of reasons for the conversions. We point to two here. The first of these is the organizational structure of the mission. For the most part other than the main center in Ranchi, the mission stations were local and inserted into a village or a group of villages. For the Lutherans the typical station set up included a local council of elders that assisted the pastor or Church leader in decision-making, a local catechist who was a religious educator and a leader of prayer especially in the absence of the pastor, and a school. At the central administrative level in Ranchi, a yearly meeting of the mission was held and included the entire congregation of adherents; augmented this pattern at the local level of elders, pastors and catechists. The

Catholics had a similar system particularly at the village level but the leadership and decision-making responsibility accrued more pointedly to the parish priests at the mission station level and at the central mission level to the mission superiors. Language was also an important consideration in the functioning of the missions. There were great efforts made to conduct the mission in the 'vernacular'. To the end many of the ex-patriot mission personnel became adept at speaking the local tribal dialects and Hindi as well as familiar with local custom and culture. The sum effect of the democratic organizational structure, the local insertion and the efforts at communicating in the local tongue made the Christian mission seem comfortable if not natural to the *adivasis* adding further to its attractiveness.

Another important factor in the conversions was the personal magnetism and interpersonal relationships developed by the missionaries. As we have described earlier, the missionaries were genuinely concerned and sympathetic to the *adivasis*. They listened patiently to their difficulties, learned their language and custom, engaged in conversation, traveled to their villages, and lived with them. Consequently, the missionaries developed a trusting and true friendship with the *adivasis* earning their respect and indeed their affection. As this took root, Christianity became more credible and easier to embrace.

Before we conclude this section we need to note that while we have painted the arrival of Christianity to the plateau as a liberating factor for the *adivasis* and indeed it has been in one form or the other, the acceptance of Christian missionary activity as well as religious conversion has never been a substantive part of the common ethos in India. Discounting the reality of the long integration of the Christian community in Kerala, Christianity is generally regarded, rightly or wrongly, as something foreign to India, a vestige of colonialism, colonial power, western hegemony and a denigration of indigenous religious systems particularly Hinduism (see Gandhi 1928; Pye-Smith 1998; Shourie 1994; Spears 1978). In the political climate since Independence (and even as part of the Independence movement) Christian contributions in the social and educational

arenas are readily acknowledged but not fully accepted and there is an aura of suspicion that these activities are being carried out as an allurement for conversions.

Over the years this suspicion coupled with the notion that Indian Christians and Church institutions are in some way anti-national has found pervasive prominence in the Indian polity and legislative action, straining Church-State relations, adversely impacting religious harmony and hindering the Church's welfare activities. More immediate to the present research concerns, however, and as we will see in the next chapters, is that when the state and the Mission actively cooperate together in human welfare initiatives there are significantly more rewards for the people of the plateau than when they act separately. Moreover, we will also see that when the Mission actively employs the broad social development principles in the Teaching to these social welfare activities the rewards are further enhanced.

## Chapter Six

### THE CATHOLIC MISSION ON THE CHOTANAGPUR PLATEAU 1869-1900

Catholic missionaries made their first mission forays onto the plateau when the Jesuit Father August Stockman was sent on an exploration mission to Chotanagpur in 1868 by the Bishop of Calcutta, Monsignor (Mgr.) Steins. The impetus for the foray was not an endogenous initiative but came at a convergence of three seemingly unrelated events (Josson 1993: 1-3; Ponette 1992: 5). The first of these events inculcated the missionary policy into the Bengal Vicariate and came in a meeting Mgr. Steins had just a year earlier with Pope Pius IX (*Pio Nono*). The Pope 'pointedly ordered' the Bishop to establish mission stations among the non-Christians (Ponette 1992:3). The Pope's directive was not a coincidence. It was firmly anchored in his policy to expand the Church's missionary activity and in the fact that in the thirty four years of its existence the Bengal Vicariate, mired in its own internal complacency and crises, engaged in very little missionary activity and what it had engaged in bore almost no results (Holmes and Bickers 1983: 230, 240; Ponette 1992: 2-4). The second event provided the person for the implementation of the policy and came in the expressed inspired desire of Father Stockman to be assigned to work among non-Christians (Ponette 1992: 5). Finally, the third event set the field of action for the new missionary endeavor and came to the Bishop in the recommendation by a British officer of the viability of mission work in Chotanagpur among the *adivasis*; and was further confirmed in a letter from another missionary, Fr. Sapart, informing the Bishop of the Lutheran successes on the southeastern edge of the plateau between Mindapore in Bengal and Chaibasa in Chotanagpur (Ponette 1992: 5).

During his reconnoiter, Stockman reported back to the Bishop on the possibilities of establishing a mission station at Chaibasa. He was positive but not enthusiastic about

the potential. He argued that the viability of the Mission could only come if the Mission established were independent, stood clear of the areas already under Lutheran influence, focused exclusively on the *Hos (Larka Kols)* who had yet to be evangelized and that it would be well funded (see de Sa 116-117; Ponette 1992: 6-11). Six months later, in July 1869, Father Stockman on a further request from the Bishop reluctantly returned to Chaibasa and proceeded to set up the Catholic mission on the plateau.

The progress of Catholic missionary activity in Chotanagpur that began with Father Stockman's endeavor in 1869 can be demarcated into two major periods that conform to the activities and personalities of the Mission more than they relate to chronological progression. The first period is characterized by the initialization, implantation and expansion of the Mission on the plateau. Roughly this period corresponds to the years 1869-1900. This initial period can be further divided into four phases that are associated with mission policy and action. These can be generally identified with the missionaries themselves: Fr. Stockman (1869-1880); Fr. Müllender (1880-85); Fr. Lievens (1885-1892); and Fr. Hoffmann (1892-1908). The second period (1908-present) is characterized by progressive consolidation and institutionalization of the Mission and will be considered in the next chapter.

### **Initialization, Implantation and Expansion of the Mission**

Stockman started his mission station in a traditional manner building a residence and a chapel whereby he could preach and teach. His mission compound plan also contained a provision for a school to be run by sisters who would come sometime later (Josson 1993: 7). He brought with him a catechist who was a Bengali convert (Ponette 1992: 15). His approach to mission activity was traditional, looking to spread the message of Christ and the truths of the faith hoping that through his preaching and teaching someone would be convinced — be inspired by the Gospel message and Jesus' life — and present themselves for baptism. His success among his would be congregation, the *Hos*, was nil

and in retrospect his attempts ill advised (Ponette 1992: 14). The *Hos*, even more than the *Mundas*, fiercely guarded their independence and did not take kindly to any outside influence. Their cultural prescriptions against associating with non-*Hos* were extremely stringent making the catechist wholly unviable and in their isolation the only functional language possible was their tribal dialect rendering Stockman's sermons in Hindi ineffective (Ponette 1992: 15). It was ironic but not a surprise that his first converts were not *Hos* but *Mundas*.

It is unclear what relationship these first *Munda* converts had with Fr. Stockman or his catechist as they seem to have come to him from 'out of the blue' four years into his stay at Chaibasa presenting themselves for baptism (de Sa 1975: 117-118; Ponette 1992: 16). There were seven families numbering twenty-eight in all. They resided on the outskirts of the town and made their living not through farming but by selling wood and charcoal. They did not seem to have permanent roots in their residential village which actually suited Stockman's missionary strategy and plan. He was convinced that if and when he succeeded in attracting *adivasis* to Catholicism that the only way for them to maintain their faith and become good Catholics was to organize themselves in separate villages. This would limit corrupting influences by fellow 'pagan' or protestant *adivasis*. Stockman's isolationist strategy was not unique to the Mission of Chotanagpur but was echoed throughout the Catholic Church during Pius IX's pontificate.<sup>1</sup> To be separated not only helped ensure the faith but brought about a dependence on the central authority of the Church in the person of the Pope, his personal representative and/or through Church dogma. Moreover, the separation also provided a distance for the Church and the faithful from the perceived contamination of political involvement and action. In the context of the Chotanagpur Mission, this approach was welcomed by Stockman who was well aware

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<sup>1</sup> Identified with *Ultramontanism* which aggressively argued for central papal authority in lieu of collegiality and subsidiarity, it also held that there existed a dichotomy between the contemporary and spiritual worlds and in order for Catholics to protect their faith they were urged to be loyal to the papacy, unified among themselves and separated as much as possible from the 'outside' world (Holmes and Bickers 1983: 240).

of the difficulties faced by the Lutherans in becoming integrally involved in the temporal affairs of the *adivasis*.

During their five-month instruction period prior to their baptism in November 1873 and for some months after, the new *Munda* converts resided with Stockman in the Mission compound at Chaibasa. In May 1874, two sisters came from Calcutta to set up the Mission school for girls. Stockman remained optimistic that his work among the *Hos* would prove fruitful and planned to establish his new Catholic community among them so that their example would be a spectacle that the *Hos* might be attracted to the Church. Again his efforts were thwarted, as the *Hos* would not part with any of their property for any price (Ponette 1992: 20). He was forced to look elsewhere for property that would support and sustain his new converts. He was finally offered land in Tutui, a hilly and forested area just over thirty miles northwest of Chaibasa on the road to Ranchi. His small Catholic village was finally established in June 1874. Stockman followed his community the next year and built a chapel and residence on the hillock above the village at Tutui. He named it *Burudi* (village on a hill) (Josson 1993: 6-7; Ponette 1992: 23).

Stockman's decision to locate his new Catholics in Tutui was not only a function of necessity and availability, if we recall the hill tracts were the initial refuge of the *Mundas* fleeing from the influences of the Maharaja and encroachments of the landlords. By locating the new Catholic village in the forest the Mission decidedly distanced itself from the politics and social upheaval that surrounded the *adivasis* who resided on the plains and were dominated by landlords (see Clarysse 1985: 120; de Sa 118-119). Political and social activism for the Mission or the missionaries was not an option. They had come to Chotanagpur for religious reasons and not to be involved in temporal tribulations.

The marked disinclination to get involved in temporal or political matters did not preclude Stockman or the missionaries that followed him from being concerned with the temporal welfare of the new converts. Stockmen knew that in order for his new

community to viable it would require resources for a sustainable livelihood. He had already begun to implement a farm-school in Mindapore to provide this possibility for the Mission and his converts (Ponette 1992: 5). For his converts at Chaibasa, who had no source of sustainable livelihood, he was intently concerned that they not only find a place to live together, but one that gave them ample opportunity through farming to sustain themselves (see Ponette 1992: 17-18). To augment their income, the Mission hired the new converts as well as the catechumens (those being instructed in the faith) for construction of the mission buildings. Beyond providing for their religious instruction the Mission also saw to their temporal instruction as well. As we mentioned above, a mission school was established at Chaibasa and adult education was integrated into the religious instruction particularly among the men. The *adivasis* had a system of health care based on herbs and to a large extent, magic. The missionaries as part of their contact offered some modern medicinal assistance from a rudimentary first aid kit that they carried with them. Eventually these concerns for health would evolve into basic dispensaries and hospitals. Along with the educational facilities they became integral parts of the mission stations. Stockman's health became precarious in 1876 and he left Chotanagpur in the summer of that same year. In his place came younger Jesuits who would infuse a new style into the Mission. On his departure, the Catholic community had grown to one hundred and fifteen.

### ***Phase Two: Müllender***

For the four and a half years following Stockman's departure from Chotanagpur, the fledgling Catholic Mission had difficulty in sustaining its clerical personnel due to illness, an expanding territory and competing commitments in West Bengal proper (Josson 1993: 12; Ponette 1992: 33-36). The arrival of Fr. Müllender soon after his ordination in 1881 signaled a new direction and commitment for the Mission. His presence immediately alleviated some of the personnel stress and brought new energy to the Mission. He was assigned to the new station at Buruma and was quick to apply himself to the pastoral

needs of the small but near neglected Catholic community in the area. He immediately set out to learn the local dialect (*Mundari*) and the customs of the region, making extensive tours of the villages in his territory. His keen sense of organization and assessment led him to the conclusion that change was needed in his mission station. He determined that the station location at Buruma was poorly situated and not conducive to the Mission activities. He suggested a change to his superiors in Calcutta. His first choice was further north but on applying for permission to move the station, the Bishop asked him to shift to Sarwada directly south and more on the plain. The Bishop's rationale was to locate the station in an area that had a 'higher' concentration population (Clarysse 1985: 120; Josson 1993: 15). The following year, Fr. Fierens would close the station at Burudi-Tutui and shift to Bandgaon on the Chaibasa-Ranchi road further enhancing the Mission's presence on the more populous plain.

The changes were not merely relocations but also a substantive shift in missionary style. If Fr. Stockman's ideal was separated Catholic villages, the new goal was a central mission station that could service discrete Catholic converts spread over a certain territory. This new approach also necessitated a change in the style of contacts. No longer could the mission station be the primary link with the new Catholics or the population in general. The missionaries would now more than ever rely on direct contact with the villagers and hamlets in their mission territory. Their approach would look to a direct invitation to the *adivasis* to become Catholic Christians. The younger missionaries like Müllender and Fierens were especially gifted at this technique.

The more extroverted tempo of the Mission impacted other areas of mission activity as well. In their village tours, the missionaries naturally became more aware of the difficulties the *adivasis* faced. It was not a surprise when this awareness led them to render assistance in an attempt to alleviate these difficulties. A great part of the help came in a form that the missionaries traditionally made available such as work and monetary assistance (Josson 1993: 21-22). But Müllender stretched the boundaries of this temporal

assistance for the Catholic Mission. He began to help the *adivasis* with their court cases. His efforts were limited but not without controversy (de Sa 1975: 125). The older missionaries apprehended his move as revolutionary, drawing the Mission into a field into which it had not ventured thus far or ever should venture (see Clarysse 1985: 120; Josson 1993: 24). However, the superiors in Calcutta allowing this new dimension of mission activity to take hold supported Müllender's efforts.

Framing the new activity of the Chotanagpur Mission were changes in Church leadership in Rome and Calcutta and the shifts in policy that ensued in the change. In 1878, Pope Leo XIII succeeded Pius IX. In the same year, Mgr. Goethals succeeded Mgr. Steins as the Bishop of Calcutta.<sup>2</sup> As we have noted in Chapter 3, Leo was consecrated Pope at height of social and political changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution in Europe as well as America. These social changes propelled the Church into a protracted reflection on how it should respond to these changes, culminating in the social encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. In the ensuing reflection, Pius IX's isolationist stance was replaced with the view that as the spiritual and temporal realms are intricately linked, the Church has no choice but to become involved in temporal matters (see Chapter 3). This dramatic shift in understanding the Church's role in the social realm conceptually allowed the Mission superiors to support Müllender's initiative in rendering assistance in the court cases and land disputes of the *adivasis*. It would also prove to be the fulcrum that would expand the Church's presence to every corner of the plateau and intricately link it to the social development of the tribal population.

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<sup>2</sup> Goethals was a college principal at Namur in Belgium when he was appointed to the see in Calcutta. Then in 1880, Fr. S. Grosjean arrived in Calcutta from Belgium. He was immediately appointed the Bishop's secretary and subsequently in 1882 the superior regular of the Bengal Mission (Clarysse 1985: 122). Goethals and Grosjean would closely work together to see to the advancement and direction of the Chotanagpur mission.

### **Phase Three: Lievens**

The Church and Jesuit Leadership in Calcutta had identified the Mission endeavors in Chotanagpur as promising and began to seek ways of creating a ‘movement towards catholicity’ on the plateau (Clarysse 1985: 123; de Sa 1975: 121). They looked for someone among the Jesuits assigned to the Bengal Mission to lead this movement. Their assessment of the missionaries and the work they accomplished on the plateau was positive. They could point to the steady expansion of the Catholic community that in 1885 was over two thousand, which was quite respectable. However, even with recognizing the success of their work, Grosjean and Goethals in Calcutta did not find that those assigned to the plateau possessed the qualities necessary to employ and or lead a new impetus for the Mission given the potential that was possible (see Clarysse 1985: 123, 129, 132). They needed someone different. Fr. Grosjean with Goethals’ concurrence settled on Fr. Constant Lievens, a recently ordained priest just completing his studies in theology at Asansol (now in West Bengal) to fulfill their vision of creating the movement to catholicity in Chotanagpur (Grosjean 1915 as quoted in Jossen 1993: 25).

Lievens’ brief given by Grosjean was straightforward. He was to proceed to the mission station at Jamgain south of Ranchi where Fr. De Cock was in charge, and was to acquaint himself with and study the customs, languages and culture of the *adivasis* and the missionary methods current employed on the plateau after which he was to make proposals to his superiors for new initiatives in the Mission (Clarysse 1985: 125; Jossen 1993: 25-26). Another Jesuit missionary a century later raptly described Lievens’ brief in these words:

He had been given to do what humanly speaking appeared as a preposterous task as could be conceived, viz. to create a movement. Like asking a man to make rain (Ponette 1992: 80).

Lievens arrived on the plateau in March 1885 and set about fulfilling his brief assiduously. He quickly became fluent in Hindi in which he had a head start at Asansol, picked up enough *Mundari* to be able to teach catechism classes and also learned the

rudiments of Oraon. (Clarysse 1985: 128-129). He involved himself in the pastoral work of the station and visited the other stations to the southeast as well. After just a little over two months at Jamgain, Lievens became restless. De Cock's plodding style and rote missionary method was confining for Lievens and in his assessment, at best marginal (see Clarysse 1985: 132; de Sa 1975: 125-126). Lievens was anxious for a larger opportunity to learn and experiment. His superiors in Calcutta became aware of his predicament through Fr. Sapart who was stationed at Doranda and they effected an assignment change for the Mission personnel in July 1885 (Clarysse 1985: 132). In the re-assignments Lievens was allocated his own territory to the south of Jamgain and to the west of Sarwada and Bandgaon. The territory was in the midst of a large *Munda* population and on a vast, irrigated and very fertile plain.

Lievens proceeded to explore his new area with as much industry as he had applied himself at Jamgain. In November of 1885 he settled on Torpa as his base and was given shelter by the *jamadar*, the town police officer until he could construct his own quarters. His education of the social dynamics of the *adivasis* and their milieu continued relentlessly as he toured his territory and interacted with the people (Aril 2001: 6-10; Clarysse 1985: 136). In these tours, he was able to see for himself the problems between the *adivasis* and the landlords, tax collectors and moneylenders. He also apprehended the disenchantment of the Lutheran converts with their ministers, the growing social unrest evidenced in the *sardar* movement and how this movement antagonized the relationship between the government and the Protestant *adivasis* (see de Sa 1975: 124). His living arrangements enabled him to learn first hand about the law and legal situation on the plateau from his police host and through the cases brought to the police station for adjudication (see de Sa 1975: 123-124; Josson 1992: 57). In all of this Lievens quickly developed a deep rapport with the people telling his family in a letter home 'Now I live for good alone in the midst of my people...' (as quoted in Clarysse 1985: 134).

By the beginning of 1886 Lievens began building the infrastructure of his mission station that would eventually become the parish Church, the mission school, and his residence. It was also at this time that he drew some conclusions about how to build the infrastructure of the Church that is the people. He concluded that direct preaching of the Gospel would have little effect in his area (de Sa 1975: 123). He argued that the exploitation of the *adivasis* was so endemic their attention was entirely focused on the means of survival and so rhetoric would be of little comfort and of no help to their temporal or spiritual welfare (Lievens 1887 as quoted in Clarysse 1985: 141; also see Aril 2001: 67). Consequently, to be able to make an impact on their lives and indeed to make Catholic Christianity attractive and practicable, the Gospel message would have to be directly practiced in more than just the limited efforts of charity heretofore implemented in the Mission. The ability to care for the spiritual welfare of the people was dependent on the quality of their temporal welfare and vice versa. In turn, Lievens would argue that the missionary was not just a catalyst for spiritual well-being but for temporal well-being as well — a view that would become mission policy and practice (Lievens 1887 as quoted in Clarysse 1985: 145; see Roy 1912: 188-189). He candidly explains his missionary objective to the people:

I have come here among you for your eternal happiness. But in this life too I can make you happy. Confide your difficulties to me. I will help you as much as the law allows (as quote in Clarysse 1985: 145).

Once Lievens decided that temporal intervention was necessary his choice of intervention leaves no surprises. He took up the defense of the *adivasis* in their land and labor disputes. He was undoubtedly aware of the pitfalls of this choice from the Lutheran experiences but all the same he was convinced of its necessity given the state of the people and hence of its ultimate success. Two memorable vignettes of Lievens' interaction with his host and friend the *jamadar* are instructive of what he learnt and the implication of this knowledge on his new initiatives in the Mission. The first came in the *jamadar's* answer to a query by Lievens as to why he did not have many converts. The

*jamadar*, forthright in his answer, told him that if he wanted converts among the *Mundas* then he should take up their defense in the matters of land disputes, land rent and forced labor (chronicled by Hoffmann circa 1923 quoted in de Sa 1975: 123; Clarysse 1985: 141). The second incident came in a response the *jamadar* gave to Lievens' direct invitation to him to become Catholic. The *jamadar* told Lievens it would be impossible for him to convert as Catholic teaching forbade injustice and he and others like him could not earn a livelihood from their profession if they had to adhere to this prescription (Clarysse 1985: 142).

Lievens' plan and method in defending the rights of the *adivasis* was systematic and based on the authority of the Government, the laws of the land and recourse to jurisprudence. His legal aid program included the following (Lievens 1887 quoted in Clarysse 1985 142-143; de Sa 1975: 124):

- A basic instruction on the law, which told the *adivasis* that, the law is there to protect them and they should not be afraid of it but use it to defend their rights. He explained to them what the law obliged them to do regarding their rent payments and the extent of their obligated service;
- A firm commitment that he and they would not stray one inch from the path of legality and that the law would guide their actions at all times;
- The understanding that their behavior with the landlords was legally bound. Hence he told them to pay the legal amount of rent and render service as prescribed by the law. They should receive a written receipt for their payments. If the landlord refused to provide a receipt, they were to refuse to pay their rent and let the landlord take them to court. If the landlord demanded rent or service above what was the legally stipulated they should not pay or render it and allow him to take them to court. If the landlord mistreated them, they were to take the landlord to court. In all of their dealings they were to refuse to pay bribes;

- An arrangement of a complement of lawyers, clerks, and other staffs at the court compound in Ranchi who were diligent, honest and had a reasonable fee structure that he recommended the *adivasis* patronize;
- Lievens' personal direction of the cases and appearance in court as a witness when necessary and possible;
- Monetary advances for those who could not afford the fees associated with the cases;
- A requirement for those who had the facility to send their children to school.

The success of Lievens' plan and intervention was pervasive. Considered from the Mission's standpoint, his actions resonated deeply with the tribal population as they embraced Christianity *en masse*. Lievens clearly fulfilled his mandate and had created the 'movement toward catholicity' on the plateau. He reported to the Provincial in October 1887 that the Mission had grown to 400 villages, 60 schools and 15,000 Christians (baptized and catechumens) from just over 2,000 when he arrived in Chotanagpur (Josson 1993: 64; see also de Sa 1975: 133). The following year the Mission counted 832 villages, 77 schools and 50,351 Christians and encompassed not only *Munda* areas but some *Oraon* and *Kharia* as well (Josson 1993: 74-75). By 1900 the mission records show 71,270 adherents and five years later, just twenty years after Lievens' began his work in Chotanagpur, the Catholic population of the plateau reached 101,630 (Roy 1912: 193).

From a social perspective, Lievens' intervention was no less dramatic. At the village level, his instructions to the *adivasis* on the requirements under the law emboldened and empowered them to resist the landlords in any demands beyond what the law required. Their acceptance of Christianity supported their resistance by gathering them not only as families or village groups but also as larger clusters of solidarity and support. The effect was radical and transformative (see Minz 1980: 72-81). The landlords saw their power and resource base quickly erode to the point just shy of penury. Petitions

were made asking the government to intervene to stop the Mission in their systematic assistance (Roy 1912: 185). Others simply abandoned their positions and homesteads when the villages embraced Christianity (Clarysse 1985). Lievens even recorded being offered bribes not to enroll villages under a particular landlord's control (Roy 1912: 185). Tribal life was transformed. A senior advocate of the Ranchi bench and the pioneering ethnographer of the Chotanagpur *adivasis*, S.C. Roy, described the extraordinary intervention and changes when he wrote:

Fr. Lievens mixed with the people as friends, instructed them in the elements of religion, and helped them in their temporal difficulties. The aborigines of the Ranchi District had suffered cruelly and long. They had hitherto been looked down upon by their neighbors as untouchable Pariahs; now they came to know that they too were men and fit to be treated as such...The numerous conversions to Christianity naturally made the Zemindars anxious and angry (Roy 1912: 184-185).

The quick spread of Catholicism on the plateau also brought with it serious challenges to the Mission. The first of these was with the Lutherans. As Lievens' interventions gained momentum the first quantum to embrace catholicity were the disaffected Lutheran converts. Lievens was quick to capitalize on the gifts of these new Catholics and drew many of his catechists from their ranks. This coupled with the large numbers crossing over to Catholicism caused whatever little civility that existed between the Protestants and Catholics to be replaced by outright hostility. The antagonism ranged from the head of the Gossner Lutherans in Ranchi, Dr. Nottrott, publicly confronting and chastising Fr. Lievens on a market day in Torpa, to lobbying with the government for his removal from the *jamadar's* quarters and ultimately from the country, to the *adivasi* protestant Christians refusing to congregate with the Catholics for marriages and village celebrations.

The second major challenge was internal to the Mission. The pressure created by the ever-increasing numbers of Catholics on the Mission was colossal. It was especially problematic in a context of personnel shortage (see Josson 1993: 78). Catholic activity in the Mission context was centered on an ordained minister, the priest who is ultimately

responsible for pastoral and liturgical care of the faithful. While the missionaries received invaluable assistance in their duties from the catechists, these married laymen were limited in their roles by virtue of Church policy and structure. For the Church, the priest is the ordinary minister of the sacraments, the main presider at liturgical events, and in his role as pastor and parish priest, a leader of the community which foists on him a variety of other managerial roles such builder, school master, etc. Beyond his sacramental duties and leadership responsibilities, the missionary was looked to by the *adivasis* as a catalyst and symbol of protection (see de Sa 1975: 132; Grosjean 1889 quoted in Josson 1993: 81). His presence was a focal point of solidarity and a key resource for redress and justice. It was crucial then that the Mission provide missionaries for their new converts. A priest was necessary in the Catholic community. To alleviate the priest shortage in the Mission, volunteers were solicited from the founding province in Belgium and they arrived in 1889 to take up their positions in the Mission. As a stopgap measure, for some of those already in training in India, the study course was expedited so as to get them into the Mission as quickly as possible (see Tete 1986: 139). The net result was more ordained ministers for the Mission but at a cost. The new missionaries came un-acclimatized with very little preparation to work in the Mission. The customs, culture, climate and language of Chotanagpur were very different and would take time and learning even for the best of them. A comment made by Lievens on a recent arrival assigned to assist him at Torpa captures the conundrum: 'Father Gengler is with me now, an obliging companion, a jewel I am glad to say; but not yet a missionary' (as quoted in Clarysse 1985: 171).

The third major challenge came from the sheer social upheaval the conversions triggered. On the one side there was the extreme disadvantage caused to the landlords by Lievens' intervention and instructions. Almost overnight it left the landlords' long-standing control over the villages debilitated and their source of revenue extremely reduced. Moreover, the conversions brought to the locality a challenging presence in the person of the missionary who became a major moral force with which to be reckoned. To

reverse this trend and return to their prime privileged status the landlords looked to their traditional means of subjecting the *adivasis* once again: the government machinery and the police. On the other side there was the vast advantage rapidly accruing to the *adivasis*. They paid less rent, offered less labor, had hope at fair adjudication of their land disputes, and had a new leader and advocate in the missionary. They undoubtedly felt less burdened and certainly more emboldened causing the antagonistic relationship with the landlords to digress even to the point in some cases of physical attack. The government already anxious about the sardar movements became exceedingly wary of the new Christian *rai* (reign). The focal point of government suspicion congealed in a rumor that there was a seditious rebellion among the newly converted *adivasis* in Biru. The first to investigate was the police superintendent. The next was the Deputy Collector himself who also found the tribal population at peace and involved with the harvest. He however proceeded to set up his court and heard a number of cases brought against the Christian *adivasis* by the landlords. He was quite harsh in his judgments and had sixty jailed on what would later be judged as false evidence. His prejudicial actions deflated the Mission and bolstered the landlords, unleashing concerted efforts against the new Catholic Christians.

In the context of the cases disparaging remarks were also made as part of the record against the Jesuits and the Church in general. The Mission apprehended the dangerous precedent set in the cases and resolved to fight them through appeals in the courts. Not resolved at the local levels, Lievens and the Church looked to redress in the High Court of Calcutta. Prior to this action being taken the Church released its assessments of the judgments to the press as well as sending them to the Lieutenant Governor. The Governor in turn took cognizance of the details of the cases and understanding the gaffes made by his officials in the rulings and the political and legal fall out a trial at the High Court would inevitably produce, he approached the Bishop and requested him not to take the case to the High Court and instead allow him to handle the

appeals and redress. His visit to Chotanagpur came in 1889 and he proceeded to repair the damage caused by the unjust sentences and convictions and to publicly acknowledge the work of the Mission. His actions allayed and set to rest the controversy allowing the Mission to proceed with its work. However, it was clear that in the practice of helping the *adivasis* in their court cases, the Mission was walking a tight rope with the government, placing it in a precarious situation.

This sense did not diminish with the action of the Lt. Governor but continued to cause questioning among the ranks of the missionaries as to whether they had acted properly in the assistance they rendered and in the mass conversions they had affected. The questions not only begged the method but also brought doubt on the immediate plans to extend the Mission into the *Oraon* belt of Barway (which Lievens proceeded to extend despite the opposition). This self-reproach was furthered aggravated by serious lapses on the part of some of the missionaries.<sup>3</sup> Unsavory and violent actions, wholly unbecoming of a missionaries and their status coupled with the challenges wrought by the government and the landlords, shook the Mission to its foundation. In their wake, a new mission policy was ushered in that recoiled the proactive stance of assisting the *adivasis* in their legal matters and in its place instituted a strategy that focused the energy of the Mission on the religious duties of the Church and on its educational apostolate—two areas which needed attention but were exceedingly uncontroversial (de Sa 1975: 307-316; Clarysse 1986: 409-414).

Bolstering the policy shifts was a change in the leadership of the Mission. Fr. Lievens' health began to wane and he subsequently was relieved of his duties as mission Moderator. He left India in 1892 for Belgium with an intention to return to Chotanagpur when his health improved. He died the following year of complications associated with

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<sup>3</sup> Fr. Cus and his catechist were involved in a shooting incident with a local landlord which resulted in the landlord and his men sustaining bullet injuries and ended in Cus being convicted and having to flee the country (Clarysse 1986: 369-370; de Sa 1975: 295-298; Tete 1986: 139). In another incident, Fr. Canoy figured in a physical attack on a Lutheran, Canoy breaking one of the Lutheran's arms in the fray (Tete 1986: 139).

consumption. Fr. Grosjean was called away to begin the pontifical seminary being started in Kandy, Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Their replacements, Frs. Bodson, Hagheneek and Fr. Banckaert were less concerned with the further growth of the Mission or the legal cases and were more interested in consolidating what gains had been made through religious means. The end result of the policy shift amplified by the lack of personnel, and the credibility problems caused by the inappropriate behavior of some of the missionaries, left the Catholic neophytes insecure about their new *rai* and in some estimates as many as twenty thousand abandoned the Church (see van den Bogaert hereinafter abbreviated Bogaert 1977: III/8; de Sa 1975: 315).

#### ***Phase Four: Hoffmann***

For the Church, the decade of the 1890s was beset with crises. There was a shortage of personnel to adequately care for the new converts, financial resources were very limited, the antagonism of the landlords was again on the rise, the relationship with the government was inimical, there was a severe drought to deal with and most of all, the *adivasis* were quickly losing confidence in the missionaries and their new found religion. But the crises provided opportunity as well. The intervention on behalf of the *adivasis* to restore their ancestral rights pioneered by the Lutherans and subsequently systematized by Fr. Lievens and the Catholic mission would eventually be enshrined in Indian legislative policy through the direct efforts of Fr. J.B. Hoffmann.

Father Hoffmann was born in Trier, Germany but due to the Kulturkampf politics in which legal strictures were placed against Catholic religious orders and institutions, he was sent to Belgium for his education where he subsequently joined the Belgian Jesuits in 1877 (Tete 1986: 23-24). He arrived in India at the port of Calcutta in December of that same year at the age of twenty and still a novice. Hoffmann had a keen intellect, was systematically studious and held high academic standards for himself and others as well (see Tete 1986: 24-25). He obtained a degree in philosophy in 1882 and began teaching in

both the high school and university sections at St. Xavier's, Calcutta (Tete 1986: 24). At the end of his term in 1887 he learned that he was to go on to theological studies the following year and upon completion of which he would be sent to the Chotanagpur mission. To prepare for his eventual assignment he requested and received permission to privately study the language of the *Mundas*, *Mundari*, in chorus with his theological studies (Tete 1986: 25). This early interest in *Mundari* would culminate in the publication of his *Encyclopaedia Mundarica*, the most authoritative and unparalleled reference on *Munda* language, custom, culture and myth. He arrived in Chotanagpur in 1892 in the midst of the turmoil that engulfed the Mission.

Hoffmann's first assignment in Chotanagpur was at the Manressa House, the central headquarters of the Mission in Ranchi. He was a teacher of Latin and philosophy and supervised construction work when he was not teaching. When the school failed later in 1882, he was instructed to take up the study of Indian civil and criminal law, which he did with his characteristic thoroughness (Tete 1986: 28; Van den Bogaert hereinafter abbreviated Bogaert 1977: III/8). Taken in concert with the policy of the Mission to refrain from assisting the *adivasis* in their legal matters, this directive was evidently a peculiar move. However, in hindsight we can detect some mitigating factors that made it possible. We note two. First, from the Mission's experience it was clear that legal competency would be needed, for even if it did not take on new cases for advice, the ones existing coupled with the Mission's internal needs would require some form of expertise. Given this fact, with the departure of Fr. Lievens there was no one among the missionaries trained or seemingly interested to handle legal matters with much proficiency (see de Sa 1975: 312). Second, while Fr. Hoffmann complied with the new mission policy of not getting involved in legal matters, he did not concur with it. He was convinced that Lievens' method of legal advice and assistance was at the time the only possible means of protecting and providing justice for the tribal population against the excesses of the *Zemindars* (Hoffmann 1909: 4-5). It is not clear whether he requested the

opportunity to study law but given his position and demeanor, he welcomed and seized the opportunity when it presented itself (see Tete 1986: 28, 45).

Hoffmann's next assignment, which he volunteered for, was to Bandgaon and Sarwada as pastor and it would prove fortuitous on a number of fronts. He saw the assignment as an opportunity to reestablish the Catholic community in the area, which had been the cradle of the Mission, and had since been neglected as the Mission's attention moved to higher population areas on the plains. The assignment was also an opportunity to be in the heart of *Munda* country where he could indulge his personal and intellectual interest in the tribe's culture, custom and language. Furthermore, happenstance would have the Sarwada mission station in the midst of a new *sardar* movement lead by Birsa Munda (for details of the *Birsarite* movement see Josson 1993; Roy 1912; Singh 1966; Tete 1986). His planned but unsuccessful uprising in 1895 and his subsequent arrest brought the Superintendent of Police to Fr. Hoffmann for advice on the movement, its causes and the predicament of the people. Hoffmann's long and detailed explanation of Chotanagpur history, *adivasi* custom, and the abuses of the landlords resonated with the Superintendent who in turn promoted support for the Mission and its personnel among the government officials. As a consequence there began a rapprochement between the Mission and the government diffusing much of the suspicion between the two. The positive change in the relationship ushered in a tacit modification in the Mission policy of distancing itself from assisting in court cases and intervening with the government. While never to reach the level that was handled during Lievens' tenure, protection of the *adivasis* which had become a prime role of the Mission required engagement with the government which the Mission cautiously moved toward (see Tete 1986: 45; Josson 1993 128). Further, with Hoffmann the initiatives with the government would move to a different sphere. Where Lievens had utilized existing laws and methods of adjudication to aid the protection of tribal rights, Hoffmann would advance the

protection by lobbying the government to reform the law based on tribal traditions and rights (see Tete 1986: 83; Van Exem 1993: 45).

As Hoffmann's credibility and notoriety grew in government circles he was called on for expert counsel in all matters concerning *adivasi* life (see Josson 1993: 226). Hoffmann capitalized on this access by petitioning the government officials for legislative amelioration to the endemic problems plaguing the *adivasis*. Hoffmann's efforts coupled with the government's pliability resulted in three major legislative interventions for Chotanagpur that educed definitive solutions for tribal well-being.

The first of these was rectifying legislation to the regulations governing the recruitment of labor to the tea gardens that came in 1897 at the height of the famine (Tete 1986: 42-43).<sup>4</sup> Migration to the gardens by the *adivasis* had begun in the mid 1800s and was the result of the social upheavals and poverty on the plateau. This situation, the hardworking demeanor of the *adivasis*, and their inexperience in matters beyond the plateau, including finance, made for a recipe of abuse. Hoffmann found that while the law regulated and policed the recruitment procedures especially in the amounts to be paid and the checks on the veracity of those recruited to go voluntarily, the nexus of the *arakatis*, the garden managers and even some government officials was such that many of those recruited were done so using unlawful means and compensation (see Tete 1986: 42-43).<sup>5</sup> Hoffmann petitioned the government for legislative redress to close the loopholes in the law that allowed these unjust activities to flourish. In his petition he exposed illegal methods employed by the gardens, their managers and agents in the recruitment of labor as well as the living conditions and fulfillment of labor contracts in the gardens themselves (Tete 1986: 44-45). The effect of the legislation did not end all the fraud but its success can be measured in the dramatic drop in the number of those recruited to the

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<sup>4</sup> Hoffmann's first hand experience in the villages provided him a privileged view to observe and understand the techniques of the *arakatis*, the non-tribal local agents employed by the tea gardens to recruit *adivasi* labor for the gardens in the northeast (Darjeeling and Assam).

<sup>5</sup> He also found that many would be spirited away for a mere five rupees, a blanket or some food when the legal rate was eighty rupees; coerced in the bargain to place their thumb print on the contract which required them to immediately begin rendering their service (Van Exem 1993: 41).

gardens. In 1893, the number of recruits from the plateau stood at 36,000 after the legislation that figure dropped to 6,000 (Tete 1986: 43-44; Van Exem 1993: 41-42).

Hoffmann's second intervention came at the invitation of the government (Bogaert 1973: III/9; Van Exem 1993: 43). After the second uprising of the Birsaites (1900), the government was keen on finding a settlement that would bring lasting peace to the plateau. Hoffmann's fundamental suggestion was that the laws needed to be radically revised to actually reflect and respect ancestral tribal land rights and custom. He pointed out the deficiencies in the previous land acts especially the provisions that privileged the landlords over the *adivasis* and the recurring unrest that resulted because of these deficiencies (Tete 1986: 52). Moreover, he illustrated how the forced labor (praedial service) and its abuse further aggravated the unrest. To address these issues immediately, Hoffmann suggested that the government effect a division of the civil district into three (Hoffmann 1909: 8-9; Van Exem 1993: 43). His contention was that the courts and government administrative apparatus needed to be closer to the people so as to be more accessible and responsive (Hoffmann 1912: 9). He also suggested that the reform also be extended to the local policing system that was allied to the landlords and had become a source of much criminal activity (Van Exem 1993: 43).

The government heeded his advice creating the Gumla Sub-division in 1902 and the Khunti Sub-division in 1905 (Tete 1986: 60). Along with the reorganization of the district, Hoffmann counseled that the government needed to reopen the land survey taking into account as he had explained all the types of property held by each of the tribes as well as the landlords and the Raja. This was started in 1902 and the settlement officer spent long hours with Hoffmann going over the findings and planning further strategy (see Tete 1986: 60; Van Exem 1993: 43). The initial results of the survey showed the government that there was an immediate need for redress and they superseded the previous tenancy acts with the *Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act, 1903* as a stopgap measure. This Act inculcated many of Hoffmann's suggestions especially those on ancestral

property types and rights. Explanations for the magistrates in adjudicating the Act were culled from Hoffmann's notes (Van Exem 1993: 43). However, in the haste to enact the revisions, the provisions of the Act were not as comprehensive as was required. To rectify this, the government requested Hoffmann to draft a more systematic treatise on the subject (Van Exem 1993: 43).

Hoffmann took up the request of the government, which resulted in the *Memorandum on the Land System of the Munda Country*. The *Memorandum* was signed by Hoffmann and the land settlement officer, Mr. E. Lister, and was attached to the 1905 version of the *Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act* and went on to form the foundation of the comprehensive 1908 version that was then definitively adopted by the government. The core features of the Act:

- Inculcated the traditional *Munda* holding rights of the Khuntikatti properties that had not before been recognized;
- Provided the *adivasis* with land security by essentially freezing the holdings of the landlords and non-tribal population, preventing *adivasi* land from being transferred to non-*adivasis*, and documenting ownership through a record of rights;
- Provided for standardized and fair rents based on actual survey holdings and payable directly to the government;
- Implemented a system whereby all praedial service, rents and associated mortgages were commuted and provided a provision that no new praedial conditions could be attached to the current or future tenancies.

The success of the Act was decisive. The number of court cases associated with land disputes diminished dramatically and those cases that came to court were adjudicated quickly using the record of rights and provisions of the Act (Tete 1986: 67). There was also a drop in criminal cases on the plateau as most of the criminal complaints were associated with land disputes and the praedial services and rent. On another level, Dr.

Nottrott, head of the Lutheran Mission, observed that there were renewed efforts among the *adivasis* at making permanent improvements on their land signaling a fresh outlook on their rights to the land (Tete 1986: 68). Hoffmann's assessment was that the Act and the accompanying government action finally brought 'peace and security' to the people of the plateau (Hoffmann 1930 as quoted in Tete 1986: 83). Moreover, the Act has stood the test of time. While it has been amended over the years the core protective provisions remain essentially unchanged. Tribal land in Chotanagpur cannot be perfunctorily transferred even among the *adivasis* themselves. The Act has been described and noted as one of the most advanced pieces of land reform legislation in India and indeed its provisions have been responsible for localizing ownership in the hands of the 'subaltern' majority of the population whereas in other parts of northern India, the majority of the population are still landless laborers (Bogaert 1973: III/9; Van Exem 1993: 45).

During this time frame (1893-1908) the Church was also engaged in other areas of institution building. As we have mentioned the *de rigueur* mission policy of the time was the development of schools. The policy was implemented in earnest with all out efforts to establish a boarding school at Ranchi (St. John's) that would meet with government sanction. Beyond the school focus and given the severity of the drought in the late 1890s, the missionaries realized that the plateau needed economic diversification (Van Exem 1993: 48-49). To this end they established an industrial trade school that attempted to provide training and marketable skills to the *adivasi* (male) population to augment their subsistence farming livelihoods. Moreover, there was a training program in carpentry and masonry that eventually drew together a construction crew for major mission building projects. The newly arrived Ursuline Sisters of Trildonk (Belgium) opened a hand lace school and production center for women. The sisters also assumed responsibility for the hospital in Ranchi at the invitation of the government and took up the educational work of the Loreto sisters who left the plateau for Calcutta. The Loreto sisters prior to their departure were instrumental in the foundation of an indigenous congregation of sisters,

the Daughters of St. Anne who along with the Ursulines and other religious orders that would arrive later, formed the critical components of the Mission's work with women, education, and health care.

#### **Annotations from the Social Development Perspective of the Social Teaching**

There are two important aspects in our discussions above that need to be highlighted particularly from the social development frame of reference. The first is the clear progression in the Church's approach and action in promoting the temporal welfare of the tribal population as an integral aspect of the spiritual mission. As we have illustrated, the Church's approach moves from a cautious isolationist stance to one of committed engagement. The period of the Catholic missionary activity in Chotanagpur corresponds to the time in the larger Church of intense debates on the Church's role in the engagement with the world particularly in temporal spheres. The pontificate of Pius IX (mid to late Nineteenth Century) was characterized by a Church attempting to insulate itself against the whirlwind of changes (social, political, economic, philosophical) initiated a century earlier during the French Revolution and intensified by the Industrial Revolution. This insulation privileged and clearly separated the spiritual, religious dimension from the temporal. This is not to say that the Church was not concerned with human welfare and inattentive to the suffering of people, on the contrary. For Fr. Stockman the welfare of his new converts was of utmost concern but the concern was marshaled in a manner that extracted the Catholic community from the social problems of the community at large and was chiefly based on charity, helping those in need with alms and gifts to ease their misfortune.

The election of Gioacchino Pecci in 1878 as Pope Leo XIII marked a shift in the way in which the Church engaged the temporal dimensions of human welfare. As we discussed in Chapter 3 and 4, Leo echoed the arguments of Church social thinkers that the spiritual and temporal dimensions were integral to one another and that the Church must

be active in both spheres. In the Chotanagpur mission this shift was initially visible in the minor efforts of Fr. Müllender to render assistance in court cases and the support given to these efforts by his superiors. It was further developed and adopted as mission policy in the approach taken by Fr. Lievens to direct and assist in a process of civil redress to bring about justice and augment tribal welfare. Fr. Hoffmann propelled the Mission farther by actively engaging the government and participating in legislative reformation for a more lasting benefit to *adivasi* well-being. The actions of Lievens and Hoffmann showcased the understanding that human existence is integral at all levels, spiritual as well as temporal. Hence, to facilitate human welfare requires action and processes that are existentially integrated at all levels. As we will illustrate in the next chapter, Lievens' and more importantly Hoffmann's action supported by the ideological shift in the Church coalesced to form the foundation of an integrated welfare and development program.

Second, in our earlier discussions of social development paradigms — secular as well as those from the Teaching - social change to improve human well-being is invariably predicated on a change in values. These paradigms also emphasize the necessity that such change pervades and benefits the entire community. In our discussions above it is clear that the Mission's work of ameliorating the temporal problems of the *adivasis* was a key factor in the evangelization process. It brought the missionaries into contact with large segments of the populations and allowed them the opportunity of preaching and displaying Christianity. However, it is also clear that the acceptance of this new religious system was a catalyzing agent for change on the plateau beyond the advice and assistance given by the missionaries in the court cases. It allowed the *adivasis* to embrace a religious culture that they perceived more 'powerful' than their own and importantly, more powerful than that of their oppressors, the landlords. It was a religious culture that commanded respect, provided elements of protection and gifted protectors in the person of the missionaries.

This religious potency was not just rhetorical or ethereal but actual. The *adivasi* acceptance of Christianity pragmatically congealed a new way of thinking, a new understanding, and a different way of acting in the pursuit of their rights and well-being that produced results. The new religious ethos was not so much about acceptance or the need of a new set of values in order to be more powerful, for the core values of Christianity — equality, honesty and truth, justice, community, freedom, help of neighbor, respect, and the pursuit of happiness — were no different from those that traditional *adivasi* culture exposed and held. What Christianity did was to galvanize for the *adivasis* a new context and a method with which to deal with their changing world. The new religious ethos ostensibly leveled the ‘social playing field’ and raised the tribal population as more equal social players. In so doing, the process restored a vital component to tribal identity and welfare: land. However, this restoration and contextualization would prove only to be the first step in a development process that is ongoing.

## Chapter Seven

### CATHOLIC ACTION FOR SOCIAL WELL-BEING IN CHOTANAGPUR

The first decade of the Twentieth Century saw the Mission through many of the tumultuous problems that had plagued it just a few years before. The severe famine and subsequent outbreak of cholera were over, the Church having taken the lead in relief work in the cities as well as the villages. The relationship with the government was cordial and engaging. The legislative reforms enkindled by Fr. Hoffmann and supported by the Mission had radically addressed two of the most vexing social ills of the tribal population: unpaid, forced praedial service and expropriation of ancestral land rights. Above all, the credibility of the Church and its missionaries was effectively restored to the point that the losses to its congregation during the 1890s were more than abrogated. In 1909 the Mission counted nearly 150,000 adherents, baptized and neophytes (Roy 1912: 193).

The growth of the Mission also brought with it activities of consolidation and institutionalization. As we noted in Chapter Six, the system of education was a significant part of this process. As a key focus of the Mission, it resulted in the establishment of a large number of schools throughout the plateau. Realizing the importance of standardizing and organizing the schools, the Church appointed an Inspector of Schools, Fr. Van Hoeck, SJ in 1911 (Clarysse 1993: 57). He held the position until 1920. Under his leadership a policy was adopted that each mission station was to have attached to it a vernacular upper primary and middle school (Clarysse 1993: 58). A year after his appointment in 1912 there was no less than 140 boys schools and 21 girls schools with over 12,000 students (Roy 1912: 194; Josson 1993: 183-202). As Van Hoeck demitted office in 1920, the number of schools attached to the Mission stations had grown to nearly 300, there was a teacher training program established to train teachers for the schools, a standardized syllabus of instruction had been instituted in accord with government

standards and partial grants-in-aid from the government had been secured for the expenses of the schools (see Josson 1993: 290; Proceedings of the Conference of Missionaries 1921 hereafter abbreviated as Proceedings).

The value of education had come the distance. For when the Mission began it was difficult to get parents to send their charges to school. Now that education was valued and sought after by the tribal population, when the Mission was unable or did not have resources of personnel to begin a school, the villagers themselves would organize the establishment of the school under the tutelage of the missionaries. These *janata* (people) schools were largely administered and supported by the Catholic *Sabha* (parish men's council). The scale of the education undertaking in the Mission was such that it became a principal activity of the Church on the plateau and a chief concern of the missionaries. It received primary attention at all the annual meetings of the Missionaries to the point of being an exclusive topic of the minutes (Proceedings 1912-1921; Vermeire I 1963: 93). Its significance for the Church went beyond the fulfillment of one of the traditional corporal works of mercy. It was a pivotal resource in firmly implanting the faith among the populace as well as providing the population with the means (knowledge) to understand and overcome exploitation and injustice (see Clarysse 1993: 54). The attention to and development of education by the Mission has endured throughout its history and continues to be a prime concern today. Secondary schools are now prevalent almost in every parish, there are now colleges sponsored by the Church throughout the plateau, postgraduate institutes for management of social welfare, and rural development have been established, there are centers for technical education and preparation for professional employment and most recently, non-formal programs for street and slum based children. However, as important as education was and is to the Mission and to the general population it has not been the only concern of the Mission in its action for the welfare of the *adivasis* of the plateau.

It had become apparent to the Church early on that the welfare of the *adivasis* was precarious on a number of fronts. None was more evident than the desperate economic situation prevalent among the tribal population. Cash was a scarce commodity for the *adivasis*. Their livelihood was based exclusively on their agriculture and forest forging. At the weekly village markets barter was the main system of exchange. To raise cash the *adivasis* either sold their produce (mainly rice [paddy]) to non-tribal traders or took loans from the traders or the *mahajans* (money lenders) at steep interest on future harvests. The effect of this process coupled with an inherent cultural bias against thrift and savings produced a ruinous economic spiral among the tribal population (see Van Exem 1992). Moreover, the indebtedness perpetuated a system whereby the *adivasis* were again subjugated to a non-tribal minority but this time, instead of land and praedial service it came in the form of economic domination by the moneyed classes. To confront the challenge of penury and foster economic self-sufficiency among the *adivasis* the Church would be required to intervene in a very different manner. For if it was to sustainably raise the level of income and to foster a change in cultural economic patterns the process would require it to move beyond basic charity, engage a population not touched by the educational process, and look to the resources within the tribal community.

At the suggestion of Fr. Hoffmann, who had just returned to India from Germany (1908), the core action that the Church settled on was the establishment of a cooperative bank that would provide inexpensive credit and cooperative stores that would make provisions available at non-inflated prices (Tete 1986: 86). Hoffmann was asked to develop his suggestions into a plan for the cooperative institutions. He did so in such a way that it not only set out a blueprint for the two institutions but also created a structure in the Church for the promotion of social well-being that survives today. The details of his plan were published in 1909 entitled *Social Works in Chota Nagpore* and contained the written approbation of the Bishop and Mission Superior in the preface (Hoffmann 1909: 1).

## Social Works in Chotanagpur

Hoffmann begins his explanation of the projected savings bank and the cooperative stores first by addressing the ‘whole question’ of the ‘nature and extent of the social needs of Chota Nagpur’ (Hoffmann 1909: 2). His reason for this approach was first and foremost to familiarize his fellow missionaries with the social dynamics of the tribal population on the plateau. He argued that many of the missionaries either did not have the leisure to give much thought to the subject while others had ‘little or no opportunity’ of being appraised on tribal social matters. Furthermore, it was clear to Hoffmann from his experience that any action to benefit the welfare of the *adivasis* must emanate from a considered understanding of their socio-cultural situation so as to allow the action to be integrated and responsive to the tribal milieu.

Hoffmann maintains that the social needs of the tribal populace ‘can only be met by starting and developing’ what was known in the Catholic Church in Belgium at the time as the *œuvres sociales*—literally, social works (Hoffmann 1909: 2). Hoffmann’s use of the Belgian social works concept was deliberate. On one level the use of the *œuvres sociales* reinforced Hoffmann’s belief and argument that the Church must not only take cognizance of the temporal welfare of the people but also become proactive in improving it. As we have illustrated in the last Chapter, Hoffmann was well attuned to the ideological positions within the Mission that vacillated from a spiritual-charity only position to the development-action approach that he held. His use of the *œuvres sociales* helped him conjure up examples for his Jesuit colleagues of a whole host of social activities in which the Church in Belgium through its clergy and indeed the Church all over Europe and America were involved. Many of these activities directly shaped the drafting of *Rerum Novarum* and the Church’s policy of involvement in the social realm (Hoffmann 1909: 2, see RN section in Chapter 3). Specifically included in these activities from the Belgian perspective were the active organizing efforts of labor unions, trade guilds/syndicates, farmer’s cooperatives, political organizations, social legislation to

protect the poor and the social ideology rooted in Thomism that underpinned these activities (see Charles 1998: 344-347). While the actual activities inspired Hoffmann's arguments, the beginning of the Church's official pronouncements on the social realm in the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* put his position and proposals on a firm doctrinal foundation (see Tete 1986: 165).

On another level, the concept *œuvres sociales*, allowed Hoffmann to broadly explore, examine and explain the fundamental aspects of the social conditions of the *adivasis* on the plateau and to illustrate that amelioration of these conditions would necessitate an integrated process and could not be limited to one or two isolated programs (see Hoffmann 1909: 4-6). He pointed out that even with the land legislation of 1908, the establishment of the Mission schools and the ready financial assistance the missionaries extended to the faithful, there remained an acute level of social distress which forced the *adivasis* to migrate in order to survive (Hoffmann 1909: 4, 6).

The establishment of the *œuvres sociales*, Hoffmann argued, would have three core aims. First, it would institute a mechanism of protecting the *adivasis*, ultimately liberating them and giving them decisive power over their existence. In his words:

The general aim of the various *œuvres sociales* is the protection of the masses or lower social strata against unjust exploitation by an unscrupulous moneyed minority, whose wealth, higher intellectual training and organization give them power against which the isolated poor are absolutely helpless (Hoffmann 1909: 2).

Second, it would help promote financial independence both for the people as well as for the Mission. Hoffmann argued that unless the *adivasis* find a manner in which to use the resources that they themselves generate it would be difficult for them to survive and develop. Yet, he understood that the cultural barriers and lack of experience were a hindrance to their ability to successfully employ these resources. To meet this challenge he asserted that the *œuvres sociales* would require rather extensive training and education components that would build capacity among the tribal population to understand their

resource base and usher in the social changes necessary to enhance these resources for their well-being (see Hoffmann 1909: 3, 10, 14). Furthermore, Hoffmann was convinced that in the long term by relieving social distress and augmenting tribal income in turn the financial burden of the Mission would be somewhat alleviated as the populace could then afford to support the social endeavors which up until this point had been totally funded through donations to the Mission. He argued that if the Mission did not work at financial self-sufficiency for the tribal population all the Mission's activities were in jeopardy (Hoffmann 1909: 4).

Finally but not unimportantly, Hoffmann argued that implementation of *œuvres sociales* was one of the 'most important and efficacious safeguards of the faith' (Hoffmann 1909: 3). To him, it was the manner in which the Church fulfilled its responsibilities in the social contract established with the *adivasis* when through its missionaries it invited them to embrace Christianity (Hoffmann 1909: 5; compare Lakra 1986: 52). Hoffmann's forthright description of this process was a poignant reminder to the Mission of its duty and the grave implications if it failed to live up to this duty:

How often have not the missionaries felt disheartened, not to say disgusted, at seeing how very subordinate and altogether secondary a rôle religion as such played in their joining the Church, or, as themselves put, *in joining the rai*. However, as a matter of fact, we accepted them as they came and although for us religion is the chief aim, we have by thus accepting them and explicitly promising them all assistance in our power, taken upon ourselves the real obligation of doing all those things which are necessary for their continuance as a race, for safeguarding their rights and for such economic improvements as can alone preserve them from utter destitution. If then for the mere fear of even the greatest difficulties we should leave any of these things undone...they would certainly abandon the Church (Hoffmann 1909: 5).

Even with the approbation of the Church authorities, Hoffmann's arguments for the *œuvres sociales* met with some stiff criticism from his fellow missionaries (see Tete 1986: 96-97). The issue of the critique was not so much the plan of the *œuvres sociales* but the manner in which Hoffmann forcefully argued for its implementation. He was direct to the point of exaggeration that those who thought *adivasi* life would be improved

primarily through spiritual means could not ultimately succeed in the Chotanagpur Mission (Hoffmann 1909: 6; Tete 1986: 97). The argument was clearly an affront to his fellow missionaries who held strongly to the concept of only spiritual involvement, which they aired in a letter to the Provincial (Tete 1986: 97). They expressed their deep doubts about the success of the *œuvres sociales* but as 'obedient' religious pledged their support toward its implementation (Tete 1986: 97).

#### ***Chotanagpur Catholic Cooperative Credit Society: The Bank***

Hoffmann's initial plan for effecting *œuvres sociales* was the establishment of two institutions centered at Ranchi: the cooperative credit society and the cooperative syndicate or trading cooperative. The two, as an integrated whole, were envisaged to pragmatically address the economic distress of the *adivasis* and to transform cultural patterns that reinforced the distress. As with many rural societies, the economic attitudes of Chotanagpur *adivasis* were largely rooted in social norms. The inclination to save and in particular to save cash for future needs is governed by the notion that 'each day will take care of itself' (Van Exem 1992: 7). Beyond the traditional cultural mandate of storing seed grains for the next season and/or wedding provisions should there be a marriage up-coming, the *adivasi* practice was that extra grain or extra funds were to be utilized immediately. The excess was rarely applied to increase production and if it was used beyond immediate needs or desires it was to purchase/release land not so much for production but for possession (compare Bogaert 1977: II/35-37; Van Exem 1992:7-11). If a short fall were to arise later or there was a need for funds in the months to come, loans could always be managed from the traders regardless of the ultimate costs resulting from interest rates that ranged between 100-150%. A caricature recounted by the present Archbishop vividly illustrates the predicament:

Two citizens of Chotanagpur, one a member of the traditional trading class and the other an *adivasi* have both earned a significant sum of money, the trader by his trading and the *adivasi* by his manual labor. In the evening of earning their small 'fortune', the trader dreams of how to employ his windfall the next day in order to earn even more money, the *adivasi* on the other hand dreams of how he will spend his windfall the next day so that he and his family are happy.

The Archbishop was quick to point out that while the attitude of the *adivasi* toward his earnings did not assist him in bettering his long term economic condition, the stance nonetheless emerged from his customary value on social relationships, harmony and happiness which was essentially wholesome aspects of *adivasi* culture. The challenge was to affirm the cultural norms in such a way so as to transform them into more advantageous practice through education, example, and training. Hoffmann was of the same opinion when he launched his ideas for the *œuvres sociales*.

The credit society (the Bank) was to be established first and have the most enduring impact on the Mission. His plan was to set up the cooperative credit bank modeled after those established by Friederich Wilhem Raiffeisen in Germany in the mid to late Nineteenth Century. Raiffeisen, who was an ex-serviceman and lay preacher of the Lutheran Church, founded a system of rural cooperative banks in the small village parishes throughout the German farming region.<sup>1</sup> The successes of the Raiffeisen banks and its urban counterparts founded by Herman Schulze-Delitzsch were legendary and had become the standard for rural and small urban cooperative credit banks almost the world over with many successful cooperative societies or credit unions able to trace their foundation back to the Raiffeisen system (Gorst 1962: 39).<sup>2</sup> Its influence was also

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<sup>1</sup> The core principles of the banks included membership open to all regardless of Christian confession, unlimited liability for all its members, small affordable units of share capital so that everyone could participate, administration carried out by trained volunteers, very inexpensive credit for the members and decisions such as loan approvals taken at the local level. Integrated into the financial dimension of the cooperative banks was a structure of Christian moral education that provided a sound ethos of cooperation and mutual aid. The smaller parish banks were federated and related to a larger regional bank but essentially remained autonomous in administration and operations.

<sup>2</sup> Outside Germany in Catholic Europe, the Raiffeisen banks took on a decided parochial dimension as Church clergy established the system throughout the farming communities of Catholic Europe (Gorst 1962: 44-60).

unmistakable in the Government of India's efforts in the early 1900s to promote cooperative societies. The government based much of its new legislation for cooperative societies that it passed into law in 1904 on the Raiffeisen system (Gorst 1962: 41; Hoffmann 1909: 17; Tete 1986: 84-85).

Hoffmann's plan mirrored much of the Raiffeisen system (see Hoffmann 1909: 16-17). The banks on the plateau would be established at the village level thereby conveniently localizing the service of the cooperative. Deposits would be secure and offer a moderate return on the investment. Loans would be made available at low credit rates and the cost of membership shares would be affordable. Liability would accrue to all the members and management would be by members of the bank. An educational component would be integrated into the banking process to train members not only in thrift but in the benefits of self-help and Christian cooperation (Hoffmann 1909: 17).

In his keen understanding of the social realities and customs of the plateau, Hoffmann modified the Raiffeisen system in three key areas so as to be more responsive to the unique situation of Chotanagpur. First, while Hoffmann held that Raiffeisen's system of autonomous local banks federated to a larger regional bank was the ideal he did not think that this was possible in the initial stages in Chotanagpur. He argued that the capacity and skill of the local members would not be advanced enough to handle the sophisticated administration necessary to run the banks. He was also concerned that the local units would be limited in building capital, weakening the core necessity of the Bank. To address this challenge Hoffmann planned for the rural units to be subject and accountable to a central bank for administration and regulation. The decisions on loans however would remain with the local units.

Second, Hoffmann set up circles corresponding to the parishes of the Mission whereby the local village units were accountable to the circle. A village committee managed the affairs of the village unit and sent a representative to the managing committee of the circle (panchayat). While the parish priest was an honorary functionary,

the circle committee was lead by an elected layman. To assist in the administration of the circle, a *munshi* (manager) was hired by the Bank and assigned to the parish. He was the only paid person in the bank circle. This organizational system of the Bank intentionally resembled the traditional tribal structures of *parha raja* and his council for the Oraons and the *manki* and his council for the Mundas and provided a strong, understandable and ultimately valuable link with the *adivasi*-governing ethic (see Chapter Five for a discussion of the political structure of the *adivasi* communities). Moreover, in associating the functioning of the Bank with the parish and the parish priest, Hoffmann took advantage of the structures established to administer the Church as well as utilizing the moral authority of the pastor in the bank operations.<sup>3</sup> The involvement of the clergy was no doubt welcomed but not a requisite in the administration of the cooperative societies.<sup>4</sup>

The third divergence concerned membership. Hoffmann limited full membership to Catholics. Non-Catholics would be able to take advantage of the Bank by making deposits and earning interest but they themselves could not avail of the loan facilities of the Bank. Hoffmann's rationale for this exclusive stricture was based on the belief that the Bank would have a better chance of demanding a high level of compliance from the Catholic community because of the authority of the Church, whereas non-Catholics would be very difficult to call to account because there was no moral hold on them (see Bogaert 1978: 61).

Beyond the challenge of convincing his fellow missionaries of the efficacy and urgency in implementing the *œuvres sociales* and in particular the cooperative bank and stores, Hoffmann faced two other major challenges. To implement his plan and be recognized by the government he would need to seek a variance from the government as law that governed cooperatives—*Cooperative Credit Societies Act, 1904*—allowed only

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<sup>3</sup> In the Raiffeisen's system as organized in Germany, the parish was a locale of organization as the villages generally coalesced with the religious geographical demarcation.

<sup>4</sup> Hoffmann's plan of requiring active clergy participation in the administration of the Bank and its units echoed the Belgian practice of associating the Raiffeisen Banks with the professional farmers' associations which were linked to the parishes and clergy.

for stand-alone autonomous societies and as such, Hoffmann's planned centralized organization of the Bank would not be possible. He made a special appeal to the government, which granted the variance and officially recognized the Chota Nagpur Catholic Cooperative Credit Society in December 1909 (Tete 1986: 94, 99). While awaiting official recognition, Hoffmann set to work on the next challenge – that of educating, 'marketing' and convincing the *adivasis* that the cooperative endeavor was beneficial and that they should participate in it. He vigorously traveled the length and breadth of the Mission holding public meetings in the villages and parishes describing the cooperative system and its benefits (Bogaert 1977: IV/20; Roy 1912: 202; Van Exem 1993: 45). He published pamphlets in Hindi and Mundari describing the Bank and its features. In the Mundari booklet, *Chota Nagpur Catholic Bank*, Hoffmann engages an imaginary Munda elder who raises all the traditional objections and problems with the cooperative endeavor from a tribal point of view. Hoffmann in turn answers and explains how these difficulties would be overcome and the benefits arising from participating in the Bank (Bogaert 1977: IV/20). Moreover, to thoroughly inform the missionaries, Hoffmann provided Flemish and French translations of the Raiffeisen documentation as well as the *Cooperative Credit Societies Act, 1904* (Hoffmann 1909: 17).

The initial response to the Bank was substantial. Active appeals and collections for capital funds began in March 1909 and in the first eight years of operations the progress was near exponential as we see in Table 7.1.

#### 7.1 Catholic Bank Statistics

Year	Members	Capital (Rs.)
1910	2,430	16,000.00
1911	6,191	38,000.00
1913	8,630	84,000.00
1917	11,500	160,000.00

(Bogaert 1977: IV/21; Josson 1993: 226-229; Tete 1986: 105)

For perspective it should be noted that the average capital holding of Rs. 3.50 for each member was equivalent to nearly forty kilograms of ‘country’ rice, more than a month’s supply for an *adivasi* family and that too coming at the end of the 1908 drought (see Bogaert 1977: IV/21). Beyond the actual statistics, the government weighed in with its affirmation of the Bank declaring in a report on cooperatives in Bengal, ‘The scheme cannot fail of ultimate success, and it is bound sooner or later to effect an economic revolution in Chotanagpur’ (The Report on Cooperative Societies in Bengal, 1919-1910 as cited in Roy 1912: 200). The government’s assessment was not a polite plaudit for the fundamentals of the Bank and suggested that it would be a major force if not the only force in the villages throughout the plateau. Indeed the Bank’s financial reports register a larger deposit base from non-members, a phenomenon that would continue until mid 1990 when the Reserve Bank of India revised the cooperative regulations, ordering that a majority of the deposits in cooperative societies be that of members, otherwise the organization would be required to establish itself as a pseudo-financial entity. This constitution of the deposit base is what fueled the government’s positive assessment and prediction. At the time (1909) through to mid 1960, when India nationalized the banking system, rural financial institutions were few and far between. The Catholic Bank was in most cases the only financial institution available in the villages of the plateau and that too with the added advantage of being trustworthy and convenient (Bogaert 1977: V/2). When Hoffmann was quizzed on the underlying factors of the Bank’s success he firmly pointed to the fact that it was due to the participation of the *adivasis*. Describing the method he says, ‘I went and explained it to the Chota Nagpur Aborigines and they understood and did it’ (Hoffmann 1911 as quoted in Van Exem 1993: 46).

On its financial prowess alone the Bank’s considerable contribution to augmenting tribal welfare over the last ninety-two years is unequivocal. But this would only be a partial picture for its role in Church action for social development of the *adivasis* goes

beyond its financial operations. As we have alluded to earlier, the establishment of the Bank and the acceptance of the Mission principles associated with the *œuvres sociales*, inculcated a structure within the Church that would attend to and develop processes to enhance and promote tribal well-being. The Director of the Bank was also identified as the Director of Social Works for the Mission, giving him and the Bank responsibility for a wide range of social initiatives. Coupled with this coordinating task was a clause in the Bank's by-laws that required all profits beyond the customary reserves be applied to the *œuvres sociales* of the Mission. In the bargain, the Bank became the fulcrum for the Church's development activities.

Before we move to a discussion of the principle development initiatives under the aegis of the Bank, we need to detail three other activities that were established in tandem with the Bank as part of the *œuvres sociales*: the Cooperative Stores, Rice Banks (*Dhan Golas*), and the Temperance Society (*Nisha Sangat*).

#### *The Chota Nagpur Catholic Cooperative Stores*

In Hoffmann's vision of the *œuvres sociales* the second institution to be established was a trading syndicate that would provide a mechanism to sell the agricultural produce of the members directly to exporters in Calcutta, securing the best market rates for the produce. In turn the syndicate would purchase goods, textiles, provisions and equipment in bulk directly from wholesalers for resale at discounted prices to its members (Hoffmann 1909: 25). In both cases the goal was to eliminate the middlemen (who were almost all exclusively non-tribal, belonging to the traditional Hindu (*marwari*) and/or Muslim trading classes) that Hoffmann found to be virulently avaricious in their business practice, making them detrimental to tribal welfare (Hoffmann 1909: 25-26). Furthermore, the convention of buying and selling produce, provisions, goods and equipment through the traders involved recourse to credit and surety continually encasing the *adivasis* in a spiral of debt and poverty.

In order to liberate the *adivasis* from this process and to radically re-organize the economic system on the plateau to one that privileged the tribal population, not only savings and credit would have to be located within tribal control but trade as well (Hoffmann 1909: 26). It was from this perspective that Hoffmann argued that the syndicate was a complimentary necessity to the Bank (Hoffmann 1909: 26). Both institutions would benefit one another in a symbiotic relationship. The Bank would be able to fund purchases through loans to the syndicates realizing interest off the loans. The syndicate in turn would generate new financial resources among its members that would eventually be deposited in the Bank. The *adivasis* would in the process gain the advantage as their resources would not only fuel the entire system but would ultimately remain in their control to be employed for their welfare (compare Hoffmann 1909: 26-28).

Hoffmann's inspiration for the trading cooperative, as with the credit cooperative, emanated from the Raiffeisen system in which the farming members of the cooperative bank organized themselves into localized regional syndicates so that they would be able to sell produce at fair rates as well as purchase farming equipment and provisions in bulk for resale to members at discounted prices (Gorst 1962: 47).<sup>5</sup> The initialization of a trading syndicate was much more complex than that of the Bank and as such, differed significantly from the Bank. The infrastructure of the syndicate required considerably more 'bricks and mortar' for the *godowns* (storage facilities), thereby adding to the establishment costs. These costs were further enhanced by the need for a larger infusion of rolling capital so that the syndicate could purchase stock and provide means for transport. The operations of the syndicate were also more complex than that of the Bank.

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<sup>5</sup> The concept of trading syndicates however was not an entirely new idea at the time. They have their roots in medieval guilds, which brought together craftsmen, merchants, or artisans in associations of mutual benefit and protection. These guilds eventually disappeared as industrialization became more normative. The Church argued that their demise did not augur well for the 'laboring' majority as no other mechanism of protection was substituted in their place (RN §6). The syndicates established along with the Credit Banks would become a viable option for this protection and also stimulate the ideology of the corporatist movement (compare QA; Charles 1998: 334-337).

While the functions of the Bank were largely straight forward (accepting deposits and issuing loans) and in a single medium: cash; the trading cooperative was multidimensional, functioning not only in cash but in produce, provisions, goods, transportation, market variances, contracts and negotiations. Beyond the higher costs, the human expense of the syndicate was also enhanced. In order to be viable, the syndicate members not only had to raise the capital but also had to be exclusive in their purchasing and selling behavior and this behavior would have to be rooted in a rigorous integrity so that the benefits of the syndicate accrued to all members (Hoffmann 1909: 29).

In addition, because the syndicate was to be totally managed and administered by the members and as the clergy were to have little responsibility in the local day-to-day operations, the personnel requirement of skilled and literate members to implement the syndicate was accentuated beyond what seemed available at the time, a particularly demanding proposition (see Vermeire II 1963: 56). Despite these challenges, Hoffmann forged ahead and the syndicate began operations in November 1909 albeit on a smaller scale than the Bank (Bogaert 1977: III/17). It was not to receive official recognition from the government until 1913. The gap was due to the fact that the establishment of the cooperative stores broke new ground in India in terms of corporate entities and the government had no laws as yet to cover cooperative commerce institutions (Tete 1986: 109).

In the Government's report (1911) examining cooperatives, it labeled the Cooperative Stores as an 'ambitious undertaking' and then went on to offer a very skeptical assessment of its success noting that the challenges of infrastructure, tribal ethos and capability were allied against its core commerce constitution thereby creating insurmountable difficulties (quoted in Tete 1986: 101). However, the government well aware of Hoffmann and the Church's resolve and reputation, qualified the pessimistic outlook with a gratuitous wish that Hoffmann could 'overcome' the difficulties (as quoted in Tete 1986: 101). Hoffmann in his customary manner worked diligently at the Stores

and they made a slow but steady progress so that by 1911 they counted 10,000 members and were able to break-even (Proceedings 1919: 1; Tete 1986: 109).

In May 1914, Hoffmann's health deteriorated and he was forced to move to Calcutta for access to better medical care. In an irony only War brings, just two years after being awarded the Government's silver medal, *Kaisar-e-Hind*, in recognition of his contributions to tribal welfare and the assistance he rendered to the Government, he as well as all other German nationals in India were expelled and repatriated to Germany. Due to his health, Hoffmann's repatriation would be permanent and he would never return to India (Josson 1993: 226). However, we should note that even while in Germany Hoffmann's focus remained rooted in Chotanagpur. On his expulsion from India, Hoffmann received special permission from the authorities to carry with him his extensive notes on the Munda language and culture which he utilized in Germany to continue work on his *magnum opus*, the *Encyclopaedia Mundarica*. This he did until literally within a couple of days of his death in November 1928 (Tete 1986: 157). The Government of Bihar began publishing the fourteen-volume encyclopedia in 1930.

His departure from the plateau did not help the progress of the Cooperative Stores. Yet his successor, Fr. Molhant was able to pick up where Hoffmann had left off and by 1917 the syndicate had done business valued at Rs. 110,000, had inventory valued at Rs. 40,000 and continued to break-even (Josson 1993: 229; Proceedings 1919: 1; Vermeire II 1963: 57). In 1919, however, progress began to slip. Membership had fallen from the earlier levels of 1911 of 10,000 to just over 8,200 and the syndicate recorded an overall loss on business valued at Rs. 200,000 (Vermeire II 1963: 57). In August of the same year it lost its second director who succumbed to typhoid fever.

A motion was tendered at the Conference of Missionaries held in October to suppress the branches of the Cooperative Stores located outside of Ranchi. It did carry as the Archbishop weighed in with the opinion that a serious inquiry was to be made and corrective action taken. The following year (1920), however, the new Director, Fr.

Grignard, reported another loss and argued that the Stores in the present structure could not conceivably make a real profit (Proceeding 1920: 1). This being the case he reported that he had already set in motion the de-linking of the Stores from the central office, thereby making them independent (Proceedings 1920:1). Further, these independent entities would be privatized under local *adivasi* leadership and control, effectively relieving the Mission from any responsibility (Proceedings 1920: 1). The result of these actions saw the stores quietly die out over the next few years.

The core causes for the Cooperative Stores' demise can be traced to the challenges faced in their establishment: large rolling share capital, lack of experienced personnel, difficulties with infrastructure particularly transport and communication, cultural dispositions, and a lack of integrity in the operations. Three other extenuating events contributed and made the whole effort even that much more difficult: the War, a deadly influenza epidemic as well as a famine all in the space of five years (Vermeire II 1963: 101). But probably the most divisive factor was the attitude of the missionaries themselves. The establishment of the Cooperative Stores unlike that of the Bank met with fierce opposition. The notion of a trading entity being actively sponsored and run by the Mission was too worldly for some of Hoffmann's fellow missionaries. Those hostile to the stores argued that it was by religious instruction that the *adivasis* would be saved and not by teaching them to make money (Hoffmann 1919 as quoted in Tete 1986: 122). In their antagonism they publicly and privately maligned the Stores sowing doubt and opposition not only among themselves but among the tribal faithful as well (Hoffmann 1919 as quoted Tete 1986: 122). Their attitude and actions effectively ensured the failure of the Stores (see Proceedings 1920; Tete 1986: 122-123).

#### *Temperance Society: Nisha Sangat*

As we have mentioned in the last Chapter home brewed liquor was and continues to be an integral part of tribal culture. On the plateau there are two types of these intoxicants,

*hanria* and *daru*. *Hanria* (*Ilili* in Mundari) is brewed using rice and a concoction of wild roots combined with a fermenting agent. Being a ritual element in tribal life, it is the most common and is found in practically all-tribal households. *Hanria* is customarily used in the welcoming of guests, as part of annual festivals and for religious and medicinal purposes. *Daru* on the other hand is a type of gin brewed from the flower of the *Mahua* tree and is much more potent than *hanria*. It too is common on the plateau but not in same proportion as is *hanria*. *Daru* is not a part of the ritual custom of the *adivasis* although it does have medicinal properties and was commonly prescribed with an infusion of camphor for dysentery (Vermeire II 1963: 64).

As we have also inferred in Chapters Five and Six the Catholic Missionaries had no prescription that banned the use of either liquor whereas the Lutheran and subsequently the Anglican Missions had barred its use. However, it became quite clear to the Catholic Mission that the abuse of these liquors was endemic and held disastrous consequences for tribal welfare (compare Vermeire II 1964: 63-66). In the early days of the Mission individual missionaries of their own accord would reprove the tribal Christians in the excessive use of the strong drinks. There were even small parish based temperance societies (*Tap Sangh*) like the one initiated by Fr. Hoffmann at Sarwada (Bogaert 1977: III/9). Yet, on the whole, there was neither a Mission wide temperance program nor policy on broaching the problem until after the founding of the *œuvres sociales*.

By 1912, the two Cooperatives that constituted the core of the *œuvres sociales* had significantly stabilized and many of the initial barriers had either been overcome or dissolved altogether. In the process Hoffmann became increasingly aware of the unfavorable consequences excessive drink was causing the cooperatives and in particular the Bank. The *adivasi* intemperance was a significant obstacle to savings in that what little surplus income was generated from work or from the fields, seemed more often than not to find its way to the 'grog shops' (Vermeire II 1963: 62). On Hoffmann's suggestion

in his capacity as Director of the Social Works of the Mission, the Bishop issued a pastoral letter endorsing the setting up of a Mission wide temperance society (league) to counter the problem (Vermeire II 1963: 63). In addition, the Bishop made a public appeal at the 1912 Annual Meeting of the Cooperatives for the members to refrain from drink for their own good (Tete 1986: 104).

The *Nisha Sangats* were not to be centrally based or administered but were to be initiated by each parish with the people deciding to participate and the *panchayats* in charge of its administration. Its goal was not outright cessation of drinking but drinking in moderation. Indulging in *Daru* however was to be shunned. Once the parishioners agreed to abide by the provisions of the *Sangat*, fines were to be levied for infractions by the *panchayats*. The Bank also added its weight to the enforcement of the provisions, by requiring members seeking loans to provide a proof that they had sworn off *daru* (Josson 1993: 230).

There was considerable enthusiasm generated for the *Sangats* among the people as well as among the missionaries. The historical accounts show that the plans and resolutions to promote and enforce temperance are considerable and much energy went into their implementation (compare Josson 1993; Vermeire II 1963). By 1915, however nothing more is said about the progress of the *Sangats* in the reports of the annual Conference of Missionaries suggesting that not long after its introduction it met with failure (Vermeire 1963: 68).

There was an elaborate plan put forward by the catechists and teachers of the Mission in 1926 to start a total abstinence society (see Vermeire II: 68). They envisaged a two-step program whereby members would vow to abstain from all intoxicants in the first step for one year (*chhota karar*) followed in the second step by a lifetime commitment to abstinence (*bara karar*). The vows professed would be private but affirmed in the community through some dramatic liturgical ritual whereby a symbol of the commitment would be presented and worn as a sign of the vows bespoken. The plan was to be

implemented from parish to parish with no central coordination or administration from Ranchi but the effort never seems to have come to fruition (Vermeire II 1963: 68).

Hoffmann in his 1919 *memoir* to the Jesuit Superior General placed the demise of the temperance program on its leaders arguing that public intoxication of some of his fellow missionaries as well as the local lay leaders did irreparable harm to the entire effort (as quoted in Tete 1986: 139). While this may not have helped the temperance movement, the more cogent cause lies in the fact that alcohol abuse is a health issue and as such cannot be successfully controlled by punitive methods but must be treated as a disease.

The problem still remains endemic among the tribal population today and the Church has periodically tried various methods of intervention<sup>6</sup> nearly all giving way to a limited duration and marginal success. The Church's most recent attempt (1998) is the establishment of a 'de-addiction' center at Mandar (near Ranchi) in connection with the Holy Family Hospital there. The integrated program looks to a multi-dimensional strategy that addresses the curative (health) aspects of alcohol abuse, programs of prevention and education, and rehabilitation support activities to prevent relapse such as alcohol anonymous groups and counseling. However due to funding constraints, the program is localized and comprises only thirty villages in the vicinity of Mandar. It remains to be seen if the center and its activities are extended throughout the Archdiocese and more importantly whether its intervention will be able to sustainably reduce the levels of alcohol abuse.

#### *Rice Banks: Dhan Golas*

The spirit of cooperation that began with the Cooperative Bank and Stores influenced other activities on the plateau in the form of *Dhan Golas*. These establishments, founded around 1912, were literally banks for rice (Vermeire II 1963: 69-72). While tribal custom

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<sup>6</sup> For example the reintroduction in 1954 of the *Tap Sangh* on strictly spiritual grounds, and a Chotanagpur version of the Irish 'Pioneer' movement initiated in the mid 1980s by the now Bishop of Gumla, Michael Minj, SJ.

dictated that families conserve some portion of their harvest for the next planting season, invariably this stock would come under some exigency and be utilized either right after harvest or during the dry season, leaving the family no recourse but to borrow seed or funds to purchase seed. As a measure to prevent the *adivasis* incurring debts for seed grains and to build a reserve of rice in the community for communal needs, the Mission introduced the concept of rice banks. The bank was locally situated either in the village or at the parish. The members subscribed by depositing rice according to their means at the end of the harvest. They would then claim their share at the beginning of the planting season usually minus 25-50%, which was collected as interest. The interest, in the form of rice, remained communal property and was generally used for the upkeep of the village chapel, support of the school, school fees for those who were in dire need, payment for village land surveys and so on. The distribution of the interest was done with the approval of the *panchayat* (Bodson 1935: 200-201). The *Golas* proved to be a functional and satisfactory addition to the *œuvres sociales*. They successfully contributed to empowering the *adivasis* in managing their welfare. The *Golas* continue to this day in almost every parish and village on the plateau.

### **Creating an Agricultural Economy: The Bank's Extension**

At its inception the Bank was envisaged to be a key agent of economic change on the plateau. Fr. Hoffmann was convinced that unless the *adivasis* were able to have ultimate control over their economy their development in all spheres would constantly be at risk and remain marginal at best (see Hoffmann 1908: 14-15). The establishment of the *œuvres sociales* and its two main cooperative components, the Bank and the Stores, were the means by which the economic process would be restored to the tribal population and further developed. With the failure of the Stores, the Bank became the primary vehicle in attempting to maintain an avenue of tribal privilege in an economic structure that was largely unfriendly to *adivasi* welfare and advancement. The attempts to maintain this

privilege were largely mediated through efforts to enhance agricultural production for commercial purposes.

### ***The Years 1920-1959***

In the course of its regular deposit and loan facilities the Bank also attempted to facilitate agricultural advancements to increase production in hope thereby of increasing disposable income from the sale of surplus produce. These attempts in the beginning were largely ad hoc and involved links with the government agricultural department to provide new seed stock and training, and techniques passed on by individual missionaries, which they had gleaned from their own agriculture experience in Europe (Proceedings 1924-1929). Moreover, the lay catechists as part of their work became a source of agriculture training sharing what they learned at the Catechist Training School in 'practical' gardening' (Proceedings 1921). A proposal was even made to requisition a priest from Europe who would be an expert in agriculture (*Ingenieur Agricole*) for the purpose of training the tribal populace (Proceedings 1921). It was rejected on the grounds that the techniques in Europe were too sophisticated for the situation on the plateau and would not prove all that beneficial (Proceedings 1921).

The 1930s and 40s, saw the Bank engaged in more systematic efforts at increasing agricultural production and ensuring better prices for surplus produce. It promoted the use of organic fertilizers and higher quality seed stocks by employing its own agricultural advisors (*Kamdars*) to train villagers in their optimal usage (see Chotanagpur Catholic Mission Cooperative Credit Society Director's Report 1935-1942, 1952 hereinafter abbreviated Director's Report). For the youth, the Bank supported training through student stipends out of its profits at the Mission's technical schools at Samtoli, Noatoli, Khunti, and Katkahi. Imparting not only training in agriculture, the institutes also provided instruction in weaving, tailoring, and carpentry in the hope that these cottage industries would further augment farm income (Director's Report 1940: 8-11). In an

effort to boost efficiency and cooperation during the transplanting season, the Bank *Panchayats* organized 'group work' that brought together cooperative work corps (*Kam Sangat*) to assist individual members in their farm tasks as well as construction of wells, check-dams and ponds (Bogaert 1977: V/10; Director's Report 1940: 13; 1952: 1). The *Kam Sangats* were voluntary and there was no remuneration for the work done, thereby providing the members with a valuable money saving resource. To enhance the prices received on excess produce the Bank set aside space in the storage facilities of the Rice Banks whereby the surplus could be stored until there were favorable market conditions (Proceedings 1934). It also implemented a better conveyance system for the produce in order to cut losses incurred during its transport (Director's Report 1942).

Despite the Bank's more systematic attempts, the results were largely localized and limited (compare Bogaert 1977: 13-19; Ivern 1969: 81). Production on the whole did not appreciably increase and continued to be severely constrained by the reliance on seasonal rainfall for irrigation. Crop diversification was also restricted for want of water and cultural customs (Director's Report 1953: 3). In effect, agriculture remained largely a subsistence activity that yielded little disposable income. A representation of this fact can be found in the composition of the Bank's deposits, which shows that non-agricultural deposits constituted less than fifty percent of all deposits, the majority of deposits coming from *adivasis* who had migrated for employment and a more substantial livelihood (Table 7.2; compare Bogaert 1977: VI/24; Sen 1968: 28; see Labor Corps section above).

## 7.2 Bank Membership and Deposit Statistics

	<b>1940</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>1955</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total Membership</b>	19,875		23,343	
<b>Total Deposit-Members (Rupees)</b>	1,92,843	57%	5,52,165	38%
<b>Total Deposits-Non-Members (Rs.)</b>	1,48,204	43%	9,11,769	62%

(Source: Director's Report 1968)

The 1950s saw a critical liquidity crisis develop at the Bank that substantially reduced its efforts in enhancing agricultural output. The situation resulted from a combination of factors: a poor investment strategy in immovable assets in the late 1940s, loans issued for trading undertakings, which proved to be highly unsuccessful and a fraudulent nexus between some Bank staff and members (see Bogaert 1977 VI/13-15; Director's Report 1960). The crisis forced the Bank to curtail all its loans and dried up all profits for nearly a decade. However, the concern for enhanced production that would make agriculture on the plateau a viable venture was not lost in the process to get the Bank back into a solvent position (Director's Report 1953: 3). To this end efforts were made to cooperate with the new government's *Grow More Food* program that encouraged the use of higher yielding seeds, more powerful non-organic fertilizers, and winter crops (Proceedings 1951). Moreover, the educated youth were encouraged to exhibit loyalty to their village by remaining in the *dehat* (countryside) to earn their living. The Bank recovered by the middle of 1959 largely by increased deposits from those who were recruited in the new industrial sectors quickly emerging on the plateau and from those who migrated for employment elsewhere in India. Nonetheless, as we will see in the next Chapter, development measures of the 1960s would steer the Mission and the Bank toward a pervasive attempt to create a sustainable agricultural economy on the plateau.

### **Jobs, Labor and Livelihoods**

The circumstance and well being of labor has been a key impetus for the development of the social teaching. As we have noted Chapter Four the primary concern of the Church in this area is the dignity that inheres in the worker and the ability of the laboring class to earn a just and sustainable living. In the context of the Mission and the tribal population this concern manifested itself in an effort of protection for the *adivasis* migrating for work in terms of just wages, healthy living and working conditions and the ability to maintain

and practice their faith. The severe exploitation by the unscrupulous nexus of the *arakatis* and tea garden management was largely mitigated by Hoffmann's efforts in lobbying the government to strengthen the legal parameters governing the *adivasi* labor recruitment to the gardens. The Mission also attempted to stem migration through alternative methods and opportunities of augmenting income. These methods took the form of technical training programs; construction corps and micro, home based industry that produced textiles. All were on a limited scale, had varying degrees of success and had limited impact on the need to migrate to augment income during the lean months and years. Migration was a fact of life on the plateau and though the Church was wary of it given that its congregation were neophytes and that exploitation was fairly endemic and as such would require the Church to be proactive.

The Mission's first large scale endeavor in the labor field came in 1917, during World War I, at the invitation of the Royal Army (Josson 1993: 230; Vermeire 1963 I: 93). The Government of India directly assisted the war effort in Europe by actively recruiting regular and auxiliary service personnel. In its invitation, the Army asked the Mission to provide a corps of auxiliary workers from Chotanagpur to serve as manual labor support behind the lines of battle. These labor detachments were to be responsible for clearing areas devastated by battle, building roads and encampments (Vermeire 1963 I: 93). They were also utilized in India to replace regular military personnel sent to Europe for battle. The invitation was accepted on the grounds that the Mission needed to actively support the war effort and in tandem protect the tribal Catholics from recruiters less interested in their welfare (Josson 1993: 230). The acceptance was conditioned on the pretext that one of the missionaries would accompany each *adivasi* detachment to care for their spiritual and temporal welfare. The government agreed to the condition and the Mission set out to recruit the labor corp. The task was given to Fr. Molhant as director of the Bank and social works for the Mission.

Beyond recruiting and organizing the corps, the Bank also acted as receiver and transfer agent for the funds received as salaries by the laborers. In total 4,000 *adivasis* along with their three Catholic Chaplains were recruited by the Mission for the Labor Corps. Of these 3,000 were sent to France and Mesopotamia and the rest to the Punjab in northwest India. They returned to Chotanagpur in 1919 earning praise as good workers from the Army as well as faithful Catholics from the European Church hierarchy (Josson 1993: 232-233).

Buoyed by the success of the labor corps and prompted in turn by the continuing migration to the tea gardens, as well as the prospect of famine given the weak monsoon in 1918, the Mission systematically considered a formal labor coordinating entity sponsored by the Church (Proceedings 1918). The following year Fr. Molhant proposed such an office under the aegis of the Bank to direct and protect the *adivasi* emigrants to the tea gardens (Josson 1993: 215; Proceedings 1919). The Assam garden managers had assured him that the well-being of the *adivasi* laborers would be protected. He was reassured in this by the fact that his fellow Jesuits from Calcutta were active in Assam and were able to assist in the spiritual care, language and cultural understanding of the Chotanagpur Catholics. A list of 'approved' gardens was distributed to all the parishes of the Mission and those intending to migrate were encouraged to take up work in gardens on the list.

At about the same time the Mission received a request to recruit labor for the Forest Department of the Andaman Islands. The Andaman's are located off the east coast of India in the Bay of Bengal 1,255 kilometers from Kolkata. Port Blair is the territorial capital. The island's historical notoriety stems from being used as a penal colony on its colonization by the British in 1789 and again in the mid Nineteenth Century for India's freedom fighters. The department invited the Mission to sign up labor to help it exploit the virgin forests of the islands and to construct a communication infrastructure, which to this point was unsatisfactorily done by the prisoners incarcerated there (Josson 1993: 215).

Those recruited would be party to eight-month contracts in two installments and beside salary they would be provided room, board and transport (Proceedings 1920). The Mission accepted the invitation and placed the prospect of such an endeavor to the *adivasis* through the parishes. By the end of 1918 there were 400 recruits sent to islands (Josson 1993: 215). The Bank coordinated the recruitment effort and facilitated the transfer of funds between the men in the Andaman's and their families in Chotanagpur.

A year after the initial recruitment the Mission sent Fr. Van Eesbeck to the islands to investigate the conditions and provide the opportunity for the laborers to receive the sacraments and be further instructed in the faith (Josson 1993: 216; Proceedings 1920). His favorable report of the living conditions, the rectitude of the *adivasis* and their managers, and the ability to remain in a 'Catholic' environment ensured the Mission's commitment to encourage recruits for the work on the islands (Josson 1993: 215-216; Proceedings 1919). A few months later in December 1919 Fr. Merckx visited the islands and confirmed Eesbeck's earlier report of the healthy environment and that the Catholic *adivasis* were fervent in their faith (Josson 1993: 216).

By the end of 1920, the Forest Department desiring a more permanent and settled labor force added a new set of terms to attract family units to permanently settle the islands. In lieu of the two four month installments, they offered three acres of land if an entire family came with a minimum residency of one and half years (Proceedings 1920).<sup>7</sup>

In contrast to the Mission's enthusiastic acceptance of the Andaman invitation it also declined some requests. During 1919 the Army requested the Mission to recruit a corps of gardeners for its cantonments throughout India (Proceedings 1919). The Mission declined the invitation on the grounds that it would find it impossible to ensure adequate

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<sup>7</sup> With this addition the Mission could not guarantee to meet the Department's requirements and it ceased to actively recruit labor. The Bank continued to facilitate those desiring to migrate to the Andaman's through its labor department (Proceedings 1920). E migration of Catholic as well as other Chotanagpur *adivasis* continued steadily to the islands to the point that today the descendants of these *adivasis* constitute a sizeable (upwards of thirty percent) portion of the population of the Andaman and Nicobar territory. The Catholic population alone comprises ten percent of the entire population of the islands and the local church was established as a separate diocese in its own right in 1984.

spiritual care for those who would be recruited, putting their faith at an extreme risk. Another invitation from Burma requesting some families to begin a farming colony there was summarily rejected as unworkable and inappropriate (Proceedings 1919) Moreover, at the end of 1920, the advisability of the Mission's active efforts on behalf of the Assam Tea Gardens also became precarious. Labor conditions in the gardens had deteriorated to the point that the priests in charge of the recruiting and locally present in the gardens could not encourage 'much' wholesale recruitment (Proceedings 1920). They suggested that the 'fathers' in the Mission only recommend those individual gardens in the northeast that had a good track record and that the mission was familiar with (Proceedings 1920).

Over the next two decades there is little mention of the Mission's efforts at recruiting labor on a large-scale basis. In general its efforts were focused on recording and tracking at the parish level those who had migrated so as to channel the information on to the local clergy of the new areas of settlement for follow up (Proceedings 1934, 1938). Further, small placements were undertaken when a positive situation or invitation presented itself such as labor for the mines and quarries being established in the Gangpur and Asansol (Proceedings 1921, 1937). Encouragement was also given to individual pastors and parish *panchayats* to assist and direct those wishing migrate with suggestions and contact information. After a crises in 1922 in which some Christian *adivasis* breached a contract with the railroad that they themselves had negotiated and the Mission was implicated in the breach, a serious suggestion was put forth to establish a Catholic Labor Association (Proceedings 1922). The Association was envisaged to be a contracting agent between the *adivasi* Catholics and the industries wishing to employ them. Although detailed planning was done, even to the membership fee to be charged, the Association never came to fruition (Proceedings 1923-25).

By the 1940s, there was a shift in the Mission perspective on the phenomenon of securing employment beyond the plateau. As we have seen above, the Mission's earlier stance toward recruitment was one of necessity: since migration for employment was

inevitable, it was advantageous for the Mission as well as for tribal Catholics that some organized direction be taken up by the Church. However, the Church did not wholeheartedly hold the process of migration as normative.

As World War II broke out, the Mission's position changed. It now looked on migration as an advantage for the tribal population in permanently securing a livelihood. Jobs became the privileged means of earning a living and the Church must actively assist in this process. Two examples illustrate this shift in approach. The first is the establishment of the Bureau of Information and Correspondence (BIC) in 1941. The BIC was the Mission's response to *adivasi* Catholics enlisted in the military. Its aim was to stay in touch with the servicemen through correspondence and newsletters during their tour of duty and then to assist them to find employment upon their discharge from service. Attached to the BIC was a touring Chaplain from the Mission that visited the *adivasi* troops in their cantonments. By 1945, over 17,000 *adivasi* servicemen were on the roles of the BIC having been recruited for the war effort.

The second example is the establishment of the Catholic Labor Bureau (CATLAB) at Ranchi in 1944. Its specific aim was to actively supply employment information, advice and to act as an official agent for those seeking employment (Proceedings 1945). The parishes were a conduit of dissemination of the employment information and provided recommendations to CATLAB for permanent placements. The establishment of CATLAB did not replace the Bank's labor department, which was still active in facilitating placements to the Andaman's, in providing a corps of gardeners for the military to replace those regular enlisted personnel engaged in war effort, and in the supply of labor to the mines in Hazaribagh (Proceedings 1944, 1945). However, the CATLAB did provide a new medium of employment possibilities that went beyond manual labor which in turn responded to the growing population of educated youth in the Mission.

The Bureau also pioneered placements and advice for girls and women interested in domestic service and the nursing fields. After the war, the Bureau became the sole clearing house for job placements arising out of the major welfare and development programs of the government. This continued through independence and was particularly successful in channeling labor to the massive industrialization projects undertaken at the behest of Nehru's vision of rapid industrialization and modernization through the 1960s (compare Sen 1968: 30-34). The Bureau also established *ad hoc* training programs such as surveyor (*amin*) training so that the educated youth could qualify for government jobs. Moreover, through its suggestions technical training institutes were established to provide accredited industrial job training (Proceedings 1949). In tandem with the Bureau, the Young Christian Worker organization was created to help track and organize Christian workers and to see to their welfare both temporal as well as spiritual.

The shift in employment perspectives for the Mission from that of an augmenting resource to that of a primary source of securing a livelihood did not happen in a vacuum. It is important to recognize that the shift had evolved in a context of wider social changes that were brought on in part by the Mission's own activities. Prime among these activities were the educational endeavors. By the time CATLAB and the BIC were founded, the Mission's educational system had solidified significantly.<sup>8</sup> The government had provided grants for the operation of the schools, most were under the aegis of an accrediting board, and the Bank used its profits to provide loans for higher education as well as scholarships to deserving and needy students of the Mission's schools. The sum total of this was that a large segment of the Catholic population was being educated and educated well. Quite simply then, those that had been educated did not look to subsistence agriculture as a desired occupation nor as an adequate means to a livelihood. Full-time permanent 'white collar' employment was more desirable and at the time the plateau held few opportunities

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<sup>8</sup> By the mid 1960s CATLAB had become redundant due to the establishment of Government initiated labor bureaus and exchanges. Its activities were restricted to little more than an information clearinghouse so that by the early 1970s it faded into disuse.

to meet these expectations. Continuing commitment to tribal welfare required the Church to shift its focus and provide the best possible infrastructure to make an effort and meet the employment requirements. Not to do so would have challenged the basic foundations of its Social Teaching.

### **Lay Leadership and Political Participation**

The overriding structure in *adivasi* culture that fundamentally created the success of the Mission was the *panchayat* and their capacity to make decisions and coordinate opinion and action for the village. As we have illustrated in the last chapter, the ability of the missionaries to engage the population on spiritual and temporal issues was dealt with through the *panchayats* and the village leaders and facilitated in a large part by a corps of lay catechists (see for example Vermeire II 1963: 50). The Bank was also constructed around the institution of the *panchayats* devolving decision-making on loans and repayments to the local level. Further, the majority of the managing board was made up of representatives from these circle *panchayats* that met annually to make decisions concerning the Bank and its financial and social activities. The missionaries found that the local Bank *panchayats* when they came together for their monthly meeting not only handled business associated with the Bank but were also able to take up discussions and decisions on social issues as well. The Mission considered this a positive development, which ultimately assisted the Catholic community in its progress and unity. On the whole, the Bank *panchayats* were also a satisfying institution for the faithful. However, the satisfaction would wane during the 1920s giving way to a new structure and new possibilities.

The American characterization of the second decade of the Twentieth Century as the 'Roaring Twenties' could be an equally apt description of the experience of the 1920s in India albeit for very different reasons. The disquiet and agitation for equitable structures of self-governance had begun in the late 1800s among the educated 'middle

class' and had steadily grown to envelope and capture the imagination of a larger part of the indigenous populace (see Spears 1978: 158-193). The lull in the agitation that World War I brought did not curtail the sentiment but further galvanized the campaign for self-rule (Spears 1978: 184). Gandhi effectively extended it to the masses with popular actions of public disobedience demonstrating the necessity for complete independence.

These sentiments of nationalism were also echoed on the plateau but found their voice in a more parochial manner. While the movement outside the plateau, led by the Indian National Congress, championed self-rule on the basis of an opposition to the British, the stirrings on the plateau coalesced the demands for self-rule on the basis of the age-old opposition to non-*adivasis* [*dikus*: outsiders] (compare Bogaert 1977 III/18; Prakash 2001: 95; Srivastava 1986: 102). Leading the movement on the plateau was the *Unnati Samaj*, a pan tribal organization for the promotion of tribal welfare and culture with political overtones. Started in 1910 at Chaibasa as the Dacca Student's Union, it reorganized itself in 1918 under the banner of the Chota Nagpur Improvement Society based in Ranchi. Sometime in the 1920s it changed its name to the *Chota Nagpur Unnati Samaj* reflecting in indigenous terms its goal of welfare and progress (Prakash 2001: 95-96; Proceedings 1922; Vermeire 1963: 156; Vidyarthi and Sahay 1976: 87).

The *Samaj* was a Church based organization fielded by the Protestants. It is not all together clear as to which denomination held more sway in the organization. At its inception as the Dacca Student's Union and reorganization into the Chotanagpur Improvement Society its Anglican antecedents and influence seem to be clear (see Prakash 2001: 95-96; Vidyarthi and Sahay 1976: 85). However, as it came to be known as the *Unnati Samaj* the archival documents of the Catholic Mission seem to suggest that it was under Lutheran patronage and leadership (Proceedings 1922). Whatever the case, its popularity among Catholics was substantial enough for the missionaries to discuss the *Samaj* at their annual meeting in 1922.

In their discussions, the missionaries were puzzled by the popularity of the *Samaj* as most of what it seemed to stand for or proposed to accomplish was, in their view, already in place and being done within the structure of the Mission and in the activities of the Bank in terms of local leadership and social welfare programs (Proceedings 1922; Vermeire I 1963: 157). The missionaries also apprehended a danger to the nascent faith of the Catholic *adivasis* given the close interaction with the Protestants (Proceedings 1922). We must recall here that at the time, the Catholic Church in general was wary of any interaction or rapprochement with other Christian denominations. This is vividly illustrated in *Rerum Novarum*, where the Pope calls for separate Catholic social and labor organizations in order to 'protect' the faith of Catholics. In spite of the Mission's reservations about the *Samaj*, it asked its missionaries to take a case-by-case approach in evaluating at the parish level whether to actively support the organization (Proceedings 1922).

By 1925, the Mission was convinced that more harm than good was coming from Catholic participation in the *Samaj*. At the annual meeting the missionaries decided unanimously that Catholics be asked not to participate in the *Samaj* (Proceedings 1925). On the advice of the clergy, the Bishop, Mgr. Perier, issued a series of pastoral letters forbidding Catholics from involvement in the *Samaj* either actively or tacitly. In its place, under the aegis of the Bank and its director, Fr. Grignard, the Church began its own progress societies called the *Jat Unnati ki Katholic Sangats* (Proceedings 1924, 1925; Vermeire I 1963: 158). The idea was to begin the progress unions at the local level exclusively for *adivasi* Catholics with the vision to organizing them into a federation at the Mission level under the Bank. The goals of the *Sangats* were to support, promote, and facilitate social welfare and educational activities (Proceedings 1925).

Compliance with the prohibition on participation in the *Samaj* was near total and 'well received' but the *Sangats* never gained much popularity (Vermeire I 1963: 158). The reasons for the *Sangats*' unattractiveness centered on two aspects of the *Samaj* that

appealed to the tribal populace: a strong central organization with a collective, exclusive tribal image and voice and a decidedly political nature to its functioning and tactics. Both characteristics were missing from the Bank Panchayats and the *Sangats* as the Mission (and indeed the Church in general) had a traditional aversion to direct political confrontation. In the context of the newly emerging national polity, the lacunae in the Panchayats and *Sangats* left these organizations wanting in the eyes of the Catholic *adivasis* regardless of how effective they were socially, religiously or in local governance (compare Vermeire I 1963: 169). This unpopularity coupled with the rising political temperature in the country and an enabling Church policy, the Mission after just three years of promoting the *Sangats* as an alternative to the *Samaj* changed course and began consulting on the establishment of a more encompassing organization (compare Proceedings 1928).

The results of the Mission's 'rethink' was the founding of the Catholic *Sabha* in 1928 that incorporated the already existing *Sangats* and extended the new organization to the areas in which the *Sangats* had not been established using the Mission's devotional associations (for example, *Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin Mary*) as an organizational resource. The establishment of the *Sabhas* was based on a number of factors that coalesced during the 1920s.

First, as we illustrated above, was the gathering popularity of the self-rule movement and its resonance with the people of the plateau as expressed in *Unnati Samaj*. Second, a void in the Mission's organizational structure to attend the political developments of the people needed to be addressed within the context of the Church's purview and the *Sabhas* were a way to accomplish this. A third factor, which offered a potent doctrinal framework for the *Sabha*, was the concept and promotion of Catholic Action (see Proceedings 1929, 1931). Rooted in *Rerum Novarum* and actively promoted by Pius XI in his encyclicals *Ubi Arcano* (1922) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) the fundamental idea was that Catholics should organize themselves with the active support

of the Church into associations of Catholic Action for the purpose of promoting Christian principles of human well-being through unified, collective measures. These collective measures were seen in terms of social, political, and/or economic action imbued with the ethical and faith oriented precepts of the Social Teaching. Hence, the *Sabhas* were not only to be a vital mechanism in fulfilling and responding to the temporal, social and political aspirations of the laity of the plateau but were also to contribute to enhancing the faith dimension and needs of the Mission.

The objectives of the *Sabhas* were essentially fourfold (compare Proceedings 1928-1932; Vermeire I: 169). Primarily they would provide a participatory forum for the laity of the Mission to generate topics of common interest and concern, to study and examine them and then if necessary to discern a unified response or directive action. These discussions and judgments would be informed from the inherent Catholic perspective of Christian charity and justice. Second, the *Sabha* would provide a natural space for lay leadership to emerge and to be formed. Third, the *Sabhas* would afford an enduring structure by which the people would come to know their rights and civic duties and how to best use them for their welfare in a coordinated and unified manner. Finally, the *Sabhas* would look to foster a truce Catholic spirit in their members and aim to enhance the social and temporal welfare of the community.

To attend to these objectives the structure of the *Sabha* was to be more pervasive than that achieved in the *Sangats*. Each subdivision (fully fledged parishes, mission stations and sometimes major outposts) of the Mission was to have a branch *Sabha* of the district *Sabha* at the vicariate level (a geographical administrative grouping of parishes). The district *Sabhas* would send representatives, proportionally elected to the general body seated in Ranchi. The general body would then elect from its members the executive body. The executive at the Ranchi level was charged with the promotion of the *Sabha* and the functional agendas dealing with plateau wide issues such as elections, social issues and programs, and so on. The clergy were not direct members of the *Sabhas* but acted as

guides and advisors. The Director of the Bank and Social Works for the Mission was the ex-officio ecclesiastical representative to the General Body and Executive Committee.

The success of the Catholic *Sabha* as an organization was near immediate. The establishment of the Vicariate *Sabhas* with their branches in all major subdivisions was complete by 1935 (see Proceedings 1935; Vermeire I: 171). It garnered membership from every corner of the Mission setting up a very pervasive and influential organizational system. The elections of 1937 saw this system at work. The Catholic *Sabha* fielded its candidates against those of the *Unnati Samaj* and its more radical break away group, the *Kisan Sabha* (Prakash 2001: 97). The Catholics won, routing the two-predominately Protestant organizations on account of being better organized and more popular (Prakash 2001: 97). Buoyed by the electoral achievements and in a bid to promote tribal political unity, leaders of the Catholic *Sabha* were able to forge a temporary alliance with the Protestants in the Ranchi Municipal elections of 1938 (Prakash 2001: 98). Furthering the concept of a pan-tribal political organization that would include Catholic, Protestants and non-Christian adivasis, the *Adivasi Mahasabha* was created out of the *Unnati Samaj* and *Kisan Sabha*. The Catholic *Sabha* was not to become a constituent member but in exchange for assurances that the new organization would not have any role in adjudicating religious matters for its members, the Mission allowed, encouraged and supported participation by Catholics particularly on issues that related to tribal welfare (Vermeire I 1963: 200; Proceedings 1937, 1938).

The new found political prowess while encouraging for the Catholic *adivasis* on one level must have been disconcerting for the Mission hierarchy on another (see Vermeire I 1963: 199-200; Proceedings 1938). The pristine idea of the Catholic *Sabha* was to educate, inform and promote but not actively engage in party politics. The Church while seizing the import of politics in the overall scheme of social welfare was reticent to be identified with a particular political ideology or political factions. To this end and in a bid to temper the rising political aspirations of the *Sabha*, the Mission hierarchy

instructed its missionaries not to publicly support any political party or candidate and expressly excluded the *Sabha* from participating in party politics (Proceedings 1938). These strictures, however, did not preclude Catholics and/or the *Sabha* from being politically informed and making decisions accordingly nor did it obviate the *Sabha* from collectively interacting with or lobbying the government on issues of common concern (Proceedings 1938). Moreover, there was no restriction on individual Catholics participating in or joining the political process.

Nonetheless, the result of the Mission's abstinence from coordinated political activity gradually saw the *Sabha*'s corporate participation in the *Mahasabha* and its subsequent political reincarnations (Jharkhand Party, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, etc.) diminished to the point that Catholic influence on the electoral and political process on the plateau became marginal at best. While the collective experience of the political periphery of the Catholic populace was near indifferent especially with the onset of World War II, its effect particularly in the context of independence and much more recently the division of the State of Bihar creating the State of Jharkhand on the plateau has been extremely poignant. Decades of political inaction has left a fractured Catholic polity with very little political experience, leaders or recognizable voice to press for issues affecting the well-being of the community (compare Prakash 2001: 97-99; Akkara 2001; Vermeire I 1963: 200-201). Two vivid examples of this political marginalization can be found in education. Under the erstwhile state of Bihar for more than twenty-five years, not one new Catholic school was granted recognition with state aid, regardless of the merits, advisability or necessity of the institution. Further, teachers' salaries at aided Catholic schools (as well as other 'minority' schools) have been in arrears for nearly thirty months as of January 2002 even in the newly created state. The Church has sued in court for redress, mounted many protests and petitions but has had no luck in dislodging the political and bureaucratic impediments that would allow a solution.

Tribal marginalization in politics on the plateau is not limited to the Catholic population but is a fact among the Protestants and the non-Christians as well (see Louis 2000b: 1487-1491; Munda 1988: 28-42; Corbridge 1986). A fundamental cause of this marginalization is the lack of political cohesion and social solidarity among *adivasis* themselves. The fissures created by this absence of tribal unity have had a decidedly adverse affect on policy and resource allocation for tribal welfare and development particularly at the state level (Munda 1988; Prakash 2001). Much of what has been earmarked for development of the plateau has been substantially diverted and/or diluted (see Munda 1988; Prakash 2001: 193-224). The causes of tribal disunity are extremely complex and involve among other factors the development of a common tribal identity on the plateau (Louis 2000). Impediments to forging a common identity are related to tribal culture (alluded to in the last Chapter) as well as traditional exclusive policies and practices of the Protestant and Catholic Missions. The realization that a common identity among the *adivasi* population will benefit chances of promoting their own welfare has formed the basis for the Church's most recent action in this arena (see Munda 1996: 93-106). Under the leadership of the Archbishop, the Church has recently launched a program of enhancing tribal harmony in order that the 'sons (and daughters) of the soil' have the ability to retrieve the political process for their ultimate well-being (see Akkara 2001; Proceedings 2001). Every effort is being made to gather *adivasis* regardless of religion to coalesce around a common platform for their own welfare. In this process, the concepts of social and political solidarity as well as components of education in civic structures, processes and rights are being employed in the hope of stemming tribal marginalization. The Catholic *Sabha*, its associated organizations and influential tribal leaders have been active in mobilizing grass root support for the process with the goal of making a marked difference in the next series of state elections (see Akkara 2001).

Beyond civic participation, the *Sabha* is also a key mechanism in leading parish life and in coordinating opinion and decisions on a variety of issues for *adivasi* Catholics.

It replaced the Bank panchayats as the central lay deliberative body for the parish. To compliment the male only *Sabha*, a women's organization called the *Mahila Sangh* was established as well as an organization in every parish that brought together the youth, eventually to be called the *Yuva Sangh*. The women's organization is concerned largely with issues affecting the family, is federated in the same manner as the Catholic *Sabha* but is guided by the sisters. The youth come together around catechetical activities, sports and recreational pursuits and are usually moderated by one of the parish priests. The youth groups are parish based and there is no discernible federation except for an occasional diocesan wide rally, retreat or sports meeting. Both organizations flowed from the precepts of Catholic Action that fuse belief with social action (compare Proceedings 1938, 1949).

#### **Church Action for Women's Welfare**

The establishment of the *Mahila Sangh* by the Mission occasions a pause in our sketch of the major welfare efforts undertaken under the aegis of the Bank so that we may delineate the Church's particular action for women's welfare and development on the plateau.

The status of women in *adivasi* society is historically characterized by and large as being equal to that of men (Minz 1982: 186; Tirkey 1989). Equality in these descriptions is a function of the woman's culturally constructed and traditional roles in social relationships and responsibilities. She is described as an equal sharer in family life having voice in all decisions, a share and responsibility for economic resources and 'routine' household tasks. There is freedom of movement for women and girls in *adivasi* culture allowing access to markets, social relationships with women and men, employment and remarriage after a husband's death. The traditional burden that female children bring to families in the larger Indian context is non-existent in *adivasi* culture. Marriage requires only perfunctory gifts from both parties and only in the last century has it been an 'arranged' affair (see Minz 1982:187). Further, traditional cultural education

(and with the advent of schools, formal education) is accessible and available to both girls and boys albeit in largely differentiated fora.

Despite what we could term as ‘internal’ parity between men and women within *adivasi* households there are, beyond the doorstep, major areas of inequality as well. We illustrated in the last Chapter the inheritance pattern of property along patrilineal lines, which precludes women from owning or sharing in title to land or to a homestead. Beyond this, women are also excluded from the traditional governance structures of the village and village confederations (see Minz P. 1982 186-87; Tirkey 1989). They have neither voice nor right of presence at the *panchayats*. They cannot hold ‘office’ or can they be the traditional religious leaders of the village. In short, they must rely on men to conduct the affairs of state and formal religious ceremonies. This is also true in the other religious confessions embraced by the *adivasis* albeit women have been recently admitted (2001) to the ordained ministry in the Anglican confession.

For the Church the traditional role of women in tribal society as mother and wife was congruent with its own ‘organic’ imagination of women in human social structure (see Chapter 4) and its major efforts to enhance the welfare/development of women on the plateau emanated from these organic sensibilities. Most all of the Church’s initiatives for women were based on the maternal role of women in society and fell to the ‘Sisters’ for implementation. We use the qualification, ‘most all’ because the activity of education for women although initially geared toward basic catechetics, literacy, and household maintenance would eventually become an ‘emancipatory’ mechanism enlarging options for women outside their traditional domestic roles (see Hughes 1993: 77-82 for a discussion of early education of women on the plateau). Beyond formal education the Church’s initiatives for women cluster around two major efforts. The first of these began almost simultaneously with the arrival of the Ursuline sisters to the plateau and the second sixty years later.

As we indicated in the last Chapter, the Mission's early efforts to diversify the tribal economy included attempts at developing cottage/household industries. For women these initiatives coalesced around textiles and in particular hand crafted 'needle-work' such as lace and embroidery to which *adivasi* women had a particular penchant. Introduced by the Ursuline Sisters in a formalized manner in 1905 through the 'Lace School' at Khunti and later the 'Work Room' in 1906 at Ranchi, these endeavors taught the skill of needle work and also contained components of catechetics, household management, hygiene, literacy and numeracy courses, and child maintenance. The efforts were successful both in terms of imparting the skill of needlework and in the quality of the output. The products of the centers were often sold in Calcutta and Europe and received notoriety and acclaim. The efforts brought extra income to the participants and imparted vital skills for use in the home for the family. The needle-work training programs were also seen as an advantageous mechanism for maintaining moral efficacy among the young women whose husbands had left the plateau after being recruited and the eventual enlistment of a large number of tribal men for the war effort in both World Wars. The programs have been replicated and augmented over the years with other textile skills such as knitting, tailoring, and so on as well as home cottage foodstuff manufacturing throughout the Mission. They continue to be a prime activity for almost any new endeavor at women's development sponsored by the Church or its organizations.

The other major coordinated effort of the Mission to enhance women's welfare came in the 1960s. Responding to the ever increasing gap between young women who had the opportunity to be educated and those who remained in the villages and had no access to formal education, Bishop Sevrin, SJ and Sister Johanna, HC of the Ambikapur Diocese (neighboring the Ranchi Archdiocese at the time) collaborated to establish *Grihini* Schools (Homemaking Schools). Sister Johanna along with a lay woman, Lucy Ekka, opened the first of these schools in 1960 at Gholeng (Tellis 1969; XISS 1986). The aim of the schools was to teach illiterate and semi literate young women 'to be better and

enlightened housewives, mothers, community leaders and educated persons' (XISS 1986: 152). Courses included cooking, hygiene, mother and childcare, human relations, health care, nutrition, agriculture techniques, literacy/numeracy, and catechetics. The program was residential and lasted for ten months.

The Archdiocese of Ranchi replicated the program and opened its first *Grihini* School in 1963. At their height there were eleven such schools in the Archdiocese enrolling over five hundred 'students' a year. Funding for the program came from aid agency grants, food donations from Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and stipends/scholarships provided by the Bank from its development fund. A steady supply of students was ensured by the Mission's policy of requiring attendance for non-educated girls before marriage and by the popular 'demand' for *Grihini* trained brides (Proceedings 1964; Ivern 1969).

By the 1980s enrollment began to drop rapidly (XISS 1986: 153). Counted among the reasons for the decline were the increasing number of girls attending formal school, aspirations for and availability of unskilled jobs for tribal women as maid servants and manual laborers, a change in perception about the purpose of the training and a sharp reduction in subsidies to support the *Grihini* Schools (for example cuts in CRS food donation) moving them to a fee based program (see XISS 1986: 155-56). Foremost among these reasons is the changing perception of the program. When initiated, the program had the clear aim of training young women in the skills necessary to be wives and mothers and the participants readily accepted this as the main purpose (Ivern 1969; Tellis 1969; Proceedings 1964). Nonetheless by the 1980s the perception had shifted.<sup>9</sup> Students of the *Grihini* Schools saw their participation not in terms of preparation for marriage and motherhood but as a means to acquire skills to be employed (XISS 1986).

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<sup>9</sup> Feminist scholars have identified the detrimental impact on women of development initiatives that are based on stereotypical assumption of gender roles particularly those initiatives that teach skills which reinforce gender-based division of labor thereby severely disadvantaging women's access to competitive labor markets (see Mies 1982; Gaitskell 2002; Seth 2001).

The Church however continued to hold to the concept of the training as a prerequisite to marriage despite the evidence showing a different perception and need of the participants (XISS 1986). The gap between the perspectives was not bridged and enrollment continued to decline. Today the Archdiocese has only two *Grihini* training centers and as we will see later in Chapter Eight, the paucity of a coordinated initiative for women propelled the Church into a new undertaking for village women.

As we conclude this chapter it is clear that the Mission's concern for the people of the plateau was not merely limited to spiritual development. The Mission was keenly aware of the necessity of an integrated human welfare process that included education, access to livelihoods, legislative protection, health care, economic opportunities, political participation, and remedial welfare initiatives. Moreover, the importance of attending to these development needs was a key responsibility of the Mission as framed in the Teaching and substantiated in the 'institutionalization' of the responsibility in the Mission's administrative structure. The next chapter chronicles the continuance of this process of welfare action over the last forty years (approximately 1960-2000).

## **Chapter Eight**

### **THE MISSION'S ALTERNATIVE TO INDUSTRIALIZATION ON THE PLATEAU:**

#### **RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES**

As we have seen in Chapter Two, the almost exclusive approach to development and human well-being after World War II was modernization through rapid industrialization and economic growth. The new independent India was not immune to this line of thinking. The new government under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru embraced the idea so resolutely that it became the all-encompassing concept in India's five-year development plans (see Chakravarty 1987: 3; Sengupta 1998: 120-121). The Nehru-Mahalanbois model, as the development approach has come to be known, relied heavily on transforming India by huge investments in industry (Chakravarty 1987: 7-18; Government of India Planning Commission 1951, 1956, 1961 hereinafter abbreviated as Planning Commission). Among other advantages envisaged as outcomes of industrialization were the positive effects of drawing into the modernization program unutilized or underutilized labor from the agriculture sector thereby enhancing the rural economy (see Chakravarty 1987; Sengupta 1998). The Chotanagpur plateau was a large 'beneficiary' of this process. Gifted with India's largest mineral deposits—the raw materials of heavy industry, major government and private industrial projects in mining, mining technology, aluminum smelting, steel production, and so on were initiated on the plateau to exploit these resources.

For the tribal population these industrial benefits were a mixed blessing. The industries did provide opportunities for employment of the local people and many were hired in the construction projects during the initial set-up and then to a lesser extent in the industrial or mining undertakings themselves. However, these employment opportunities for the local population were limited either by qualification or ethnic exclusion practices

and much of the labor requirements were filled with migrants from other parts of India thus creating further pressure on tribal life (see Munda 1988: 33). Also, the industries, mines and infrastructure (housing colonies, reservoirs, roads) to support them required large amounts of land, which resulted in large-scale displacements of the *adivasis* (see Areeparampil 1995: 2-32). The compensation or settlements were largely inadequate to sustain livelihoods and after the initial establishment activities of the undertakings many who were displaced and employed in the projects as a part of compensation were relegated to landless laborers (see Areeparampil 1995).

In all, the advantages of the industrialization process for the rural economy were restricted. Most all of the benefit accrued to the urban areas which grew up around the industrial undertakings becoming, according to one observer, 'not unlike oases in the midst of a desert where a primitive and underdeveloped economy still prevail' (Ivern 1969: 172). Evidence of this phenomenon can readily be seen in Ranchi where the Heavy Industrial Equipment Corporation (HEC) was established to supply the steel and mining industries with equipment. At its height it employed more than 25,000 workers and just fewer than twenty percent of the labor force were *adivasis* from the plateau. The Corporation is now in receivership with less than 9,000 employees and significant part of its revenue comes from the rents from the new State government for housing the administrative and legislative offices. Its factories, housing colonies, schools, hospital, and administration blocks cover over 5,000 acres of land on the outskirts of Ranchi City in a purpose built township with reservoir providing running water, roads, electricity, telephone and sewage infrastructure. However, just beyond the boundaries of the township none of these 'modern' conveniences have 'trickled' down.

Accompanying the overwhelming attention and energy paid to the efforts of modernization through rapid industrial growth, there was a significant parallel development movement that focused on the rural sector. In the international forum, the movement took the form of a program against hunger. Led by the United Nation's Food

and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, was initiated in 1960 and subsequently led to the creation of the World Food Program in 1963. In contrast to previous approaches in the 1950s of meeting hunger created by drought and/or war solely through relief measures, the Campaign envisaged a program to create 'self-generated' agricultural development in the 'Third World' that would provide sustainable food security (Black 1992: 70). To accomplish this goal, the FAO did not abandon emergency food relief but augmented it through a process of modernizing agriculture through science and technology and donated food used as a resource to fund public agricultural infrastructure projects (wells, dams, irrigation canals, go downs etc.) carried out by local farmers (see Black 1992: 69-71). The FAO vision became the accepted norm for agriculture development programs enlisting participation not only from donor western governments and their aid agencies but major relief organizations such as OXFAM, CAFOD, CARE, CASA and Catholic Relief Services (CRS).

In India, attention to the rural sector was characterized by a strategy that combined scientific research to introduce technologically advanced farming techniques and high yielding seeds, support of large irrigation infrastructure projects, land reform and Gandhian inspired cottage industry development (Chakravarty 1987: 21; see Planning Commission 1956, 1961). In tandem with the FAO Campaign, India initiated the Intensive Agriculture District Program (IADP) whereby areas already under irrigation would be targeted with a process to increase yields (Swaminathan 1998: 148). For other areas, the government's program of enhancing agriculture particularly in terms of irrigation, seed stock, and fertilizers was administered through community development and national extension programs under the aegis of local district administrations.

FAO's approach to enhancing the agricultural sector was embraced by the Church as well. John XXIII singled out the Organization in his encyclical, *Mater et Magistra* (1961), citing with approval the link between relief, mutual aid, 'self generated' development and modernization of agriculture to promote lasting solutions to food

shortages (MM §156). However, as we have noted in Chapter Three, the Pope went on to broaden the FAO approach. He argued that the production of more food was in itself not the ultimate goal but that the increased production must provide farm families the means of securing an adequate and sustainable livelihood and that agriculture must receive the quantum of investment that is necessary to establish its infrastructure on a par with that in the more popular industrial-urban sectors (see MM §125, 127). The Church saw the immediate need as finding a way to increase production to feed the hungry but was convinced that this was not an end but just the beginning in a whole effort to create a viable agriculture sector that would be able to equitably sustain those participating in it.

Given the Mission's experience of farming on the plateau and its long standing goal of establishing an agricultural economy that could sustain and improve tribal livelihoods, the integrated vision for agricultural development, coming as it did from the government, Church and aid agencies, was inspiring. When placed against the limitations of the industrialization process and the ongoing migration for jobs beyond the plateau, the Mission apprehended the immediate importance of investing its time, energy, and resources into a systematic program of enhancing the agricultural production that would ultimately augment tribal welfare. In the Fiftieth Jubilee Session of the Bank, its new director, Fr. Backaert, addressing the future challenges for the Bank, framed the situation and the proposed action to be taken by the Mission under the leadership of the Bank.

Backaert argued that while economic progress had indeed been made amongst the *adivasi* Catholics much of the population was still very poor with little hope of improvement except for the option of migration (Director's Report 1960: 2; Proceedings 1959: 23). Education, he contended, is a valuable resource for those 'who leave the land' but is of very little value to those who remain (Director's Report 1960: 2). To those who would hold that the problem lay primarily in marketing the produce and the avaricious ways of the non-*adivasi* traders, the solution being to advance some sort of marketing cooperative, he argued that while that form of cooperative may be needed in the long

term, at this stage it was premature, given the fact that people sell produce not from their surplus but from their requirement (Director's Report 1960: 2). He maintained that the basic means to a decent livelihood existed on the plateau and were actually possessed by the people already: land, the capital of the Bank, and the urban markets created through industrialization (Director's Report 1960: 2). The solution to making these 'means' work he contended, 'lies in teaching the people to produce more that they may have surplus goods to sell' (Director's Report 1960: 2; Proceedings 1959: 23). Backaert's call to produce more was not limited to rice but included a diversification into green crops (such as potatoes and tomatoes), which he termed 'mixed agriculture' (Director's Report 1960: 2). To implement the solution Backaert proposed that the Bank take up the task of instilling in the people a will to improve and provide the necessary knowledge to improve, by mediating the Block Development Programs of the government to the people and by establishing an agricultural training school to complement the government initiatives in training the populace in agricultural techniques to increase production (Director's Report 1960: 3).

Backaert's proposition was also presented to the missionaries at their meeting in 1959 and again in 1960 for a final affirmation. His arguments remained the same as he had presented to the general membership of the Bank. However, for the missionaries he framed the need of increasing agricultural production in the context of an imperative social question for which a response was required and in their duty as missionaries and as the Church they were obliged to answer through organized action (see Proceedings 1959: 23; 1960: 13). The Mission agreed and through the funding assistance of the German Bishops and their aid organization MISEREOR, the Agricultural Training Center (ATC) was established near Ranchi. It began to function in 1964 under the guidance of Mr. H. Zimmerman, an expert consultant deputed by MISEREOR to shepherd the operation of the Center.

There were two dimensions to the program of the ATC (see Ivern 1969: 103; Proceedings 1962). The first involved a structured, diploma course over two years covering all aspects of agricultural science. There were two levels to the course, one for those who had successfully passed matriculation and one for those who had not completed high school. The matriculates were to be trained as agriculture advisors (*Kamdars*) who after graduation would be employed by the Bank and assigned to the parishes to offer training to the villagers. Once in the parish the *Kamdar* assisted the villagers in a full cycle of crop planning: what type of seeds, fertilizer and pesticides to use and when to plant and apply the fertilizers, and pesticides (Director's Report 1965: 3). He also assisted the farmers in obtaining short term loans from the Bank and coordinated the supply of fertilizers in a timely fashion. The non-matriculates were actual farmers being trained to take up the 'profession' in a more skilled and scientific manner. They were not guaranteed employment in the Extension Program although as with the matriculates, the Bank sponsored their room, board and fees during their training.

The second dimension of the Center was the extension services, which included agricultural research, model farms, irrigation design, soil analysis, seed and fertilizer supply, adult education, and mediating contact with the Block Development Offices (BDO) so that the local populace would take advantage of the programs offered by the government (Ivern 1969: 103). Linked to the parish structure of the Mission, the Extension Programs of the ATC were conducted in coordination with the Bank, the parish priests and the various lay groups of the parish such as the Catholic *Sabha*, *Mahila Sangh* and Bank *Panchayat*.

In tandem with the establishment of the ATC there were two other major components in the Bank's effort at increasing agricultural production. The first of these relates to the 'Development Fund'. As we have noted earlier in Chapter Seven, the Bank's By-Laws included a provision that all profits resulting from its operations beyond what was necessary for reserves would be applied to the 'social works' of the mission. Prior to

the crises of the 1950s, these profits were largely utilized for student scholarships, to support the schools of the Mission, which were unaided by the government and to support the few *Kamdars* the Bank had engaged. As the Bank returned to profitability and in order to support the new efforts at the ATC and in Extension Programs the rules for the development fund were amended. The new rules allowed the Bank to directly support with scholarships those attending the training programs at the ATC, to construct godowns and cold storerooms in the parishes for common storage, to purchase transport vehicles for seeds, fertilizers and produce, and to provide subsidies to the members for the purchase of agriculture equipment and inputs (Bogaert 1977: V/23).

The second and the most all-encompassing component related to the change in the rules for the use of the donated food aid supplies by the United States government. Since the mid 1950s, the Mission received food aid through the American Bishop's Catholic Relief Services (CRS) coordinated through the Bank and administered through parishes. Under the initiative *Food for Peace*, the aid, mainly in the form of cereals, grain and powdered milk, was distributed to the poor as nutritional supplements free of charge and without regard to race, creed or caste. In 1963, the United States government amended its rules for distribution allowing the non-emergency distribution of food to be tied to public work projects, now well known as *Food for Work* programs. The amendment allowed the Bank's Extension Program to undertake cooperative irrigation projects to support the mixed farming efforts. These irrigation undertakings administered through the parishes and supervised by the parish priests included open wells, bore wells, check-dams and ponds all constructed with local labor paid in food sourced from CRS. Augmented by contributions of other aid agencies such as Caritas Internationalis, OXFAM and technical advice from Action for Food Production (AFPRO), nearly 13,000 irrigation projects had been completed by 1977 (Bogaert 1977: V/27). By the close of the program in 1986 over 30,000 wells had been dug and 3,000 'check' dams constructed.

Other activities of the Extension Program included the bulk purchasing of fertilizers with the help of MISEREOR and other aid agencies, supply of diesel and electric water pumps, technical training in pump repair, training programs in Lac<sup>1</sup> and Tassar silk production, typing, tailoring as well as the publication of agricultural training manuals. So extensive was the Bank's program that in 1967 a separate department for Agricultural Extension was created with its own Director. Fr. M. de Brouwer, SJ was appointed its first Director and he served until 1980. The Department was later legally incorporated as Catholic Charities and today functions as the Archdiocesan office for social development activities outside the auspices of the Bank.

In Backaert's original proposal for the ATC and Extension Programs, he envisaged a twenty-year window of ongoing activities before sustainable results would be evident. The Extension endeavor lasted until 1986 and the ATC ostensibly until 1991—both a few years beyond Backaert's threshold. Two major evaluations of the entire social outreach of the Mission were conducted, one between 1966-68 and another in 1986. Both included broad coverage of the Bank, the ATC and the Extension Programs in addition to health, education and social defense activities of the Mission. As such, the evaluations are a key resource to understanding the impact of the programs on the plateau and to gauge their effectiveness in creating a viable agricultural economy as a component of the Mission's overall social development initiative. To this end, we review here the major findings of the two assessments.

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<sup>1</sup> An insect that produces a resinous substance called lac necessary in making shellac and other resin based products.

### **The Chotanagpur Surveys**

Conducted by the Indian Social Institute, a Jesuit sponsored social research center headquartered in New Delhi, the first social survey of the plateau covered the Chotanagpur Division of the then undivided Bihar and examined the Church's social action in health, education, agriculture, social welfare, and industry using an 'Action-Oriented Research' process (Ivern 1969: 1,6,9). In broad terms, the goal of the survey was to assess the effectiveness of the Church in its social-economic development activities and to examine how the activities related to the larger government initiatives being implemented on the plateau based on the five-year plans (Ivern 1969: 2-3). In addition, the survey was to evaluate the 'internal' integration within and between the various aspects of the Church's activities. The assessment was based on social scientific data generated by the Survey and on what was referred to as 'basic and general assumptions that flow from the nature of the Church and socio-economic development activities' (Ivern 1969: 6-7). The assumptions correlated directly to the social development principles delineated in *Gaudium et Spes* (1965) and *Populorum Progressio* (1967) and included the following principles:

- The call for the Church 'to be actively present in the world, to meet man where he is, in his basic needs and preoccupations' (Ivern 1969: 7);
- Church service in the socio-economic sphere should meet real problems and real needs (Ivern 1969: 7);
- Socio-economic development activities of the Church must not only meet the needs but utilize 'adequate means to satisfy them: planning, competent and qualified personnel, good administration, etc'. (Ivern 1969: 7);
- In its activities the Church cannot and should not act in isolation particularly given the pluralistic nature of India. It must collaborate with 'other people or agencies

working towards the same or similar ends'. These include other Christians, non-Christians, private and/or public organizations (Ivern 1969: 8);

- That human persons are the subject of development and as such the main protagonists in their development. The Church must see itself and also encourage those who collaborate with it to be a catalysts in the process of development so as to 'help people help themselves' and to provide for their integration at all stages of the change process (Ivern 1969: 8);
- That the development activities of the Church must lead to the empowerment of the populace in social solidarity and equitable participation in society (Ivern 1969: 8);
- In order that the people have the ability to fully participate in their own development, the Church development action must include components to build capacity in the participants to make their participation possible (Ivern 1969: 8).

While it was argued that these assumptions could not be readily tested scientifically, 'the survey has had to ascertain whether or not these assumptions apply *de facto* and to what extent, and what were the reasons preventing their application' (Ivern 1969: 7).

The Survey's assessment of the Mission efforts in agricultural development was largely positive. The main affirmation was that the Mission's process (Extension activities and the ATC) had been able to introduce and gain acceptance of new, more productive rice strains, the use of fertilizers and pesticides, and a diversification in crops in spite of tribal cultural impediments and a general reticence to try new methods and innovations. While it was too early in the development cycle to make definitive statements of the program's success, the researchers did find a significant change in the cropping pattern among Catholic beneficiaries. In 1965-66 it was found that on average a total of 50 acres had been devoted to cash crops (such as potatoes, groundnuts, and

vegetables). The following year this had increased to an average 285 acres (Ivern 1969: 82).

The main critique of the Mission's action coalesced around collaboration, participation, and diffusion (Ivern 1969: 112-122). The researchers found that by and large the Mission was acting alone in its development endeavor. Very few links had been established with similar Protestant programs though many were being conducted literally in the same geographical area. In the same regard the Survey noted that while an expressed goal at the beginning of the undertaking was to link the populace with similar government programs, this had not been fully exploited. The Survey also found that many of the projects initiated under Extension did not involve the local populace at the planning stage nor were they sufficiently trained or empowered to assume leadership in the project during its implementation (Ivern 1969: 112). The entire project cycle relied heavily on the initiative and know how of the parish priest and other experts (agriculture advisors, consultants). The people participated in implementation but had little input in the decision cycle resulting in some fairly early failures particularly when the parish priest was transferred in the normal course of the Mission's administrative practices (see Bogaert 1977: V/27).

Finally, the Survey apprehended that the diffusion of the Mission's activities was not sufficient to bring about large scale change. It argued that much of the activity, though positive in its impact with its beneficiaries, was not broad enough to radically develop a viable agricultural economy on the plateau. To this end, it was suggested that the Mission scale up its activities to include not only increased production and crop diversification but animal husbandry and a produce marketing cooperative as well. Moreover, the program coverage needed to be expanded to include larger sections of the tribal population. For this to happen, cooperation and joint programming would need to be done with other agencies, particularly the Protestants and the government.

As a follow-up to the Survey and the All Chotanagpur Seminar to discuss its findings, a resolution was made to establish a development coordinating organization that would harmonize the social development efforts of the Protestant and Catholic Missions. Named *Vikas Maitri* (Friendship for Development) the organization was legally established in 1970. Its Board of Directors was made up of the heads of the major Christian Churches operating on the plateau and was guided by the Director of the Xavier Institute of Social Service (XISS), the Jesuit sponsored post-graduate rural development and management center and the then Bishop of the Lutheran Church, Dr. N. Minz. The vision and hope that new organization would be able to bring the Churches together on a common platform for the uplift of the tribal populace never really materialized. Instead the organization became an independent rural development association with its own approach, funding and area of action (see Bara and Minz 1981).

### ***Chotanagpur Survey II (CNS-II)***

This second Survey was designed and conducted by the Xavier Institute of Social Service in 1984-85 as a prelude to the Centenary Celebration of the arrival of Fr. Lievens to the plateau (XISS 1986: 15). Taking its topical cue from the first survey, it assessed the Mission's activities in the areas of economic development (Agriculture), Health, and Education, approximately between the years 1970-1984. Parting company with its predecessor, CNS-II encompassed a more narrow geographical coverage and adopted a different methodology. Geographically, it was limited to the territory of the Ranchi Archdiocese. The rationale behind this decision lay in the fact that the researchers were constrained by time and somewhat by the fact that by the early 1980s, the Archdiocese had been bifurcated four times forming separate, independent dioceses with their own social development agendas (see XISS 1986: 15). Methodologically, CNS-II decidedly implemented a participatory approach in the style of participatory rural appraisal [PRA] (XISS 1986: 17-21). As such the survey emphasized a dialogic, iterative process with all

participants—villagers, researchers, and Church officials—communally evaluating the process as well as the data.

In its assessment of the impact of the Extension and ATC activities, the Survey presented two discoveries. The first was a discontinuity between the goals of the activities and the actual results (XISS 1986: 97). Despite twenty years of intensive work in trying to create a viable agriculture economy, the Survey found that the Extension activities had only a marginal impact in increasing the reliance on farm sources for overall income. In a lucid illustration it compared sources of income between the beneficiaries of the Extension Programs with non-beneficiaries in the same locale. In the comparison the Survey found next to no difference between the two groups in the percentage of income sourced from agriculture. Both groups realized just about sixty percent of their income from farm sources, making up the other forty percent through other means. Further, it was an expectation of the Extension Programs that the beneficiary group, given the irrigation facilities, advanced agriculture inputs, equipment and better farming techniques, would derive significantly more overall income from their farming activities. However, the Survey found that even with almost double the amount of land irrigated, the beneficiaries' level of income while marginally higher than that of the non-beneficiaries, did not match the quantum of possible production provided by the irrigation facilities.

The second discovery came in the Survey's subsequent inquiry to determine what use was made of the Extension facilities by the beneficiaries if they had not been wholly applied to increasing their agricultural income. The Survey found that facilities provided by the programs did not go to waste but had had a positive impact on the livelihoods of the beneficiaries although not directly quantifiable in economic terms (XISS 1986: 92-93, 97). The survey cites the following positive benefits as examples:

- The introduction of new high yielding seeds, fertilizers and pesticides while not significantly contributing to overall higher commercial production did allow for a

constant supply of produce for home consumption, which in turn insulated the populace against the vicissitudes of the monsoon (p. 92);

- Although the introduction of green crops was meant primarily for 'cash-cropping' their main impact came in diversifying the diet of the *adivasis*, helping them achieve better levels of nutrition (p. 93);
- The irrigation facilities and in particular the wells were productive not 'commercially' but almost wholly for domestic use. They also provided a large scale source of clean potable water (p.97).

Essentially what the beneficiaries had done with their new resources (seeds, fertilizers, techniques, equipment, irrigation and so on.) was to employ them in augmenting their personal consumption requirements. After meeting these requirements there was very little desire or incentive to produce more.

In an effort to determine the reasons for applying the resources solely for personal consumption, the Survey concluded that the disincentives to engage in additional production were caused by the following factors:

- Administrative and structural inadequacies and inefficiencies of the Extension Programs resulting in delayed resources, limited transport and mismatches of supplies and actual demand (pp. 103-104);
- Non cooperation in the voluntary aspects of the programs and a growing attitude of dependency (p. 104);
- An absence in some areas of community organization and common responsibility (p. 105);
- Cultural predispositions and practices that included traditional months of farming abstinence, celebrations, social visits and excessive drinking (p.105);
- A Lack of household 'manpower' creating a reliance on hired labor for farming activities which were also in short supply (p.105);

- Inadequate fencing and markets (p. 105);
- A lack of comprehensive technical knowledge among the farmers (p. 106);
- And a lack of interest in agriculture especially among the youth (p. 106).

Despite its conclusions that the Extension Programs and the training offered by the ATC had not successfully met the goal of establishing a viable agriculture economy, the Survey recommended that the programs be continued but be re-focused more directly on those who have not been covered and in particular those at the lowest end of the plateau's economic ladder. The population envisaged within these groups is generally non-Christian and includes many of the *Sarna adivasis* and the traditional castes that service the village community (XISS 1986: 106, 203-205).

#### **Economization of Production: Core Causes**

While CNS-II presented a picture of why the Extension resources were not in effect employed for commercial purposes, the depiction is incomplete in two ways. First, the factors elucidated are largely representations of an end result and do not sufficiently address a development process that had spanned more than two decades in its present form and more than half a century otherwise. The second deficiency in the Surveys' conclusions comes from the fact that they are merely limited to the direct relationship between the Extension Programs and the participants without regard to other causal factors such as government policy/action, other Church activities, aid agency requirements and so on. The limitations notwithstanding, the conclusions do provide a direction in detecting the root causes. Our first lead is the conflation of a lack of household 'manpower', cultural dispositions and education.

We recall that in our study thus far the desire of the Mission to create an agricultural economy on the plateau was to fundamentally provide a livelihood for the *adivasis* so that they would not be forced to migrate in lean times nor desire to migrate for

better opportunities. In the early days of the Mission this principle was rooted in the notion of protection — protection from the exploitation that occurred during migration, protection from avaricious traders, protection from losing their newfound faith and quite literally protection from losing a landed patrimony that ensured a basic sustenance. In the latest endeavors of the last forty or fifty years, the Mission's emphasis has shifted from one of protection to that of seeking viable alternatives. In both cases two basic presuppositions were made: first that the *adivasis* desired to source their livelihoods from agricultural activity thus making farming their 'profession' and second that the land they held was their key capital resource (see Hoffmann 1909, Proceedings 1959: 23, 1960: 13).

In the earlier years when there was little choice in the matter both rang true and development action was generally planned accordingly. However, after World War II and with the advent of Independence, the options available shifted the focus away from land and agriculture as total resources for livelihoods.<sup>2</sup> To this end, we see the ATC and *Kamdars* providing a system of agricultural education in order to create a critical professional culture that would not only sustain efforts but also provide an attraction for future generations. Cooperative farming was undertaking not only for income generation but to illustrate what could be accomplished if the land was improved and made more fertile through irrigation facilities, high yielding seed stock, crop diversification, fertilizers and pesticides. The entire enterprise was focused on the message that resembled, 'land in your possession was your greatest resource and with a 'little' work, a few improvements, some new methods it will provide you with all you need and all you desire' (see CNS II; Proceedings 1960).

What we see, as reported in CNS-II, is that this message was systematically rejected. Two fundamental changes had occurred in tribal society that made it so. The

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<sup>2</sup> In the broader rural development endeavors of this time frame (1960s through the early 1970s) both in and out of India we can see echoes of this phenomenon. In tandem with food security initiatives, commercial agricultural endeavors were promoted to provide the basis of solid economic livelihoods in rural areas. These largely came under the rubrics of the 'green revolution' and integrated rural development (for an insightful discussion on India's remarkable advances in agriculture see Swaminathan 1998).

first was that land was no longer valued as their primary resource, labor was. Brought on by the industrialization policy of the government which looked to inexpensive rural labor and inexpensive food as a key part of its foundation, the tribal farmer found that beyond what was required for the family's needs, his labor employed elsewhere earned more cash than what he could get through extra farming (see Chakravarty 1987: 20). Further reinforcing limited returns on commercial farming was the paucity of investment on the plateau by the government in agricultural infrastructure needed to make farming practicable (Prakash 2001: 215-221). Table 8.1 culled from official government statistics by tribal activist and well-known academic, Ram Dayal Munda, vividly illustrates the disparity on revenue collected and investment made in Chotanagpur and the rest of the erstwhile-undivided Bihar.

**Table 8.1 Development Disparities in Undivided Bihar**

Major Items	Chotanagpur	Rest of the State
Contribution to State Revenue	70%	30%
Expenditure of Revenue in	20%	80%
Irrigated land of total available for cultivation	5%	50%
Rural Electrification	5%	40%
Paved roads per 1000 kilometers	5 km	20 km

(Source: Munda 1988: 34)

Munda goes on to report that,

The most alarming feature of the development process is that even from the meager funds allotted for this region, less than 30% reaches the real beneficiaries. Seventy percent is pocketed away in the process of finalizing the paper work by a 15-20% of superimposed personnel which has no sense of obligation and belonging for the area (Munda 1988: 35).

His contentions are further substantiated by the well publicized example of the fraud in the State Animal Husbandry Department amounting to nearly 2,000 *crore* Rupees (approximately US \$450 million) in which numerous senior civil servants and politicians have been indicted. The loss to the Bihar State exchequer was from treasuries located in Chotanagpur from funds earmarked for the plateau.

Given this 'depressed' agriculture climate, the male members of the family not in schools found they could garner more income from working than from cultivating. This practice was even more profitable when someone was able to secure 'permanent' employment in a factory, office, or mine. In the bargain, the Extension resources were valuable but not beyond what was required to comfortably sustain the family.

The second change came in the context of education. When the Mission began it was extremely difficult to get the *adivasis* to send their children to school as their utility was much more valuable to the family's farming endeavors. As the Mission grew and the value of education grew along with it, sending children to school became a cultural norm among *adivasi* Christians so much so that if they did desire to grow more produce it was for the specific purpose of having cash to pay the school fees. This pervasive inculcation of education brought with it a fundamental attitude change: ultimate success in education would bring employment and jobs were to be preferred over farming. Reinforcing this process was the government's dual policies of supporting tribal students with scholarships and educational aid and in policies of positive employment discrimination in which a certain percentage of government jobs are reserved for scheduled tribes. The youth saw no future in agriculture and even among those that did not do well in school many would migrate beyond the plateau for employment in domestic service or other manual labor posts (for examples see Lakra 1999; Tirkey 1989). In all, these competing development processes, both internal and external to the Mission are the core causes of the Extension Programs' failure to create a viable alternative on the plateau in the form of commercial agriculture.

Before we conclude this section it is necessary to point out a proclivity and a physical reality, which had bearing on the Extension Program. Their impact, if modified or wholly absent, would not have made the overall outcome different. However they were extenuating and add insight from the social development perspective. The proclivity stems from an administration structure inherent within the programs. While the programs

were directly administered through the parishes, they were done so largely on an individual or small group basis by agreement with the parish priest. The village community was not considered in its entirety when awarding wells and other resources. This ‘individualized’ approach was not helpful as it not only created pockets of development it also extracted the decisions traditionally reserved for the deliberative village councils, thereby severely compromising community ownership for the process (see XISS 1986: 105; de Brouwer 2001: Personal Interview). The physical reality comes in the form of land availability. As land passed on from one generation to the next through the eldest male heir, other male family members were either granted smaller shares or no shares of the property. In either case, the practice to establish oneself and add to the small land holding was to clear a patch of forest and claim the land through cultivation. In the last four or five decades, given the availability of forests and forest conservation regulations, reclamation became impossible making land holdings very small (on average four to six acres) and very dispersed, further handicapping commercial viability and the Extension process (see XISS 1986: 101).

#### *Transgressions and the End of an Era*

The end of the Extension Programs came when the major component, the *Food for Work* undertaking, was cancelled in 1986 after an intensive audit by the United States Government. While documentation on the actual findings is unavailable, interviews with functionaries associated with the program give broad insight into the findings. These functionaries generally agree that the audit found and supported the fact that there were major diversions of food and resources before these reached the intended beneficiaries in contravention of the program’s guidelines and existing contracts. At the same time as it is agreed that these findings are in the audit, there is also debate as to whether the conclusions drawn were as serious as they had been made out to be. Some hold to the opinion that as much as fifty percent of the diversions were a result of poor

documentation and/or accounting practices. Others have attributed the findings to a systematic process of United States Government Policy during the 1980s to reduce overall aid. Yet, there are also those who have confirmed the veracity of the diversions and their magnitude. Whatever the nuances to the audit findings, the decision to suspend and the subsequent decision to withdraw the entire Archdiocese from participation in the *Food for Work* program not only ended the Extension undertakings but also ended the Bank's leadership in social action from which it has not recovered. Moreover, the crises also sent Mission wide social development initiatives into hibernation for nearly a decade.

At about the same time as the crisis was developing with the Extension Programs, the ATC was experiencing difficulties. By 1985, its ability to attract students had been severely impaired as its primary source, the Bank, had met its requirements for its agricultural advisors and could not guarantee further employment to graduates of the ATC (see XISS 1986: 59-60; 148-49). With little hope of employment upon completion of the program, the two-year diploma was unattractive. In attempts to attract students from those interested in continuing in traditional agriculture it was found that most of these had limited academic ability which rendered the science and math components impossible obstacles to overcome. Further, the two-year cycle was also an impediment at this stage as it took farmers away from their duties well beyond what could be comfortably managed. In a last ditch effort to make a go of the ATC in 1987 the program was redesigned into short one-year course. After a strong initial response (25-30 students) to the new format, interest waned and by 1991 the Center had six students and forty-five staff (Lakra 2001: Personal Interview). It finally ceased operations that same year after a bitter labor dispute. The property now houses a training center for new Jesuits (the Novitiate).

## New Directions and Old Paradigms

While the demise of Extension and the ATC ushered in an end to an intensive era of a coordinated development activity for the Archdiocese, this characterization should not be taken to mean that there was *no* development activity in the interim in the Archdiocese, on the contrary. What took place was that development action devolved to action initiated and carried out by separate institutions (religious congregations and well as individuals within the clergy) inside the Archdiocese. The following table illustrates the extent of these institutional activities:

**Table 8.2 Ranchi Archdiocesan Institutional Statistics**

Institution/Institutional Activity	Number in the Archdiocese
Colleges	4
High Schools	36
Primary Schools	96
Technical Schools	9
Hospitals	3
Dispensaries	15
Orphanages	2
Crèches	3
Leprosy Clinics, Centers	2

(Source: Ranchi Catholic Archdiocese Directory 1995)

In addition to these are other activities that are not readily delineated in institutional statistics. Examples include: the Issue Based Social Apostolate, which organizes the tribal population to counter public development projects that threaten major displacement such as the Netrahat Firing Range and Koel-Karo Hydroelectric Project; the rural development initiatives of XISS as part of its post graduate educational course; women's skill development initiatives and adult education by the Daughters of St. Anne; Child Sponsorship Schemes through Gram Guru; street and working children schemes undertaken by the Society of Mary and the integrated development projects of the Ursuline Sisters at Sundil.

In the mid 1990s a fresh initiative toward a more coordinated development plan took shape in the Archdiocese. This new initiative was the establishment of the Archdiocesan Consortium for Development and Solidarity (ACDS) in 1995, which brought together nearly fifty religious congregations operating within the Archdiocese and the staff of Catholic Charities. The aim of the ACDS is to plan, organize and prioritize development activities within the Archdiocese. The Consortium is lead by an executive committee chaired by the Director of XISS and is comprised of the Director of Catholic Charities and other elected representatives of the Consortium. The establishment of the ACDS was galvanized by events not entirely coincidental.

The first of these events is what can now be seen as a fairly pointed restructuring process underway in the Archdiocese in the early 1990s. With the aim of providing for better pastoral care of the Catholic population within its vast boundaries, the end result of this process was the creation of two separate dioceses in 1993, Gumla and Simdega and then in 1995 a further bifurcation created the Khunti Diocese. In the reorganization process the Ranchi Archdiocese was left with the civil subdivision of Ranchi and the Lohardaga District. The effects of the reorganization on development initiatives were significant. Each of the new dioceses, operating independently, were immediately faced with the challenge to build their own development vision, infrastructure and funding. For the Archdiocese of Ranchi the restructuring and delimiting exercise meant a considerable 'loss' of major development projects and a re-evaluation of its programs and organization for development was essential.

At about the same time, MISEREOR, a long time funding partner of the Archdiocese, tendered a compelling suggestion. Based on its experience of funding requests it received from organizations within the Archdiocese, it found there was significant repetition in the proposals, a large amount of duplication of effort and overwhelming number of requests for 'bricks and mortar' funding making the decision process extremely arduous. In order to avoid the evaluation and funding quagmire and

more importantly to ensure that development program initiatives funded by MISEREOR would have better coverage, a higher chance of success, and be able to concentrate on 'building people', the aid agency asked the Archdiocese if more coordination among the various groups working for social uplift could be facilitated. Moreover, it maintained that projects for the Archdiocese needed to move away from buildings and focus more on development of people: 'You have built buildings, now you have to build people' (Alexander 1999: Personal Interview).

After a general body meeting of the Consortium, the Executive Committee met in June 1996 to plan a five year development strategy for the Archdiocese (see Ranchi Archdiocesan News hereinafter RAD 1996: 3). The Committee decided on the following 'development activities to be taken up in the Archdiocese in a concerted way:' Balwadi Program (classes for pre-kindergarten children); Women's Development; Community Health; Agro-Forestry and an Animation Program (RAD 1996: 3). Following the suggestion tendered by MISEREOR, the overall strategy was to be one of empowerment through enhancing human capital. The geographical focus of the activities was on the rural areas of the Archdiocese and the target group would be those villages heretofore never reached by Catholic initiatives. A survey was planned using the parishes as center points of contact. Upon completion of the survey a five-year master plan was created.

The ACDS plan envisaged a two-phase development program ultimately covering 160 villages in the Archdiocese. The first phase would be implemented in fifty plus villages with the second phase planned about two and half years later for the remaining hundred villages adjusting the program given the experience of the first phase. The components of the program included:

- *Balwadi*-regular classes (minimum of 42 weeks during the year) in basic literacy skills primarily for pre-kindergarten and non-school going children to a maximum age of nine with a goal after a year's program to admit the students into formal school. The Balwadi was seen as an entry point to the village. The teachers for the

program would be drawn from the locale and be given a two-week training program in teaching methods. Later they would be given yearly training to double as 'development workers' for other aspects of the development program;

- *Women's Development*-an empowerment program to enhance/promote the status of women economically, culturally, politically and socially. Organized around women's self-help groups (*Mahila Mandals*) in the villages, activities include income generation through cooperative labor, group problem solving, adult education, agro-forestry training, joint savings and micro-credit, civic awareness programs, health and hygiene training, nutrition and gardening skill training and skill training for home-cottage industry. The groups are to be given an incentive in the form of seed money to begin, about Rs. 4,000. As the groups mature it is envisaged that they will be federated creating an organization of social solidarity;
- *Community Health*-coordinating the services of the Church sponsored health centers so that their services are regularly extended to the 160-targeted villages particularly with regular visits to the Balwadis. Training of paramedical Village Health Workers (VHW) particularly in the use and dissemination of herbal medicines. Conducting workshops for better health, nutrition and hygiene. Mother and childcare training. Animating the village community to avail of government programs for primary health;
- *Legal Awareness and Animation*-annual legal awareness camps (surgeries) to provide advice and training on various matters regarding civic rights, responsibilities and procedure. Topics include legal documents, property rights, Chotanagpur Tenancy Act, criminal proceedings and Forest Acts. Additional Legal consultation would be made available through the Archdiocesan Legal Bureau;

- *Youth Training*-unemployed village youth to be sponsored for skill training in horticulture, small engine repair and entrepreneurial income generation projects in cooperation with existing skill training facilities in the Archdiocese.

Funding for the development program was secured from several Catholic agencies, Manos Unidas of Spain for legal awareness camps, Caritas India for the women's development program, Dreikönigsaktion (DKA) of Austria for the youth training program, Broederlijk Delen of Belgium for community health and MISEREOR for the Balwadi initiative. The first phase of the program began in 1999 with 55 villages.

While the vision for the development program came from the ACDS and was refined by the executive committee, Catholic Charities was to receive the funding for the various components, coordinate and directly administer the program. Besides the Director and Assistant Director of Catholic Charities, two professional coordinators with post-graduate qualifications in rural development guide the operations. At the parish level, there is a paid supervisor to organize the self-help groups, disseminate information, coordinate the village level workshops, oversee the Balwadis, and liaise with the pastor, nursing sister and school administration. In most cases this supervisor was selected by the pastor and had been involved in the initial village survey work. At the village level there is the Balwadi teacher who is also supposed to act as a development worker, encouraging and organizing participation in the activities of the development program.

For the present research, our field visits to the program were made in August 1999 and then follow up visits took place in February 2001. In the first instance we examined activities in five parishes comprising programs in 14 villages:

**Table 8.3 ACDS Program Field Visits**

Parish	Villages
Singhpur	Jogitoli, Mahuatoli, Sitio
Soparom (Prabhat Tara)	Lal Gutua, Nayazarai, Soparom
Patrachauli	Ladha, Kota, Cholii
McMandro	Pali Pandra, Patratoli, Murgu
Mandar	Ranichacho, Dumdumah

For our follow up visits we limited ourselves to the centers at Singhpur, Soparom, and Patrachauli Parishes for ease of access and to allow for independent repeat visits. Prior to our field visits, it had been clear from our interviews with the Director and Assistant Director of Catholic Charities, as well as the Director of XISS, that our goal of tracing the social development aspects of the Social Teaching through the planning process to development action, could not be done in this new development initiative of the Archdiocese. The reason was also clear: there was no overt application of the Teaching either in the discussions leading to the plan nor in the plan itself, beyond the general notion that the Church had a duty for social action. To illustrate the fact, one of the interviewees, pointing to the text on a bookshelf in his office, conceded that even after his study of the Teaching he did not see how the concepts could be applied to development within the Archdiocese.

The explicit non-use of the Teaching in structuring the ACDS development program notwithstanding, the initiative ushers in a new era and with it new dimensions in the Archdiocesan effort to enhance the well-being of the poor and marginalized. We delineate and discuss here three of the major shifts brought about with the establishment of the ACDS and its five year plan of action.

The first major shift is the mere establishment of the ACDS. As we have noted in this case study, the Mission's key social development efforts were connected to the Bank and the Bank's Director in his capacity as Director of Social Works for the Mission.

Decisions and implementation for these efforts were made by the clergy at their annual meetings and confirmed by the Bishop. The creation of the ACDS dramatically shifts the responsibility for planning and initiation away from a single person and broadens it beyond the clergy. The membership of the ACDS brings together a variety of Church personnel, religious and clerics, women and men, to set policy for development programs within the Archdiocese. This movement signals a realization that a common platform for action is needed and cooperation from all sectors is the only manner in which it can be attained. The inclusion of the term *Solidarity* in the organization's title is an additional illustration of this need for cooperation. *Solidarity* has come to signify for the Church in the last quarter century, a righteous manner in which 'disparate' groups come together to actively promote human well-being (see LE, SRS, and CA).

Furthermore, the shift to a more inclusive responsibility can be detected in the implementation of the ACDS program. Although the pastors have been consulted and have had input into the selection of personnel and target villages, the main responsibility for the execution and supervision of the program has shifted away from them and now rests directly with the staff of Catholic Charities. The local supervisor is the key link between all parties—the self-help groups, the village development workers, the parish priest, the sisters, school officials and Catholic Charities. In turn the supervisor reports to the 'professional' program coordinators who are ultimately responsible for ensuring the integrity and progress of the program. This administrative restructuring radically shifts the axis of the development initiative that heretofore were based almost solely on the parish priest, his capabilities, interests and wherewithal to an expanded conglomeration of lay protagonists.

While the shift to a more inclusive planning and implementation is a positive advance it also has some fairly strong limitations, which have impeded and most likely will continue to impede the progress of the ACDS program. Many of these limitations emanate from the fact that the program relies on cooperation and linkages between

organizations in the Archdiocese that are generally cordial to one another but operate in a largely independent manner. In addition, many have not had to work together on a common development platform guided by an entity such as Catholic Charities. In our field observations this was particularly overt in the links between the formal schools and the Balwadis. At Singhpur, while the Headmaster was well aware of the Balwadi program, he reported that there had been no direct request from the program personnel for cooperation or coordination in admitting successful Balwadi students into the school. At Soporam, Patrachauli, McMandro and Mandar we found that while the Balwadi participants had been admitted to formal school, these admissions were reported by the guardians to be typical of the villagers' traditional and common practices concerning schooling. Further, there was no evidence of any formal contact or relationship between the ACDS personnel and the school staff whether private or public, beyond the ordinary personal contact of the Balwadi teacher.

Another observable limitation stems from the fact that a large part of the program relies on 'voluntary cooperation' of the nursing sisters attached to the parishes. The difficulty arises not from an unwillingness to cooperate but from constraints arising from health programs already being implemented, a lack of transport, a lack of field personnel as the clinics are usually staffed by only one trained nurse, and a paucity of financial resources. These deficiencies are further exacerbated by the fact that the clinic personnel are generally not in the 'information/decision-making loop' of the ACDS rendering ownership of the program tenuous. Where the voluntary cooperation is effective is where the nursing sisters and clinics have in place a strong community health outreach program whereby the ACDS components can be easily inculcated in the initiatives already in operation. This process was observed at McMandro where the Bethany Sisters were engaged in implementing a separately funded and resourced community health program into which the ACDS requirements were integrated and well organized. The outreach process was regular and conformed to the envisaged ACDS program. However, in

Patrachauli and Soporom where the nursing staff was severely limited the outreach was also impaired and sporadic. At Singhpur where the Church has no primary health care facility, there has been just one contact with a nursing sister in connection with a workshop being facilitated for all the program villages.

Finally the most significant limitation that we see comes from the configuration of the ACDS. Despite its move to be inclusive by broadening itself beyond the clergy, the composition of the ACDS does not go far enough. It omits two groups that are significant stakeholders in the development initiative: the laity and the target population. By limiting its membership to an ‘elite’ cadre of Church personnel the ACDS risks missing the actual needs and desires of the people. Moreover, it continues, regardless of sensitivity or commitment of the membership, with a pattern of ‘top-down’ planning and programming that obviates the fundamental participatory approach it wished to instill at the outset. Observations from the field support and illustrate this lacuna in the program. In our interviews at Singhpur and in Soporom, the guardians who had children in the Balwadi, as well as those who were participating in the Self-help Groups, reported that these programs were inherently beneficial but they did not understand why they had been implemented or where they were going next. At Singhpur, when queried about the health outreach components—herbal training and mother and child care—the villagers were blunt in their response that although they found them interesting, their needs were for a clinic for primary health care. With regard to the self-help program, the women of Singhpur, Patrachauli and Lal Gutua reported excellent cooperation and results allowing for acquisition of communal equipment and a rotating credit amount. However, they were yet to see any major improvement to their overall economic welfare and did not see how the group would be able to achieve the same economic results as employment or owning a taxi could produce. The other groups surveyed only had marginal success in their income generation program at the time of the field visits.

The second major shift the ACDS initiates in the Church's social action is related to the target group. Other than at the beginning of the Mission in the mid to late Nineteenth Century, most of the social development initiatives were targeted at the Catholic population. The schools drew in many non-Catholics but the Bank and its activities were largely restricted to Catholics. Even in the *Food for Work Program* that was not and could not be restricted based on creed or caste, the overwhelming majority of beneficiaries were Christian and most of these were Catholic (see XISS 1986: 103). However, in the ACDS program the target population is decidedly non-Catholic and non-Christian. The rationale is that the poorest components of the population on the plateau are the non-Christian *adivasis* and the 'dalit' Hindus, both groups critically excluded from previous Church programs and both in great need of development assistance. Our field visits confirmed that the selection of the villages to participate in the first phase generally conformed to this goal of reaching out to non-Christian and non-Catholic populations. Those villages chosen that did include Catholic families also contained other castes and religions as well and the Catholics were in the minority in all but one case (Ladha). Actual demographics for each of the villages were unavailable but from our focus groups we gathered the following information: out of the fourteen villages visited, six were exclusively populated by non-Christians (Sarnas, Hindus and Muslims); eight had a number of Catholic families (five or more) and of these eight, four had Protestant families as well.

The Church's move into these villages was not unproblematic particularly in those villages that had no Christian families and/or no significant experience of Catholic social outreach. At the core of the difficulty was the issue of trust. The villagers were wary of the Catholic effort suspecting furtive motives for the new attention rendered to their villages. The women's groups at Mandar, McMandru and Singhpur reported this skepticism to be related to the issue of conversion. They were concerned that the ultimate aim of the program was to convert them to Christianity and that through their

participation somehow this would happen. The coordinators of the ACDS program confirmed similar reactions in other villages as well. While the program personnel and pastors have tried to allay the villagers' fears, the doubts persist and are readily accessed in group discussion. The persistence of these misgivings is undoubtedly related to the long history of the Church's exclusionary practices in social action. However, although the ACDS effort has sought to overcome these both in rhetoric and in deed, there remain certain exclusive behaviors that cause reservations for the participants. We note two. The first is the staffing pattern of the program. In our field visits, out of the fourteen Balwadi Teachers cum Development Workers, ten were Christian, mostly Catholic, all five of the parish-based supervisors were Catholic and the two professional coordinators were Catholic. The appearance of the employment pattern does little to reinforce the secular and diverse credentials of the program.

The second is the clarity of message that the development undertakings are not surreptitiously linked to evangelization. A vivid example is the Social Development Centre of the Archdiocese. Built in the mid 1990s as a facility to conduct social, cultural, economic, health and civic workshops, the Center also doubles as a focal point for the evangelization effort of the Archdiocese. This is not to say that the 'secular' development oriented programs of the Centre inculcate an invitation to become Christian but the mere fact of co-location of the two foci—social development coupled with evangelization—generate a mixed message which casts aspersions on the Church's integrity and intentions. We should note that the *quid pro quo* between social welfare and conversion has been the traditional criticism of Church and Christian Missions in India. In the current polarized political atmosphere in the country it has further been raised to a *cause célèbre* by the current ruling coalition and other organizations closely associated with the political parties of the National Democratic Alliance.

Finally, the third major shift we point to relates to the ACDS program approach. Prior to the present undertaking, development initiatives of the Mission were consistently

aimed at the male head of the household or in the case of the early years of education the male members of the family. Even those programs specifically initiated for women such as the *Mahila Sangh*, were largely addenda of male oriented and dominated initiatives, the one exception being the *Grihini* training. The ACDS departs significantly from the male centered development intervention. Its programs aim to primarily work with women and women's groups. Men are not totally excluded but their participation is ancillary.

Another aspect of the shift in the programming approach is the envisaged durability of the initiative. The overall ACDS initiative is planned for five years. When compared to previous development endeavors of the Archdiocese this outlook is considerably abridged. The earlier programs developed out of the vision of *Oeuvres Sociales* were seen as permanent fixtures in the Mission's responsibility at enhancing welfare on the plateau. This view did not preclude changes or the ultimate cessation of process or program but permitted the Mission to embrace the conceptual understanding that development was a product of gradual change. This view was also evident in the establishment of educational and/or health care institutions. Even the Extension Program and the ATC were seen to be long-term projects of at least twenty years to be effective. The short-term view taken by the ACDS initiative is a radical departure from the Mission's historical practice and understanding of the need to gradually institutionalize development action. It is also a puzzling departure given that the ACDS effort is essentially structuring new relationships with a segment of the population on the plateau that the Church has not dealt with thus far. The cultivation of these relationships coupled with the initiative's plan of intervention based on 'capacity building' through training programs and self-help groups would suggest that the short view of the program maybe wholly insufficient in attaining the goals of the initiative. This is particularly critical to the second phase of the program, which will add more than a hundred villages and ostensibly has only a two and half year life span. Moreover, we observed in our field visits that the short view of the initiative, with its focus on speed of implementation and

delivering the requisite number of training sessions, left little time for professional field follow-up.

To conclude this section, the 1990s bear witness to a qualified renaissance of coordinated Church action for social well-being on the plateau. This new energy notwithstanding, the Church's initiatives, as we have seen, face significant challenges if they are to be effective. Key among these challenges include an active and forthright attention to the principles of social development as fostered in the Teaching so as to overcome traditional practices in the area of participation and inclusion in all spheres of development action: planning, implementation, evaluation and leadership. Further an effort will also need to be made at linking and engaging broad groups of persons and institutions to facilitate and support these initiatives to enhance social well-being. These include links between Church institutions (educational, social, economic, and spiritual), government structures/programs, Christians and non-Christians, men and women and religious and lay participants.

As we will demonstrate further in the next chapter, it is only when the Church is able to transcend these challenges that it will be able to broadly enhance social welfare for the population of Chotanagpur, tribal and non-tribal, which is an integral and fundamental part of its mission.

## **Chapter Nine**

### **CONCLUSION**

The historical frame of reference that we have employed in this study has provided an ability to grasp the dynamic nature of human development and the variety of ideas and interventions used to facilitate and enhance this development. It has given us a sense of the incompleteness of the organized human effort to provide all people with a level of welfare befitting their human dignity. It has also allowed us to see the dynamic and complex character of human nature, the ever changing but nonetheless vigorous attempts at characterizing this nature, and the manifold impact these characterizations have had on the efforts to promote human well-being. More significantly for our research endeavor, we have also been able to observe through this historical framework how the Church has come to articulate and initiate ideas and processes for human development, how these notions and actions have changed over time, what is consistent and coherent, and where the flaws and problems lay.

In this dynamic context it would be unwise if not redundant to draw a formulaic conclusion that would suggest an all-encompassing manner in which to proceed toward encouraging social development to enhance human welfare. What we offer here then is a précis of the rationale behind and the main elements in the Church's efforts that actively support human development and those that either impede or thwart that development. We develop this précis through the prism of the development experiences of the Ranchi Mission as we have illustrated in our case study and through the social development principles as articulated in the Teaching. And while our summary is naturally limited by our case, it is cognizant of the larger policy considerations in social development and attempts to highlight these when and where possible.

## **Believing in Human Welfare**

As we have illustrated throughout this inquiry, the key force behind the provision and/or enhancement of human well-being for the Church is faith. Catholicism holds that the right to human welfare is an existential imperative based on the transcendent nature of the person. As such, this right for humanity to live and have access to lives that are whole, healthy and without deprivation is not a mere activity of the faith, but a constitutive component of Catholic belief. It is from the faith perspective that Catholic social welfare ideology, policy, and/or action is derived and is structured. Faith creates the foundation and framework for the totality of the Church's involvement in human welfare.

As we have seen from our study, the precepts of the Social Teaching even while cognizant of insights from other social and scientific disciplines, takes its fundamental cue from Christian Creed in the Roman Catholic Tradition. Moreover, from our case study, we have illustrated that the Teaching, if not directly dictating action for enhancing human welfare, formed the ideological 'platform' from which the Ranchi Mission moved toward social action. The most vivid illustration of this was the impetus the 'new' social thinking in the Church (to be later codified in *Rerum Novarum*) gave Fr. Lievens, Fr. Hoffmann and their superiors to actively involve the Church's resources in the temporal welfare of the *adivasis*. This action not only led to the actual creation, expansion and support of the Catholic community on the plateau but also was key to legislative protection for all *adivasis* of Chotanagpur.

Our case also shows that time and again the protection of the 'faith' of the Catholic *adivasis* was a prime consideration in determining a course of social action. It shaped the Mission's policy on emigration for employment. It curtailed the rather successful participation and cooperation in the political arena of the Catholic *Sabha*. It engendered the attempt to create a viable agricultural economy and it plainly shaped access to the Mission's welfare initiatives.

For the Church, its system of belief has and will continue to be the decisive factor in its understanding and promotion of human well-being. Faith provides the ‘glue’ for the Church’s social development ideas and initiatives. It binds its social action. It provides a large amount of consistency overtime and sustains and regenerates the Church’s concern and initiative for social well-being. It is also faith that ultimately differentiates the Church’s development ideas and action from other approaches to human development. However, as much as faith has engendered a positive and cogent frame for the Church’s concern and action for human welfare, the lived experience of that faith as lodged in the tradition and institutions of the Church, particularly in terms of development ideas and initiatives, is not always as perfect or ‘faithful’ as they should or could be. The consequences of this ‘imperfection’ on social development programs can be ruinous to the efficacy of Church action and more importantly to the stakeholders involved in the programs.

### **By the Sweat of the Brow: Working for Human Well-being**

Given that human well-being is an intrinsic dimension of Catholic belief and a ‘right’ for every person, how is it attained? As we have illustrated, the Social Teaching is unambiguous in its argument that human welfare is seldom endogenous and human labor must be engaged to achieve and/or enhance it. This understanding presupposes that the person has the ability to work and that when human labor is employed it will be able to attain what is necessary for whole and healthy livelihoods. In the cases where human labor cannot or is restricted from providing for human needs, the Church argues that there must be an intervening process to effect change so that needs are met and welfare is ensured.

For the Church the intervention has largely been based around two basic strategies: charity and what has been traditionally described as efforts to achieve social

welfare and justice. Both as we have noted earlier are founded on the intrinsic rights and responsibilities that accrue to the person as a created being.

The charity provision characterized much of the Church's endeavors in human welfare prior to the industrial revolution. At its core, it prescribes that those in need should be aided and those who have the resources should share them. In our case study this prescription was evident in the strategy employed by Fr. Stockman and his contemporaries when the Mission was first being established. Their assistance to the *adivasis* was for the most part a charitable endeavor with the funds being sourced from the more 'fortunate' Catholics in Belgium. The charity provision continues to be a powerful tool for raising funding to support the welfare activities of the Church as well as the basis for relief programs and alms for the poor. However, it is not the normative or sole manner in which the Church fulfills its duty of promoting human well-being.

The effort of the social justice and welfare strategy on the other hand looks to the provision of human well-being through social change so that society's structures and processes in tandem with human ability are able to provide all humanity with what they require for their well-being. This process is what we have identified in our inquiry as social development. For the Church, social development is person centered and has as its foundation a transformation in human values that would result in overall action for human welfare. Major components of the process, which are elucidated in the Teaching and which we have elaborated on earlier, include a view of the whole person and their needs—economic, political, cultural, social, and spiritual; cooperative action and participation realizing that social solidarity is a key resource; enabling civil systems to provide opportunities and protection; a gradual view to change and development; and that social change be peaceful in nature.

Our case study while limited in scope to the Ranchi Mission illustrates the strengths the Church brings to bear on the efforts to enhance human well-being.<sup>1</sup>

Primarily these include:

- A strong integral human development ideology that is people centered;
- Committed, dedicated personnel immersed in the local milieu to provide leadership, initiative and the ability to act as agents of change in the effort to enhance human welfare;
- An organizational structure that is locally (micro) responsive and macro aware with an ability to provide helpful linkages between the two spheres;
- A moral authority that inspires people's confidence and trust;
- An institutional commitment that engenders the 'long' view of human development and offers regenerative initiatives that respond to the times and needs.

Despite these strengths and the positive results they have been generated in the context of social development on the plateau, there are serious shortcomings that adversely impact the Church's efforts. We highlight four that are not only of critical importance to the Church in Chotanagpur but are general challenges to its general social development perspective and action as well.

### **Patriarchy and the Marginalization of Participation**

The Church's notion of a patriarch and its derivatives (patriarchy, patriarchal for example) bespeaks a noble heritage and identifies the major progenitors (*patriarchs*) on which the Church has been built. These men (and their period of influence) are examples of benevolent providers, faithful leaders, and deeply spiritual, holy persons guided in all

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<sup>1</sup> We note that in the widely considered studies by J. Tendler many of these strengths were also acknowledged as essential elements in effective state sponsored development programs (Tendler 1982; 1995).

things by a gratuitous God. The Church honors them not only in its liturgies but also through an entire academic discipline (*patristics*) to study them and their deeds.

Outside of the Church, one of the first scientific uses of the word patriarchy (patriarchal) was in the field of anthropology (Jaeger 1983). The term was employed to describe societies that mirrored those of biblical times whereby a ‘father’ figure led and ruled a clan or group of people. Feminist scholars took the term one step further and used it to describe a pervasive and oppressive ‘androcentrism’ in human social structure and relationships. The picture portrayed was a male centered universe in which power, the access to power and the use of power was based merely on gender. It was argued that this androcentric reality not only adversely affected women but men as well (see for example Chittiser 1998). Moreover the promotion of a male dominated existence was not just the desire or deed of men but could and was sustained by women as well. These insights have unquestionably had profound impact on our understanding and analysis of human reality. They have disrupted a genre of thought that largely took women for granted and restricted social imagination and their well-being to their roles as mothers and wives—dependent on and submissive to men.

As we have demonstrated in our delineation of the social development perspective this feminist critique emphasizes that any development endeavor must be cognizant of and attendant to gender realities in order to effectively enhance human welfare. Whereas to be unmindful of gender risks sustaining the ‘androcentric’ (oppressive) status quo. This ‘gender’ attention largely encompasses two key conceptual concerns: the quality and quantity of women’s participation at each stage of the development endeavor (planning through to implementation and evaluation) and how the endeavor actually empowers women in their own right (Beall 1998; Beneria and Bisnath 1996; White and Tiongco 1997). Patriarchal ideology, its inspired social structure (with its appurtenant hierarchical constitution), and bias are inherent impediments to women’s empowerment, development and well-being.

We have demonstrated how the critique applies to the Social Teaching and how the Teaching continues to take a patriarchal view of society and social relationships and in particular continues to imagine women primarily in terms of their domestic and maternal roles (see Chapter Four). Moreover, our case study reveals that the Church's welfare action on the plateau has largely been a male dominated endeavor. Men have planned it with a focus on men as heads of the household and the ultimate guarantors of women's well-being through their ability to earn a living. Even in the initiatives by religious women in the early stages of the Mission, women's training/development was largely restricted to housebound chores. The latest effort of the Church under the auspices of the ACDS where 'religious' women also had a significant voice in the 'process' of planning the development initiative it is still largely centered on the woman's culturally conditioned domestic tasks:

- The 'self-help' groups attempt to provide the women who participate in them with extra financial resources generated through traditional gender based work in the village, home and fields;
- Training in mother, child care, nutrition, hygiene and basic medical care;
- Basic literacy and numeracy geared to household management.

And while these areas are very important components, necessary and helpful in addressing the development of a few facets of village women's tasks and/or responsibilities, they fall way short of what is thought to be a necessity for women's development in India — that of assisting them in becoming less economically dependent on their husbands by ensuring their 'equal' participation in the market through employment or as entrepreneurs (see Seth 2001).

One of the primary goals of feminist theologians and activists within the Church, which is key to the social development paradigm as well, is the call for women to have equal access to and participation in the decision-making processes (see Gudorf 1980;

Riley 1989; Schneiders 2000). As we have noted in our earlier discussions there has been some progress in the Church Teaching on this front. Furthermore, we have seen in the Ranchi scenario the inclusion of women albeit ‘religious’ women in the ACDS initiative at the planning and oversight stage. However, there is a long way to go as the Church continues to remain firmly entrenched in a structure that excludes women’s voices and persons from a ‘normative’ access to decisions, full participation in primary Church functions and positions.<sup>2</sup>

Equal access and participation are not just an issue for women. In the structure of the Church, the totality of the decision making process remains firmly in the hands of the clergy to the exclusion not only of women but of non-ordained men as well. Our case study illustrates that participation of the laity in the development initiatives have generally been limited to the more mundane local aspects of implementation and the larger decisive policy arena of welfare action was left mainly to the clergy. In the ACDS initiative there is a novel nuance. While the laity have been hired to do much of the ‘field’ work, the control, administration, and implantation of the project lies firmly in the hands of clergy and religious (women). The laity and target groups are largely omitted from any meaningful process of conceptualization, planning and/or decision-making. The programs, even while inclusive of some women’s voices, remain a ‘top down’, hierarchically structured enterprise albeit carefully and compassionately conceived. Participation in the conceptualization of the initiatives by all stakeholders largely remains elusive.

Given the intransigence of the Church tradition and structure coupled with an ideology based on natural law, the immediate outlook for progress toward a more inclusive, gender aware, participatory stance in the Church’s welfare initiatives is

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<sup>2</sup> For example, women are wholly (officially) excluded from major hierarchical positions in Diocesan administrative structures. They are not included on the Diocesan council and are by definition excluded from the Priest’s council, two significant policy making bodies of the local Church. Beyond the local level, the Roman Curia is entirely a male bastion dominated by the clergy.

forbidding. Nonetheless the attempts made to incorporate new voices into the process are a small sign of encouragement that significant change is possible. This perspective is reinforced by the Teaching's position on 'authentic' development. As we have noted, social development to be ethically robust and effective among other things must be centered on the person, with the idea that the person is ultimately responsible for his or her welfare, has the freedom to do so and that this development is actively promoted by/through social relationships (solidarity). The clear challenge for the Church then is to exorcise those elements within its tradition and structure that work to impede the process of human well-being by looking to its own call for a broad based vision of human development.

### **Social Exclusion as a Function of Solidarity**

As we have detailed in Chapter Four, a central strategy developed throughout the Teaching to combat deprivation and guarantee human well-being, whether that be in the form of working to ensure access to welfare or participating in processes that ensure one's own welfare, is the notion of 'solidarity'. Conjoined with its prescription of the 'option for the poor' the Church argues that in social solidarity social bonds inextricably link persons and societies. These bonds are derived from a common humanity and that this 'bondedness' requires us to come together to work for the common good of all. Further, in working for the common good care should be taken to organize so that attention is paid to those most disadvantaged (see Doran 1996: 90). Working for the common good is a cooperative action in which society coalesces to care, support, and strengthen itself and in the process endeavors to assuage any and all human deprivation. Fundamentally, the Church envisages in this social coalescing a society with a strong ethos of worth for its members, individually and collectively with an overarching intentionality in all its activities of human well-being. It sees this cohesive social solidarity extending beyond

mere homogeneous social or geographic populations encompassing not only the local but also regional, national and international population groupings as well.

In its arguments for solidarity, the Church and the proponents of social inclusion in a social development context are like-minded in understanding the necessity of broad participation of individuals and communities in the process of ensuring human well-being. Moreover, both approaches recognize that the exclusion of any social segment from access to or participation in the variegated human spheres (political, economic, social, religious and cultural) that benefit human well-being, ultimately undermines the very process of securing that well-being and adversely affects the social development and social cohesion of society as a whole (see Gore 1995; Massaro 1998; WSSD 1995: 95ff). Despite this strong ideology and rationale for inclusion in its arguments for solidarity and for the 'option for the poor', a serious gap exists between the Church's rhetoric and the reality of its action.

It is clear from our case study that the concept of solidarity promoted by the Mission in Chotanagpur was first a unity among Catholics. Catholics were to remain united to strengthen and protect their newfound faith and they were to join together particularly to guard and enhance their social welfare. This 'inter-group' solidarity was congruent with much of the Church's welfare practice in Catholic Europe, which fueled the imagination of the Mission in its welfare activities.

To foster this inter-solidarity among the tribal Catholics the Church pioneered a variety of welfare institutions and programs that not only provided traditional succor but also enhanced the tribal economy as well. Some of these undertakings like the schools, hospitals and dispensaries were open to non-Catholics but preference in admission and a reduced fee structure were extended to the Catholic clientele thus making access readily accessible and feasible to the faithful. Others, particularly those that inculcated elements of economic uplift or employment, were restricted by and large to Catholics either as a rule or through administrative proximity (for example the Bank, rice banks, cooperative

stores, 'grihini' training, agricultural training/development, and employment bureaus).

This phenomenon of exclusion was not limited to the Roman Catholic Mission but was a practice in the two other major Christian confessions as well.

As we have indicated in our history of the Mission's welfare action, attempts since the beginning of the Mission have been made to mitigate these exclusionary policies and practices so as to forge a unity particularly among the tribal population. Fr. Hoffmann's legislative initiatives were examples of casting aside difference to ensure rights to fair employment and to property for all *adivasis*. Other examples range from the establishment of the pan-tribal *Adivasi Mahasabha* in the late 1930s to active coordination among all the Churches of the plateau in the 1960s to ensure tribal Christians retained reservation rights in government employment. Further, the 1970s saw pointed efforts at creating solidarity among the Christian confessions to undertake and coordinate direct development projects, which eventually resulted in the establishment of *Vikas Maitri*. The fresh initiatives over the last couple of years see the Church once again supporting and promoting pan-tribal unity in the newly created state of Jharkhand as a means of protecting tribal rights and ensuring government action for the benefit of tribal welfare through political empowerment. While these efforts at solidarity under the leadership of the Church are positive steps in the pursuit of tribal well-being on the plateau and do in part conform to the principles of solidarity in the Teaching, the anomaly of exclusion continues to permeate the endeavors.

Over the more than a century of its existence the Church has firmly identified itself with the tribal population of the plateau. It saw a people exploited, marginalized and woefully deprived. Its efforts to ameliorate the social ills and empower the *adivasis* were largely constituted on the plank of separation as a means of protection and of development. Despite the Teaching's arguments beginning with Pope John XXIII calling for social cohesion as a course to ensure human welfare, very little corporate attention has been paid by the Mission to the structures or activities that would move beyond the tribal

purview to include other social sections, tribal and non-tribal alike, in the quest for social development. Even in the recent encouragement given by the Church to forums that bring together *adivasi* and *moolvasi* (original settlers) people's organizations pressing for rights and access to social benefits and its very public support of the 'locals' only reservation policy in government employment, the Mission continues to identify itself with a particular segment of the population to the detriment of working for a broad based effort at social solidarity among the entire population of the plateau.

While our study was not directly focused on the issues of exclusion as they relate to social development in the Church action, the overt predominance of the gap between Church rhetoric and its action as illustrated in the longstanding exclusionary practices within the Ranchi Mission allows us a clear view of the implications of these practices.

First, the Mission's manifest two-step focus on identifying itself foremost with Catholics of the plateau and then with the tribal population in terms of its social welfare activities largely discounts other sections of the population that either require welfare assistance or hold sway over the means both private and public that would provide access to welfare. This practice is similar to what Silver identifies as the 'tendency' of social policy in Christian inspired democracies in the west to 'preserve differentials' and to only recognize exclusion of 'those not organically integrated into the various smaller autonomous units of society that make up the greater whole' whereby rendering the policy 'less cognizant of gender and economic inequality as individual expressions of exclusion' (Silver 1995: 93). The point of departure in the case of the Mission is that its preference for *adivasi* Catholics and *adivasis* in general obscures its view of who is in need not so much in terms of gender or economic inequality but from the perspective of one's geographical antecedents, social class, caste and/or religion. The consequence of this myopia is profound.

In privileging Catholic *adivasis* in its welfare initiatives, the Mission has contributed over the years to a significant development disparity between tribal

Catholics/Christians and non-Christian 'tribals' furthering a social cleavage between the two groups naturally brought on with large portions of the tribal population embracing Christianity (see, for example Corbridge 1986; Ivern 1969; Munda 1996; Sahay 1985; Prakash 2001; XISS 1982). Moreover, in its active participation and support of pan-tribal movements and welfare endeavors which in part has been to mitigate its Catholic centric focus, the Mission fails to attend to the non-tribal segments of the population, which often experience levels of deprivation far worse than their tribal neighbors. Traditionally this inattention has been primarily focused on segments of the population living alongside the *adivasis* in the village units. Examples of these groups include the traditional blacksmiths, basket makers and potters. More recently, as the Ranchi Mission has become more urban, the inattention has enlarged to include migrant labor mainly from Bihar and characteristically categorized as *dalits*. Despite the fact that there is no hard evidence of concrete effects from the Mission's inattention in terms of social development to the non-tribal segments, its overt support of the tribal cause over and above all others has nonetheless contributed to the social disharmony on the plateau, particularly perilous to the entire populous in the current divisive political atmosphere.

To conclude this section we must note that the task of being inclusive and forging social solidarity for the sake of human welfare is a complex undertaking. While we have illustrated the lacunae that exists in the Church practice of solidarity, particularly in the context of the Ranchi Mission, in extreme minority-majority settings such as India where cultural and religious identity and welfare are intricately linked, broad based unity, cohesion and inclusion are many times not the means of choice in securing social development. In the face of exploitation and encroaching assimilation, preservation often has meant and continues to mean exclusivity and in the process social unity with a common vision of well-being has either been an unwitting casualty or at best un-tried (see, for example, Tirkey 2002: 239-241; Xaxa 2000). The experience of using tribal cohesiveness as a method for ensuring welfare has been more rather than less effective for

the *adivasis* as we have seen throughout our case study. However, whether this practice will be sustainable/successful in the medium to long term remains a question especially in terms of advancing a social development perspective in a rapidly diffusing social makeup on the plateau.

### **Church & State: The Disciplining of Faith and the Returns on Social Development**

If we consider the links between the Church and State in the effort to promote human welfare strictly based on what is delineated in the Teaching, our findings would indicate that the roles of the two institutions are clearly demarcated and punctuated by near autonomy from one another (see Chapter Four). Nothing could be further from reality.

Religious influence on civil structure, policy and government is universally well traversed particularly in the public sphere. Recent examples include the policy debates surrounding stem cell research in Britain and America. The reverse is also true. The State assumes a legitimizing and more often than not a legislative role in religious affairs as well. Some of the more popularly known examples include the process to appoint a successor to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to a lesser extent in the proposal to allow the British Royals to marry Roman Catholics. Both recently provided grist for discussions analyzing the appropriateness of governmental participation in what are seen as matters of faith.

In a more social vein, the ongoing debate concerning abortion and divorce in the 'Catholic' countries of Ireland and Italy illustrate the ideological collision between traditional faith based morality and a move to more 'secularized' liberal ethical constructs. The sexual abuse scandals that rocked Ireland in the last decade and now have shaken the American Church to its foundations, exhibited among many other failings, the gray areas of the discontinuity and 'separation' of Church and State. Furthermore, the non-inclusion of the Vatican in the consultative process formulating the 'constitution' of

the European Union is, if for nothing else, an illustration of the enduring ebb and flow in the State and Church relationship.

The South is not immune to these debates either. The last decade in India and in particular the last five years have witnessed some of the most aggressive ‘politicalization’ of religion resulting in the near conceptual unity of citizenship with the profession of faith in the dominant Hindu creed. The genocide in Rwanda is a continuing source of incomprehension given what was seen as the deep influence of the Church on that country’s ethos and psychic. The rise of religious fundamentalism, the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, and the aftermath of action and reaction have also heightened the awareness of religious influence within the sphere of the nation state.

Our case study is also a confirmation of these knotty links between Church and State, particularly in the context of social development initiatives. It is clear from our investigation that the relationship is ever-present in one form or the other. It is marked in an entwined kinship of inspiration and influence, of ally and foe, of munificence and malevolence, of control and patronage, of suspicion and confidence. When the relationship is affable, and there is support and coordination between the State and the Church, it results in significantly successful social welfare endeavors. The Case illustrates a series of these joint efforts that produced a considerable positive impact on the lives of the tribal population of the plateau.<sup>3</sup>

First and foremost among joint endeavors were the legislative initiatives. They remain today as an enduring example of the cooperation of the Mission and the Government. They enshrined a protective shield for the *adivasis* against the loss of their primary means of welfare, their land and helped stave off exploitation in the labor market thereby guaranteeing legal protection to an extremely vulnerable populous. Second, we

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<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that many of these experiences echo those of Non Governmental Organizations and are detailed in the research into State-NGO relationships. Examples include Clark 1991; Fowler 1997; Hulme and Edwards 1997; Korten 1990; Lewis and Wallace 2000.

see the Government directly supporting the Mission in its amended policy that allowed the establishment of the Bank, which became the foundation for a strong financial institution that for almost fifty years remained the only source of secure Banking in the rural villages of the plateau. The Bank also serves as a model of taking an extremely helpful western concept (Raiffeisen Credit Cooperatives) and successfully adapting it to the local situation and in the process inculcating new/beneficial practices to enhance tribal welfare.

The third key area of cooperation between the State and the Mission was in the area of education. At the outset, the Mission's schools were largely self-funding augmented with donations received from benefactors in Europe. Gradually, as the standards of these schools met government requirements, state financial assistance through grants-in-aid were made available to the Mission schools, allowing access to a larger student population. The Mission was, with the grants, able to provide for a stable educational environment on the plateau, which for many years was the sole schooling apparatus in Chotanagpur. Today, in spite of the state's prolific initiatives in education, the Mission's schools remain preeminent in offering a consistently reliable and effective educational process to large sections of the urban and rural population.

Finally, we see another example of state-church cooperation in the employment schemes in the years before independence. Despite the Church's reticence in whole heartedly participating in these efforts with the government, the overwhelming needs and desire of the people propelled the Mission into marshalling its resources to ensure that those who wished had the best opportunity to secure gainful employment. As we have indicated in the study, the benefits of such cooperation were not solely limited to the Church, the Government, or the people. By assisting in recruiting labor the Church helped the Government (and in the early years, the private sector) meet its needs for office staff and its various mining, logging and planting undertakings. In seeking recruits, the Church provided a reputable avenue for the *adivasis* to meet their needs for a source of financial

stability through employment. And in the bargain, the Church was providing for the possibility of being self funded by lifting the economic resources of its adherents which in turn would be better placed at supporting Church activities and institutions (see the section on the Bank in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 for an illustration of this point).

Our study also reveals the ‘other side of the coin’. When the relationship between State and Church sours or becomes antagonistic, the social welfare initiatives undertaken by the Church pale in comparison to when enhanced by active State support. Prior to independence the example we illustrated was the Mission’s active support of the *adivasis* in their legal cases against the landlords, which in turn was viewed by the colonial government as a direct challenge to its authority and fomenting social unrest. The resulting hostility between the missionaries and the local administration saw the Church recoil its efforts at helping the tribal population particularly in temporal/legal matters.

After Independence the issue of conversions became the central point of friction in Church-State relations (see, for example, *The Niyogi Commission Report*). It remains the largest stumbling block even today. At the heart of the issue in the social development context is the contention that Church engages itself in social welfare activities (for example education, health, empowerment, integration, and economic up-lift) merely for the purpose of converting those who participate in the undertakings to Christianity.<sup>4</sup> This view is further hardened by the notion that Christianity is a foreign faith, promulgated by foreign missionaries, and for all intents and purposes anti-national.

These skeptical beliefs are hardly an academic exercise. They loom large in political discourse and strategy cross cutting at any given time all major political parties. It has been raised to the level of policy both at the state and central levels (see for

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<sup>4</sup> These arguments as expressed by M.K. Gandhi are chronicled in detail by A.J. Anandan (Anandan 1998). Arun Shourie updates Gandhi’s arguments in the context of the current *Hindutva* political climate (Shourie 1994, 1997). Shourie’s work is representative of the political rhetoric emanating from the ‘Hindu right’ concerning religious minorities and conversions (for a further discussion of the political/ideological intricacies of the overall anti-secularism movement in India see Corbridge and Harriss 2000).

example Foreign Contribution Regulation Act and its appurtenant rules/procedures; Madhya Pradesh and Orissa ‘freedom’ of religion enactments). Moreover, (and probably the most diffusive) is that it is a well-known if not an unspoken element in the course of government decisions with regard to Church activities, institutions and/or personnel.

Examples we came across in our study range from recognition of new Mission schools (none in the last thirty years in erstwhile undivided Bihar), to regular pay for teachers of recognized schools (twenty four months in arrears), to government permissions for land use and purchases for churches and schools, to releasing government grants designated for development initiatives to Church based programs, to meticulous scrutiny by government intelligence agencies of all aspects of Church activities and personnel. The rationale behind such action from those who support it seems to be centered on the notion that the Church’s social development work particularly with those of the marginalized classes of society (*Dalits*, ‘Tribals’) is a form of allurement for conversion (see Shourie 1994). Furthermore, it is argued that these deprived sections of society do not possess the wherewithal to adequately discern the ostensible pretext of the Church’s development activities (Shourie 1994). And in this regard the government has a responsibility to contain if not outright curtail/prevent the Church’s institutional development activity, thereby limiting its ability ‘to convert’ through its social activities.

For its part the Church points out to its critics that it has an inherent right, enshrined in the Constitution of India, to practice and propagate its religion (Articles 25-28). At the same time however it argues that the decision to change one’s faith/religion is ultimately an individual choice and must be free of any coercive elements (Kanjamala 1997: 298). It does not see its institutional ministries as a form of allurement but as a necessary means of being faithful to the Gospel precepts and the dictates of faith (see Kanjamala 1997: 299). It points out that the ‘foreign’ tag, especially the contention that it is being run by ‘foreigners’, is unjustified as most all the clergy and certainly the hierarchy are Indian nationals. Moreover, the Church attributes the controversial

perception of its activities and the corresponding official/unofficial measures to its identification with the poor and oppressed and its commitment to bring about their social uplift and well-being—a process that the Church senses the ruling elite and Hindu fundamentalists largely opposed.

The consequences of this impasse loom large for the Church and for the government.<sup>5</sup> The social development initiatives of Church certainly continue to be implemented and are by and large successful. However, without recourse to the full range of government resources and/or cooperation they cannot hope to reach their full potential or be wholly sustainable. On the other hand, in the government's intransigence it forgoes a proven and able resource to assist it in meeting its welfare goals. In the end the ultimate loser is the individual who requires access to the development initiatives for his or her well-being.

A way forward could possibly see the Church further develop and popularize its ideology of religious pluralism, which in effect is in practice in India and other parts of Asia thereby allaying some of the fears of its critics (see for example Dupuis 2001; Pannikar 1981). Beyond this, as we had suggested in the last Chapter, a clearer separation of its institutions and social development initiatives from those activities directly connected to evangelization could be effected thus avoiding unnecessary misinterpretation of the activities. Along the same lines it would be advantageous for the government to take more informed policy decisions based on facts and not political compulsions and in so doing to move to de-link religious beliefs from such decisions. However, that would be depriving the development agenda of the Church of much of its

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<sup>5</sup> It could be argued that since Christians are a fairly negligible part of the Indian polity (2.5% *total*; 1.8% Roman Catholic) that these policies, practices, and rhetoric largely do not make that much difference in the total Indian picture. However, the statistics of the Church's involvement in the social area by and large suggests that the concern is of consequence. The Catholic Church in India offers 20% of school education, 10% of all programs for the illiterate and health programs, 25% of all projects for widows and orphans, 30% of all available structures for lepers and AIDS patients (Cardinal Ivan Dias 2002). And while there are no concrete comparative figures for Chotanagpur, the Church's presence could conservatively be estimated at near double the all-India average.

'glue'. Nevertheless, initiatives that enhance human welfare are best suited when they address human need, are people centered and devoid of prejudice and extraneous barriers. As such the State and the Church will need to work toward a conciliatory stance if they are to fulfill their joint mandates of alleviating human deprivation.

### **In the Shadow of the Good Samaritan: When Virtue Wanes**

One of the messages (if not the key message) of the Gospel Parable of the Good Samaritan is that the practice of virtue is not inherent to what profession one has or the ethnicity into which one is born into. Rather it is a function of a personal integrity habituated with a deep sense of duty to the human cause and condition. It is in this integrity and commitment that the Church<sup>6</sup> primarily derives its potency in its work for human well-being. Given the public connection of the Church with this sense of integrity and the Church's own pledge in this regard, when it fails to live up to this ideal it is particularly scandalous. Further, when taken in the framework of the Church's development initiatives the resulting impact of this failure is more often than not devastating both in terms of reputation as well as in the execution of the initiatives.

We see in our inquiry that the Teaching seizes the importance of personal and corporate virtue in the social activities undertaken by the Church. It calls on those chosen to lead these efforts to be 'endowed' with a 'keen sense of justice' and to practice justice as well (QA §142; JM §40). In addition, it corporately sets itself up as a model arguing that it must witness in deed to what it preaches and asks others to follow (JM §39-48). Our case study in part details what happens when the Church or its personnel fails at holding up these high standards.

Early on in the development of the Mission we saw that the failure of the Cooperative Stores was due in a large part to the 'leakages' in stock of the stores, to

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<sup>6</sup> The Understanding of Church here is not in the institutional mindset but in the sense of the people who constitute the institution.

dishonesty with regard to the accounts, and a lack of supervision by the Clergy of these temporal affairs. Fr. Hoffmann squarely places much of blame for the ineffectiveness of the temperance movement on a lack of credible witness on the part of the Missionaries. This was also a factor in the rift between the Church and the local administration as a couple of zealous Missionaries took the law into their own hands. Further, on at least two occasions the Missionaries were cautioned about using Bank deposits for mission expenses and the Bank was nearly driven to insolvency in the late 1940s through the 1950s, owing not only to mismanagement but also to a nexus of the staff with unscrupulous merchants and landowners. Accusatory reports of indiscretion and financial mismanagement/misappropriation by Church personnel are relatively common as well as some nepotism in hiring and in preferential access to Church institutional programs.

However, the most disastrous example of these transgressions was the demise of the very popular and extremely helpful *Food for Work* program and the Extension and *Grihini* initiatives that were dependent on the program's resources. This failure not only left the Mission without a major development intervention program for near a decade but also had (has) denied wholesale access to any other organization under the aegis of the Archdiocese to the resources available under USAID administered programs by Catholic Relief Services.

Remedies to these offenses against virtue range from punitive action to efforts at removing the temptations to highly intricate accountability mechanisms. But as Amartya Sen has noted these measures work only in combination with efforts at inculcating a sense of duty, moral fortitude and idealism (Sen 1999). He argues that the preeminent method at turning the tide of corruption is by and large the effort to turn circle of transgression into a circle of virtue from the top down. For the Church and its personnel there is probably no greater need than to embrace this circle of virtue in all activities but in particular those that are designed to alleviate human deprivation and on which livelihoods of the poor are dependent. To deny people who are poor any part of the resources

solicited for and/or due to them deprives them not once but twice of what is their right as part of human family to have and possess.

### **Of Amway for the Poor and Good Intentions: A Last Word**

The general Indian parliament election of 1991 brought with it not only a change in the ruling party but also a radical change in the fundamental policies of the political economy, which continues its impact well beyond the ministerial meetings and boardrooms even today. Faced with a crisis in the balance of payments that essentially signaled imminent bankruptcy, the government headed by P.V. Narashima Rao and his Finance Minister Manmohan Singh, set a course to open up India's economy. Known as the 'liberalization' policy, the government proceeded to dismantle a gamut of commercial restrictions that allowed and continues to allow direct foreign investment, privatization of public companies and foreign ownership of industries and businesses.

One of the multinationals (among many others) to seize the opportunities of a near billion-person market in India under the new liberalized regime was Amway. What Amway had on offer was a novel business plan for the Indian market. It would provide high quality household and personal care products sourced from Indian manufacturers sold through a direct marketing sales force (distributors). These sales agents would not be 'employees' of Amway but would be independent agents brought together in a multilevel marketing program. Amway would 'train' and 'motivate' them through their unique *Amway Sales and Marketing Program* (Amway India 2002). And the benefit for those who 'join' the independent sales force is the 'opportunity to enhance their own lifestyles by owning their own business' (Amway India 2002).

Since its commercial launch in India in 1998, Amway has had phenomenal growth. It counts over 200,000 independent sales agents covering 352 locations (Mishra 2001). At the close of financial year 2001 it registered a turnover of Rs. 500 *crore* (approximately US \$100 million), double the turnover of the previous year. In 2002 the

management projects saw another forty percent increase to Rs. 700 crore (approximately US \$150 million) (Bhushan 2002). A large part of this growth has been due to Amway's planned marketing strategy of moving beyond the major metropolitan areas into smaller cities, town and rural locales. To facilitate this move, it has redesigned its product delivery into smaller quantities and packages to make them a more 'affordable', 'better value' for lower income households (Bureau Report 2002). This expansion has encompassed the Ranchi 'metropolitan' area as well.

Over the last year we have observed its extension beyond the Ranchi city limits into the rural areas, particularly in the *Patrachauli* Parish in the purview of our fieldwork. Encouraged by the local clergy of the Parish, a large number of youth (upwards of a hundred) and some adult lay leaders have enthusiastically 'signed' up to become distributors of Amway. The *prima facie* attraction stems from the purported ability to earn significantly from the sale of the products without much effort. This appeal is further enhanced by the economic realities of Jharkhand, which include a barely functioning industrial base, high unemployment, a depressed agricultural sector and scores of educated tribal youth without much income and not much to do (see Prakash 2000).

Church support for parishioner participation as Amway distributors coalesces around the enhancement of income levels for the unemployed, the positive aspects of self employment and the entrepreneurial training. In a recent youth activity it publicly linked participation as a means to stem the tide of migration, particularly of young tribal girls to the large cities for domestic service. So confident is the Church in the benefits of associating with and supporting the Amway enterprise, it is reported to have agreed to supply space in the Parish compound for a storage facility for the products and continues to allow use of the premises for organizational and administrative meetings.

While our observations and study of the Amway 'dynamic' at *Patrachauli* Parish are still underway, it is evident that the allure of the rather quick and prepackaged solution that Amway ostensibly offers to the economic needs of the youth of the parish,

has screened from consideration the broader welfare implications of supporting and encouraging the Amway activities. Similar caveats have been chronicled in the Indian NGO sector with specific references to the impact of the new liberalized economic environment on the lives of the rural poor (see Kandasami 2002). Some of the more injurious implications of the Amway project include:

- The strain of a heightened consumerist mentality in the villages brought on by the direct marketing sales agents in the form of local youth;
- The detrimental impact on traditional home remedies for personal care that are sourced from the forest/land, devoid of artificial chemicals and are fundamentally free;
- The impact of utilizing meager financial resources on unproductive and largely unnecessary ‘luxury’ goods. For example, toothpaste/powder—in the villages the traditional tooth hygiene is cared for by using twigs of the Neem tree. In recent years toothbrushes are also becoming popular. The paste/powder (in the most popular size) required for the brushes are available for Rs. 50 whereas the Amway replacement is Rs. 100;
- ‘Flight’ of critical capital resources out of the local village economy in the form of profits being transferred to Amway India and beyond;
- The long-term impact of an aggressive market oriented (capitalistic) ethos on village relationships that are by and large governed by communitarian values and principles.

In supporting the Amway venture, the Church is reasonably well intentioned. It sees Amway as filling a large gap in pursuit of economic development for a large section of the congregation (youth and young adults) that heretofore had very few options to enhance their welfare locally. Nevertheless as we have argued and demonstrated in this study, rarely does a one-plank development program, particularly a wholly economic

oriented one, provide long-term, sustainable positive results. It is clear from the Teaching that welfare efforts deployed by the Church must be cognizant of the entire existential milieu of the person (social, economic, cultural, spiritual, and political) and that these efforts must carefully integrate these realities in any development action. In this regard ‘secular’ social development ideology concurs with the Teaching to the point of agreeing to a set of principles for development action as well as a structure for good practice. Not employing these social development principles and practices in welfare action not only risks diluting the faith prescriptive that frames the development action but more importantly risks deepening the human deprivation that the action set out to eliminate.

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