CHRISTIAN MISSION IN INDIA:

CONTRIBUTIONS OF SOME MISSIONS

TO SOCIAL CHANGE

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Abstract

The thesis follows the development of selected Christian missions in India as a form of NGO activity. The thesis examines the development of this form of NGO activity seeking to find factors that have made for success in areas of Christian expansion but also the resultant social and economic development spheres. It then discusses the value of these contributions to the wider area of NGO development activity. Christian NGO activity is based on an altruistic motivation. In itself this motivation has not been sufficient to yield success. Success has come from ministering to people who are in crisis exhibiting distinct areas of need. To meet this need a holistic model as opposed to a narrow evangelistic model must be adopted even if it requires some revision to the original theological or ideological outlook. A sound development model suited to the needs of these people has to be adopted. This is seen to be one with roots in the thinking of the Reformation period by Luther and Calvin. Max Weber the German sociologist also noted this linkage giving it the title The Protestant Work Ethic seeing it as one of the foundations of the modern world and the economic progress that has been enjoined. This Reformation based model was first proved in the early mission activity amongst Dalit people in Tamil Nadu. The modern equivalent has been developed by the Aroles in Maharastra and widely adopted by the present NGO network. Further there is the need to develop sound organizational and institutional methods to ensure continuity. These same basic principles are shown to be effective when secularized and utilized by other religious and non religious NGOs with similar desirable effects.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my friend and mentor, the late Dennis Clark, of Victoria, BC, Canada. It was Dennis who challenged me back in 1956 with the idea that some of us should seek to become better educated. I was a discouraged university dropout, unsure of myself despite a good record in high school. I accepted his challenge by completing UK A-levels, went on to experience a meaningful and useful 20 years of part-time study, which resulted in a Doctorate from Fuller Seminary, in 1989. On return to Vancouver in 1995, I began another course of study, which brought me to this Ph.D. dissertation.

Dennis you were a worthy *guru*. I can follow you as a *shargird or chela* (disciple) and, perhaps one day, aspire to *guru* status myself.

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

AV	Authorized Version of the Bible
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
CRHP	Comprehensive Rural Health Project
CIDA	Canadian International Development Association
EFI	Evangelical Fellowship of India
EFICOR	EFI Committee on Relief
EHA	Emmanuel Hospital Association
FMPB	Friends Mission Prayer Band
HF	Human Factor
IEM	Indian Evangelical Mission
IMA	India Missions Association
MYRADA	Mysore Relief and Development Association
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NIV	New International Version of the Bible
OPEN	Organization for Prosperity, Education and Nurture
RKM	Ramakhrishna Mission
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SHARE	Service for Health and Rural Education
SNEHA	Society for Nurture Education and Health Advancement
TEAR	The Evangelical Alliance Fund for Relief
SSM	Sarvodaya Sharmadhana Movement
WCC	World Council of Churches

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Synopsis

The thesis examines the work of a number of Christian NGOs in India as an illustration of the nature of Christian Development activity. This activity, a Christian expression of altruism, is seen to have come out of a distinct theological foundation begun in the Reformation period by Luther and Calvin. The outworking of these theological ideas in the wider social spheres has produced the development models on which the activities have been based.

To present this argument the following steps have been taken. First, a short overview of Indian history is given as a background to understanding the needs and opportunities presented to Christian NGOs within India. A brief history of Christian mission shows that modern Christian NGO outreach has been amongst the more marginalized peoples such as Dalits, Adavasi and Tribals. These are people who have been the disadvantaged in the dominant caste structures of Indian society. Today they are under threat from globalization policies, which favor exploitation of resources.

In the evolution of ideas for development it is noted that Charity was the motif for many centuries until the advent of the Reformation when new ideas began to flow in Christian circles. Early workers from Denmark and Germany amongst the depressed Tamil Nadu Dalits applied these principles seeing significant change. These renewed Tamil Christians, when given the opportunity have gone out into the corresponding depressed areas of India and undertaken significant social development. This opportunity came following the demise of foreign mission involvement after the Independence of India in 1947. These newer indigenous Indian missions have found that, unless there is a social dimension to their evangelistic message there is little real response to their mere preaching, however right both in theology and experience it may be to the proclaimers. The social dimension brings the person of Jesus Christ alive in the areas of human need

Then a wider view of NGO activity is researched showing factors that give rise to NGO activity: *viz.* crisis produced by great need, lack of adequate response, and leadership often of a charismatic kind. From this initial beginning it has been found important to follow through with conventional institutional and organizational support to ensure continuity and funding.

Illustrations of the effects of this background in Christian missionaries are seen first amongst Dalit peoples in Tamil Nadu, replicated amongst other Tribal and Dalit peoples by both Western and Indian indigenous missionaries. The work of two Indian doctors Raj and Mabel Arole resulted in the development of an important working model, which has been widely received and acted upon. Illustrations of this model in action are taken from Jamkhed in Maharastra, amongst the Malto people in Bihar and Kukna people in Gujarat as well as in the District of Dehra Dun.

Research into the activities of a Hindu religious NGO the Rama Krishna Mission and a Buddhist group the Sarvodya Shamardhana Mission in Sri Lanka shows that the same basic development model utilized by the Christian NGOs produces comparable effects in other religious NGOs. The principles on which this model is based are seen to be universal rather than narrowly specific to those who espouse Christian ideology. This fact reinforces the concept that altruism is not linked to being Christian but is something innate within the personality. Altruism arises in the religious person from his perception of its link to the divine.

Successful NGOs arise from careful recruitment of altruistically motivated people. Further nurtured by suitable methods of reinforcing allegiance to the original altruistic sources in the religious systems of the participants along with a suitable development model outlined above. When this is followed up by sound institution building and organizational methodology success results.

Change is not always welcome leading to considerable opposition from established religious groups who see this new development as a threat to their cultural identity and status as well as a significant shift in social power dynamics.

The fact that Christian mission had little success until it began working amongst marginal peoples of the Dalit and tribal communities requires examination. The response

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to the Christian message resulted in mass movements into the faith by whole tribal groups rather than the individualistic personal conversion familiar to western missionaries. This dynamic required considerable adjustment on the part of these western missionaries. The result was seen to have been produced from the circumstances of the Dalit peoples who had lost their sense of personal worth under the pressures of the karma orientated Hindu caste system. Adding into this important psychological effect the living conditions under which these people were forced to live in were dire indeed. The willingness of the majority Hindu community to attribute and accept these very low and degrading circumstances arose from the Hindu ideology, which said that these people were victims of their own wrong doing in past incarnations. They could only escape into a better situation by accepting this reality and remaining within the confines of their own caste status until through good karma and obedience to their dharma they emerged into a better incarnation.

Other important factors include the need to involve the people in the planning and implementation of methods rather than arrive with a totally packaged approach, which ignores their own cultural realities. The need is to take into account the history and background the people and following through on the Calvinistic concept of calling to utilize the talents and abilities within the people to further their own development. This requires learning their history, recognizing their own systems of government and sense of right and wrong as well as incorporating their cultural forms into any new organizational development. Accountability is not only to external donors and supporters but also to the people themselves. In the end they must themselves own the structure and system that emerges.

Two wider discussions conclude the thesis. One is related to the way in which NGOs develop and grow drawing on material set forth by Korten. The other is into the nature and development of altruism emphasizing its important as a foundational quality for any successful NGO work and operation.

Statement of the Thesis

The thesis will demonstrate from a consideration of the work of Christian missions in India that:

1. Bringing about change requires a crisis situation. In the case of the people influenced by Christian mission these were the Dalit peoples in the lower social strata of the Hindu system.

2. Effecting change required that the Christian missions;

    a. Present their gospel in a holistic rather than narrowly transcendental form. The message must address the present social ills of the community not merely prepare people to go to heaven.

    b. The presenters of this message must be prepared to become involved with and share the life of the community in depth. New ideas can be introduced but they must come along culturally acceptable channels to gain acceptance.

    c. Answers must be found to the power factors present within the community, which cause social ills such as substance abuse, domination from spirit influences and oppression from dominant social authorities.

    d. Community must be restored.

3. The required demands were met by the application of Christian teaching arising from the period of the Reformation out of which the early foreign missionaries came. This teaching, presented initially in theological terms relating to transcendence, when translated into the social sphere produced desirable effects uplifting the community and equipping them to become socially mobile.

4. These same principles are now acted upon by the Indian Christians going out to the areas of Dalit population and producing similar results amongst these groups of people.

5. The basic concepts when placed in a secular context have been found to produce similar results which give rise to the possible conclusion that these principles are not inherent to the Christian message. These concepts are explored under altruism.

Introduction

Relevant to this thesis my interaction with South Asia embraces a number of periods. The first period is my experience in Christian NGOs from 1953-1995. I began by learning the language of Pakistan, Urdu, to a standard of fluency where I could converse, read, prepare lectures and write. This facility has given me opportunity to engage in depth with many directly in the language of Urdu and associated Hindi and Hindustani in India. Building on this cultural awareness I have been facilitated in engagement with many using the medium of English language but with a heightened cultural awareness. I have learnt how to ask questions, elicit information and gain acceptance.

The 1960s were spent in Lahore and Calcutta managing printing presses and publishing houses. I was engaged in hospital management during 1968-1971 in Kabul, Afghanistan, and in Bangladesh operating from Delhi in six-week intervals. Time in Delhi in education and development then later in the 1980s in Iran and Bahrain relating to management and development. From 1984-1995 the time was spent in Hong Kong. I was a marketing consultant to seventeen branch organizations in the Asia Pacific Region.

The second period of involvement has come from a combination of teaching opportunities in the discipline of Anthropology beginning in 1999 and continuing to the present. Alongside of this teaching opportunity I have been involved in research for this thesis. The details are given in the document relating to Christian NGOs and some other religious institutions. The research has taken me to New Delhi, Dehra Dun, Varanasi, Calcutta, Hyderabad, Bangalore, and Chennai in India, Colombo and Kandy in Sri Lanka. In these locations I have been interacting with leadership people in numerous NGOs involved in Church activities with development work paralleling their evangelistic fervor. Some opportunity was given to meet staff members and limited interaction with the actual people impacted by the work activity. Reasons for these limitations are detailed later.

Research was made into the altruistic activities of a representative group of religious NGOs. Chosen for their religious and ideological base was the Ramakrishna Mission (RKM) of Calcutta as a Hindu example and the Sarvodya Shamardhana

Movement (SSM) of Sri Lanka. An attempt was made to locate a suitable Muslim organization but this was not very successful.

Research into RKM was undertaken by approaching Swami Prebakanada of the RKM in Calcutta leading on to time spent at the onsite headquarters of a work of the RKM in Narendrapur, Lokasiksha Prasad. Visits were arranged to village situations in Arapanch.

The SSM in Sri Lanka was contacted at their headquarters in Moratura outside of Colombo. Here leading members of the group were met including Dr. Ariyaratne the founder, Sarath Hewagama and Mr. D. A. Pereira. By staying in the hostel numbers of people who had been in the field activities were also interacted with. Further contact was made with the group by inviting their members to share in lectures at the Lanka Bible College in Kandy. Literature from the group was studied along with various reports and their involvement with government and politics understood.

Contact was made with the Muslim field through the Jamat a Islamia Hind, Dr. Ilyas, Dr. Shafi Monis and Abdul Quayyum in Delhi followed by meeting with their regional representatives in Hyderabad and Bangalore. Owing to the suspicion inherent in these groups it was not possible to find out very much, the conclusion being that not much very significant work was being done. A more profitable link came through making contact with an NGO staffed by Muslims and geared to assistance of less fortunate Muslims. The NGO COVA functions in Hyderabad.

Contact with all these groups led to the conclusion that there is a common altruistic foundation in all-religious NGOs. In turn there has been much borrowing and interaction so that the outlines of the basic Reformation style ideological foundation of NGO activity can be discerned.

Source Materials

On its own, the interview process has limitations. The leadership of most of these organizations limit access to their membership desiring to control the responses that these people will make. In turn the middle management people are often very conscious of the hierarchical nature of much of Indian society and so will not willingly offer opinions,

which do not meet the approval of those above them. In turn the recipients even of the activities also are more likely to answer what they think will be acceptable to those who have helped them rather than give objective answers.

The leadership is also very sensitive to any type of evaluation. Funding is very much dependent on a positive image and evidence of results achieved. In addition the reality is that change is very difficult to bring about and often takes place in longer time spans than donors desire. Evaluations made at the initiative of the leadership are more acceptable but others are not so welcome beyond giving a basic viewpoint.

Material on the older aspects of mission is extensive as shown by the research of Dr Jayakumar Samuel on the work in Tamil Nadu by missionaries in the 19th and 20th centuries. Material on the more recent work of Indian missions is much more limited. Reports produced by the leadership are accessible and often are the only documents that are available. Collecting further information directly may not be allowed. In the recent past some narrative style material has become available from theses produced for Master of Arts degrees in some institutions, specifically All Nations Christian College, Ware, United Kingdom, and Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California. For the reason stated above it has been necessary to rely on these secondary sources for much of the data and to evaluate the results from other criteria such as the opposition that the activity has aroused. The latter provides evidence that something significant has happened.

A further limitation is the difficulty in the present ideologically charged climate of India to reach the actual people who are being influenced. The government does not wish attention to be drawn to these less privileged members of society.

1. Examination of the Literature

The literature relevant to the topic is surveyed with the objective of determining:

The origin of the basic dynamic that has driven Christian mission in India

The contribution that Christians have made to social change in India.

2. Case Studies

A form of analysis has guided the case studies as follows:

- Background (history, context, etc.)

- Vision (basic ideas and motivation underlying the formation of the NGO)

- Leadership (person or persons who started the work, founded the NGO and have been an important influence)

- Organization (internal structure of NGO and its external relations)

- Growth (changes in the activities and direction of NGO over time)

- Achievements (what has the NGO done and its impact on the intended beneficiaries and community)

- Lessons (major successes and failures)

3. Source of Case Study Material

The material for the case studies has been developed from an examination of the available literature, which consists of reports from the institutions. In turn these are aimed at the supporting agencies and the funds that they provide; together with some narrative accounts from the practitioners themselves. Field trips have also been made to India over a number of years 2000-2004 to gather material. Projects were visited, leadership and staff met with and discussions undertaken with the guidance of a basic questionnaire. Interviews were undertaken with key figures acquainted with the projects some of who were favorable and others were not.

CHAPTER 2
THE EVOLUTION OF CHRISTIAN IDEAS
ABOUT THE NATURE OF MISSION

Early Concepts of Development

This study of social action in India begins with a consideration of a significant moment in European history when the concept of taking responsibility by transferring resources became evident. This form of development remained the dominant motif of activity until a new change occurred beginning from the period of the Reformation in Europe. Out of this period and its consequences have come the modern concepts of social action in the form of empowerment of people who can take responsibility for their own futures. The later case studies will detail examples where this has occurred in specific areas of India. Details in a wider sphere are available from Krishan (2000); Uphoff, Esman, and Krishna (1997), and Freedman (2000) and in a narrower Christian sphere from Jayakumar Christian (1998).

The Transfer of Resources: Charity

One of the periods in history when means of improving the lot of the poor and underprivileged came to the fore can be seen in the period dated as from 2500 BC onwards. This was when the change in the transfer of resources from the privileged to the less privileged was promoted as a social ideal. As detailed by Brow (1966: 27), there was a tidal wave of revolt against the priest-craft of the ancient world. Hrangkruma (2000) gives a modern account of this phenomena speaking of the Rahba in Assam who, amongst other reasons for becoming Christians, said they were now free from expensive rites and ceremonies demanded by the traditional religious practitioners. "When discussing reasons for conversion the Rahba told. As a Christian one does not need to perform costly rituals in which rice beer and meat must be provided. If someone is taken ill one just buys medicine sings and gives the medicine. To give up drinking rice beer is beneficial. Christianity brings peace of mind" (Hrangkruma 2000).

The result of the ancient revolt around 2500 BC was the birth of Buddhism and Jainism in India, Confucianism in China, together with the Judaic prophets of the Old Testament in Israel. Brow attributes the revolt to the domination of a select class of priests, who held that only by their incantations and ceremonies was salvation possible. This intellectual and spiritual domination was accompanied by rapacious economic demands, with fees required for all the requisite ceremonies that attended rites of passage, like birth, marriage and death. The revolt produced reformers. Prophets and reformers arose who insisted that the virtue of compassion was crucial to the spiritual life: an ability to see sacredness in every single human being, and a willingness to take practical care of the more vulnerable members of society" (Anderson 2000: xii). Further, ambitions toward political power brought conflict with the ruling classes, making a revolt inevitable. Anderson, taking a more secular approach, sees the catalyst as the production of an agricultural surplus. The surplus transferred sufficient power away from the king and his priests to the merchants and a nascent middle class. In part, these people demanded the control of the affairs of humanity and the state. Built into this dimension of change was an emphasis on social concern and the welfare of the less privileged in society, whether they are handicapped, widowed or poor. From these events, the concept of transferring resources is discerned. This concept remained the controlling motif of expressing social concern amongst religious groups from that period, up until the time of the Reformation, in Europe. More evidence of these concerns comes from historical data. Smillie (1995: 22-23) mentions the code of Hammurabi, four thousand years ago, ordering justice to be done to the widows, orphans and the poor. Obviously, there is a common root so that no one religion, Christian, Hindu or Buddhist can lay claim to this desirable virtue. For the Christian and other religiously minded persons altruism has links with their concept of the divine.

The monks who established monasteries give an example of this type of altruistic activity. Amongst these were the Celtic monks like St. Columba (AD 521-597) who moved out from their base of Ireland to Scotland and Europe. Marauding bands of Huns and Goths in Rome, Vikings in Europe and the Mongol hordes, who terrified Asia, brought long periods of chaos. These ravagers held back any attempt at progress. Society was forced into a survival mode. The marauders did not want to go through the arduous

work of plowing, seeding and harvesting. Their warlike intent was to benefit from the endeavors of others. An account of the Monastery at Cluny in France (AD 910–1156) illustrates the point (Hunt 1971). Nevertheless, though primarily an evangelistic activity spreading the gospel of the 'good news', mission came up against the facts of human society and human need. In an era before efficient government systems, society fell back on the institutions that belonged to it, expecting that from them they would find provision for their needs. The monasteries were drawn into the challenge of meeting the need of the poor, the fatherless and the widow and those handicapped by sickness, debilitating disease or the results of accidents. Beyond these supportive functions, the monasteries were places where there was an infrastructure of agriculture and settlement. Research was undertaken and progressive ideas worked on, which then filtered out into the wider society. In addition to their theological and spiritual endeavors, the monks and nuns were exponents of culture and learning in all fields. Outstanding examples of illustrious names linked with medical and other advances are seen in the literature. St. Francis of Assisi is one of the environmentalist's hero figures in the history of concern for the environment. Not until the advent of the Reformation did a new vision emerge in Europe. This vision was reinforced with the concept of the economic potential to provide for greater living standards for the majority of humankind. Before this incentive the model was static with no expectation of great change.

The historic forms of society were not as strongly motivated toward change as in our present day society. In the pre-technological model of society, the poor and needy are part of the structure of society looked after by acts of charity. The complaint of the disciples of Jesus, when the alabaster box of ointment was broken over the feet of Jesus as an offering, is classic. It was better to have sold it and the money given to the poor (NIV 1977: Mattthew 26) In most societies, such as India and China, survival was the dominant theme; much effort was expended to keep the society in a harmony and rhythm that would preserve what was there. Pye (1985: 36) mentions in his book, *Asian Power and Politics*, that the danger seen by traditional Eastern societies is that of chaos. To offset this threat, a caste system in India came into being. Each person is to fulfill his part (*dharma*) in the society and so keep it stable and perpetuating. Life was seen to be cyclic, going on much as it had been for eons. The dominant thought processes were controlled

by religious concepts. At the social and economic levels, such systems sought to maintain the status quo in the society for those who were presently enjoying the little that was to be made in economic terms. Poverty was once thought of as an insoluble problem. Jesus himself said, "The poor you will have with you always" (NIV 1977: Matthew 26:11). Seeing no real relief for suffering, the Buddha sought to free people from the surrounding circumstances by eliminating desire and, hence, freeing humankind from its chains.

In other societies, the available resources were to be continually shared out amongst the total group. The objective was to ensure that no one accumulated too much and others did not have too little. The 'big man' type structures in such earlier societies required institutions such as the *potlatch*, in the Canadian province of British Columbia, where the indigenous tribes shared out their surplus with all (Hiebert 1983: 339). Other social customs associated with weddings and funerals ensured that no one person could accumulate very much before he or she was required to share it out with the others in the group. The concept is of a static society with a given amount of resources that then can be only shared out again.

These were efforts, inspired by religious exhortations. were designed to alleviate the horror of suffering. The weakness of these endeavors lies in the fact that they do not change the structures of society. St. Paul is sending the slave, Onesimus, back to his master Philemon. He is enjoining Philemon to receive him as a Christian brother, but he is not attacking the institution of slavery itself (NIV 1977: Philemon 8:22). Jesus was faced with the desire of the Jews to express the idea of the Messiah in political terms, and so to use his power to overthrow the Romans and free the people thus reinstating the Jewish Kingdom.

In India, the caste system produced a modus operandi for society to survive, giving some form of identity and stability brought about by a stratified division of labor, and hence, security to its members. People, who favor caste, draw their religious sanction from the Rig Vedic text that reads, "The Brahman was his mouth, the Rajanya was made of his arms, then his two thighs became the Vaishaya, from feet Shudra was born" (Dutta 1968: 31). Caste, though, is not an active agent of change.

The weakness of altruism as charity is exposed. It can alleviate suffering, but at best it is a palliative working on symptoms rather than a coming to grips with causes. A recent examples can be seen in my own Church (Whalley Presbyterian 2005) where boxes of items for the benefit of young children are collected, the numbers rising from under a hundred in 2004 to 157 in 2005. These Samaritan's Purse boxes are sent with much fanfare and acclaim to less privileged parts of South America. They offer the children immediate benefit for a short period but do nothing to challenge the unjust structures of the societies in which many of these indigenous people live their lives.

Much of social action remains within this dynamic arising from the basic humanitarian urge evident in all humans. Religious groups have participated in this throughout history. In the Judeo Christian world the prophets rebuked and admonished the Hebrews of Old Testament times for their lack of practical expression despite their religious piety. The concern for social action is particularly emphasized in Hosea and Amos both of who were highly critical of the religiosity of the nation devoid of practical activity (NIV 1977: Hosea 12:7, Amos 2:6-8).

Jesus showed his concern for the needy and the poor by miracles. However he confined his activity to this humanitarian gesture leaving the challenge of adjusting the structures of society for later historical developments. The admonitions of Jesus are found in parables like the one of the Good Samaritan (NIV 1977: Luke 10). The Apostles likewise exhort the faithful, "Religion that God our father accepts as pure and faultless is this: look after the orphans and widows" (NIV 1977: James 1:27). Action on these kinds of principles continued through history and is evident to this day. One of the more recent is the response to the earthquake in Bam Iran, Christmas 2003, when the two rivals Iran and the United States agreed that a humanitarian team could come from the United States. This decision implied no interference by either side into the internal structural adjustments that both consider necessary for progress in Iran. (BBC News, 31 December 2003). Activity of this kind will continue until the end of time as being very acceptable, recognized as needed, but understood as palliative rather than producing the change which leads to improvement in the well being of the people involved.

The Move Toward Structural Adjustments in Society

Reformation influence is evident in the India mission when the break was made from the Roman Catholic Church leading to the formation of Protestant groups. The break was brought about by new theological ideas, which then gave rise to political and social developments. It is the implications of these social developments that are of interest to this study. All Protestant missions have been affected by these developments, which form the matrix out of which they emerged.

Reformation Influences

The motif Charity dominated the activities of society until a development took place around the new ideas present in the Reformation in Europe. "But where do moral values that drive wealth creation come from? They originate in culture" (Hampden-Turner 1993: 4). Theologians trace these happenings in society, seeing them in terms of adjustments to the concepts of salvation. In this mode Luther and his famous 95 theses nailed to the door of a church in Wittenberg were a protest against the practices of the Roman Catholic Church of his day. "On October 31, 1517, at noon on the day preceding the festival, Luther walked boldly toward the church to which a superstitious crowd of pilgrims was going, and posted upon the door ninety-five theses against the doctrine of indulgences. Neither the elector, nor Staupitz, nor Spalatin, nor any of his most intimate friends, had been notified of his intention" (D'Aubigne 2001). When viewed in a more sociological frame, the results come through not only as a theological modification but also as significant social happenings. Luther wanted people to find salvation through the grace of God alone. The German Princes who gave him sanctuary and defended him against the demanding church in Rome were much more interested in the social fallout from this religious event, freedom from the political domination of Rome. In a similar vein, the Huguenots of France following the teaching of Calvin in Geneva were seeking eternal salvation. The nobility who gave them sanctuary wanted freedom from the political shackles imposed by the Roman Catholic Church emanating from the capital, Paris. The concept is well stated by Hampden "American individualism originated in Puritan ethics, especially in the belief that each individual, whom God has chosen to be a 'saint', had a personal unmediated capacity to approach God, to form a covenant with Him and to serve

as His earthly agent in building the kingdom of heaven on American soil " (Hampden-Turner 1993:49).

The results in society at large were much more significant than just the advent of the Protestant Church. Luther was surprised, and even angered, by the peasant revolts that took place. He wished the renewal to remain within the bounds of the Church, equipping people for heaven and leaving the systems on earth much the same. The peasants on the other hand took his teaching to mean that they could read the Bible for themselves and find that they were equally 'created in the image of God' (NIV 1977: Genesis 1:27), an understanding that conferred on them dignity and rights of their own. "The demand of the peasants that villeinage should end because ' Christ has delivered us and redeemed us all, the lowly as well as the great, by shedding his precious blood' horrified him (Luther) because it degraded the Gospel by turning it into a program of social reconstruction" (Tawney 1954: 93). The peasants response to this newfound teaching was to revolt against their authoritarian lords, a consequence that continues to reverberate down through history, surfacing in our generation within India, where the *Dalits* or *Adavasis* have acquired newly found resources to meet the challenge of their exploiters (*India Today*, January 1999).

For theorists like Weber, this change took place through the new thinking that emerged from the Reformation. "Weber contended, firstly that a man's trade, or calling constituted a religious mission in their eyes. The fulfillment of the daily task was a deed pleasing to God, success in trade was a mark of conduct deserving in His sight. The ideas promoted diligence. The 2nd important element was thrift that brought about the formation of capital. (Samuelsson 1961: 2) This was the period when European society freed itself from the shackles of the medieval era that was dominated by a nexus between Church and State. This was a major change in concepts that produced, in turn, cultural change.

Seeking to establish his theocratic state in Geneva, Calvin brought about a rigor and discipline in society. Calvin's *Institutes* remain today as solid tomes of theological interpretation. Yet, within them are found the teachings that have enabled society to lay the foundations of dynamic social change that offer the hope of leaving poverty behind.

Empowerment based on Luther's theological concepts is the first building block of development practice. Humans have worth and value that is intrinsic to their nature and origin. All humans can develop and grow because of this. Calvin added in another concept thatis termed *election* based on passages from Ephesians in the Bible. In narrow theological terms this has brought on many theological arguments based on forms of determinism that in its extreme forms says that God has elected or determined the group who are to be saved and sent to heaven. When interpreted in sociological terms this concept has given rise to great activity. Election can be interpreted to mean that God has given to each human the capacity to accomplish things. Each has been made for a purpose and destiny. Furthermore that destiny is linked to accomplishing many good and useful things. As Ephesians (2:10) states, "For we are God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus to do good works, which God prepared in advance for us to do." Weber noting the intense activity generated by these Protestants called this concept the Protestant Work Ethic. Another contribution from Calvin has been the postulate that thrift and hard work were cardinal Christian virtues. The real Christian was the one marked by industry and effort (Tawney 1954: 91-99).

The genius of the development of the modern concepts of empowerment lay first in outlooks, philosophies and concepts of what life was all about. New thinking enabled new actions. Once released from the bounds imposed on the human spirit by tradition and custom, creative ideas were possible. Speaking to the growth of institutions that make capitalism operate, North (1990: 109) sasy, "Ideas and ideologies shape the subjective mental constructs that individuals use to interpret the world around them and make choices." The net result has been a new form of the usage of resources emerging in this period. Along with the release of creative initiatives, the resulting dynamic produced a surge of economic activity that continues to this day. This release of the human spirit from the bondage imposed by medieval thought in time brought out the famous treatise of Adam Smith. Adam Smith declared that the market was the invisible hand, which could guide the economy and provide bounties unheard of before. Rather than being guided by rigid religiously controlled philosophical thinking, the resultant application of scientific principles to economic study has produced this desirable result. Instead of dogma, the guiding factors have been experimentation, observation and application.

Since benevolence has been so long associated with Christianity, it is only recently that in Europe and North America it has become necessary to draw the distinction between Christian activity and secular civil society activity. Smillie (2000) often draws parallels between altruistic activity and religious motivations. It is the conviction of this writer that the roots of such altruistic endeavors lie within a religious understanding of reality. This is by no means a generally accepted or agreed principle. It may be truer to state that much of what is understood as humanitarianism today and accepted as such by institutions like the United Nations, has come through the dominance of the Judeo-Christian world view espoused until very recently by Western society as one of its driving forces. As noted above, most of the improvements brought about in society during the past by voluntary endeavors were expressed in these religious frameworks throughout Europe. An example is the abolition of slavery, which is linked with the Clapham sect, referred to by Coleman (1992). A group of English social reformers, active c. 1790-1830, were so named because their activities centered on the home in Clapham, London, of Henry Thornton and William Wilberforce. Most of the members were evangelical Anglicans and members of Parliament. Mostly known as the 'Saints', they worked for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery, improvement of prison conditions, and other humane legislation. They published a journal, *The Christian Observer,* and helped fund several missionary and tract societies, including the Bible Society and the Church Missionary Society, which in turn had roots in the Wesleyan revival; improvement in prison reform; better conditions for the victims of the Industrial Revolution; the beginnings of universal education in England where church schools promoted literacy in part to give the good news of the Gospel but also to give education to the underprivileged. There was also the dimension of a self defensive mechanism, such as mentioned by Smillie (1995: 24) who speaks of the Middle Ages when marauding bands of vagrants posed a threat to the security of the city residents. In time it was found better to make some provision for these needs than to ignore them. Forms of benevolence emerged but they were motivated more by guilt from the' haves' and fear of the 'have nots'. The modern version of this dynamic appears in foreign aid and other involvements with the less fortunate. Such worst case scenarios are described by Kaplan (2006: 265), "An increasing number of people will be stuck in history, living in shanty towns where

attempts to rise above poverty, cultural dysfunction and ethnic strife will be doomed by a lack of water to drink, soil to till and space to survive in." Dixon (2006: 265) pursues a similar theme: "Could this be an image of our future, I wondered – a future in which disintegration and entropy triumph over order?" The underdeveloped could in time overwhelm the more fortunate developed nations. The recommendation is that before this catastrophe takes place, the developed world should take prophylactic action to assist and help the less fortunate to develop and attain at least minimum living standards:

Orphanages, which began as benevolent institutions growing out of the Poor Law mentality, became a mix of good will and employment potential as mentioned in Dicken's famous novel *Nicholas Nickleby*. This rubric is being played out in India where many of the child support institutions seen in the West as great examples of welfare also serve as employment opportunities and self support methods for many who are the actors on the ground

Further, as we shall outline later this surge has moved on. Beginning with what was formerly a type of status quo, society now possesses the potential for sustained human development beyond the dreams of those who began back in the early days of the Enlightenment. Not only can families advance and grow by interacting and benefiting one another, but so too can towns, nations, and the whole world.

Pietism in Germany

The first missionaries of the Protestant variety to Tamil Nadu came through the initiative of King Frederick IV of Denmark. (Firth 1976: 131) Finding no suitable candidates in Denmark his court chaplain recruited two candidates in Halle Germany. These two men, Bartholomew Ziegenblag and Henry Pluetschau, came from the school established by A. H. Francke a leader in a revival movement within the Lutheran church that was known as Pietism. They were sent to the Danish settlement of Tranquebar in 1706. The recruitment of Germans from Halle continued for upwards of eighty years.

Pietism was basically a movement for spiritual renewal but it had a strong social dimension in a holistic way. Relieving distress and sharing in charity was a significant component of its ministry. This element is seen in the ministry of the missionaries in Tamil Nadu who were involved in controversy with the authorities in Denmark over their

use of money for charitable purposes (Fuller 1976: 137). "The Tranquebar mission was nothing more than a great almshouse." The missionaries were heavily involved in educational work which involved translating the Bible into Tamil completed in 1796 by Phillip Frabricius, and in extensive printing on a press established at Tranquebar in 1712 with a grant from England. Schools were regularly established to spread education. Schwartz (1750-1798) was a man of great charity "Schwartz used the whole of the first year's salary to build mission building, and he used half for mission expenses and kept only half for himself and even of this he gave away much to charity " (Fuller 1976:140).

The German Pietists established a methodical pattern of orphanages and charity schools, preaching and catechizing. Later W.T. Ringeltaube arrived in 1804 a man influenced by Moravian pietism. Ringeltaube lived in extreme simplicity in a thatched house, a lonely eccentric man who generously gave away most of his small stipend and often lacked sufficient food and clothing for himself. He also collected and distributed relief funds in times of famine.

Rev. Charles Theophilus Ewald Rhenius, the founder and maker of Dohnavur came in 1826 to Puliyoorkurichi.. Rev. Rhenius bought land and built a Church and a few houses with the money sent by his friend one "Count Dohna". He dedicated that Christian settlement for the converts on 23 May 1827 christening it DOHNAVUR (after Count Dohna).

The Evangelical Revival in England

The Tamil Nadu mission was further reinforced by the newly emerging mission societies in England. These societies followed on from the lead given by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) founded in 1698 to maintain charity schools and distribute Bibles in England and Wales (Fuller 1976: 111). It became the Society for the Propogation of the Gospel (SPG) in 1701. Other societies emerged later as the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792, the London Missionary Society in 1795 and the Church Missionary Society in 1799. These all grew out of the Evangelical Revival, which was the English counterpart of the Pietistic movement in Germany, which was now taking, place in England and the United States. This in turn led to spate of social action in the United Kingdom. Examples are: the abolition of slavery which is linked with the

Clapham sect which in turn had roots in the Wesleyan revival; improvement in prison reform; better conditions for the victims of the Industrial Revolution; the beginnings of universal education in England where church schools promoted literacy in part to give the good news of the Gospel but also to give education to the underprivileged

The World Council of Churches

The work of mission continued through the nineteenth century with its mix of evangelism and social action. A major debate arose over the place of social activity in contrast to evangelism, which impacted the new emerging indigenous missions in India. For Christian missions, a stimulus to the work of altruistic endeavor was brought about by the admission of Third World leadership into the planning and policy-making of mission bodies. This has been especially true in the World Council of Churches. The World Council of Churches grew out of a Conference of Missions held at Edinburgh, in 1910. Two committees formed at that time, Faith and Order and Life and Work, later merged, which led to the founding of the World Council of Churches, in 1948 (Hoekstra 1979: 19). These newcomers raised new questions because they were more conscious of social needs within their own societies: "The questions asked by their Churches, the cries of the poor and powerless, the violence, the determination to change conditions that had been accepted too long" (Hoekstra 1979: 19). The Churches came to recognize that they had a responsibility to address these needs, as much as to evangelize the world. A new, and for many, a disturbing theological viewpoint began to emerge which looked into the world as the place to hear the voice of God. The voice of the poor, the exploited and the powerless gained a new dimension. To overlook this was to minimize a great part of the ministry of Jesus, who spent much of his time going about doing good. Further, the conscience of the West was stirred to share more of its material wealth with the rest of the world. There were demands for justice and equity that had not been heard before in the same way. The North was often complacent and satisfied, at least in the middle class groups, from which support was drawn. But the Third World had stronger demands and wanted much more. The response to the concept of equal sharing to benefit all has been muted, but a stimulus had been given in support of development activities that would benefit the under-privileged.

From its early beginnings, the Evangelical Christian mission in India has had an outreach to the wider community. "Although a great deal of development was carried on by Evangelical missionaries it was submerged under the heading of reaching the lost for Christ" (Samuel 2003: 52). Christian missions have always had their charitable aspects linked-in with their concern for people. The charitable activity has also been a means of influencing people in a positive way toward the message of the evangel. To move from this orientation toward a more holistic worldview, which embraces much more the modern concepts of empowerment and development, required significant shifts. This shift had two aspects: the first was the influence of Third World churches and, the second, the external environmental changes associated with the loss of empire by the Western world. The colonial empires were great assets to missionary activity.

Combined with this changing ideology was a circumstantial happening. The attitude of former colonies was no longer sympathetic to an unrestricted flow of Christian missionaries arriving to proclaim the gospel to the 'benighted heathen'. Many of these countries had great needs, making them more open to the idea of some real contribution to the welfare of these peoples. Whereas they might not really want the evangel, they were open to programs that met social and economic welfare needs.

The result of these happenings led on to an examination of the ideological base of the Christian groups involved in mission. Was mission only evangelism or was there a place for social action?

For many Western Christians in the evangelical camp, there remained the theological challenge. As they had interpreted it, the Great Commission had the proclaiming of the good news of the gospel and the making of disciples as its primary focus (NIV 1977: Matthew 28:19). To divert energy and resources into social work and activity was a lesser goal. This process was accelerated by a series of conferences beginning with the one held at Wheaton, Illinois, on the Church's Worldwide Mission, in 1966. The result was the Wheaton Declaration that called for evangelical Christians to apply their biblical principles to, among other things, questions of racism, war, poverty and family disintegration. At the Berlin Congress on World Evangelism, organized by Billy Graham, there were strident calls to proclaim the gospel. Together with this came a new call about the need of the Church to respond to the inadequacies in the human race.

The Chicago Declaration of 1970 called on evangelicals to express their discipleship by confronting the social and political injustice in the world. The Lausanne Conferences finally resolved this issue with a more holistic view of mission and ministry. The door had opened to more social action and activity. The year of Lausanne, 1974, might be described as a watershed year in Western evangelicals' interest in social concerns (Samuel 2003: 53). Lausanne triggered regional events, the one in India being held at Devalali, in 1977. Such regional conventions were followed by further international gatherings. One was a major consultation held in Oxford, in 1990, with institutions like the Oxford Center for Mission Studies, devoting its energies to the development and study of this subject. Coming out of these gatherings, there are a series of declarations and statements that are redefining the meaning of the gospel for the world of today. The result is a much more holistic interpretation that has opened the way for altruistic activity and social action. "The Great Commission has often been interpreted in a very limited sense. We must be taught to obey everything that Christ has commanded, the gospel has consequences in the lives of those who claim it as their own" (Samuel 2003: 57). "The quality of the ethics of the gospel is so different that Jesus called it a new commandment. You are to love one another" (Samuel 2003: 53).

The result from this ideological heart-searching is an understanding that the Evangel upon which these groups have been ideologically based requires a social dimension, not only to further the cause but, also more fundamentally, to follow-out the commission given by Jesus himself.

There is considerable debate within the evangelical groups about the relative merits of social activity as against the understood priority to spread the good news. The imperative for spreading the good news comes directly from the edicts of Jesus Christ who said before leaving his disciples that they were to go into the entire world and preach this gospel (NIV 1977: Matthew 28:19).

Christian Concepts of Empowerment

The influence of this kind of thinking coming from the WCC can be seen in the actions of Christian missions in India as they increasingly saw the imperative to alleviate the ills of society. Christian leaders looking at the challenge of social action in India perceive that

the root causes of poverty are linked-in with the worldviews of the Indian people, which have been dominated by the Hindu system of caste. This concept was strongly expressed by Patrick Joshua leader of the Friends Missions Prayer Band (FMPB) in an interview in Chennai January 2002, by Noel Kotian of the India Evangelical Mission in Bangalore January 2005, by Rev. Rai of FMPB at Katchwa August 2004 and by Dr. John K. John of Emmanuel Hospital Association in Rajpur August 2004. To thinkers like Sugden, this has robbed people of their sense of worth and dignity. His contention is that the caste system has enshrined the internalization of a feeling of 'lack of value' in the intrinsic worth of the person. While beginning as a commendable way to achieve stability in a society that lacked adequate resource generation programs, caste has degenerated into a system of exploitation by those who hold power. As Sugden (1997: 168) comments, "Poverty in India is related to status and lack of power. It is bound up and caused by a hierarchical system of social gradation sanctioned by religion. Poor people are made to understand they deserve their poverty. The result is that they are robbed of human dignity and a sense of equality."

Mission as Transformation: The Christian Concept of Conversion

From the evangelical Christian perspective, the ultimate and originating concept of empowerment is the empowerment that comes from the new birth. Nicodemus (NIV 1977: John 3:1-16) is confronted with this concept when he comes to Jesus, who tells him that the only way forward is to be born again, be totally renewed. This is the real hope of the Christian, and the message of the good news that the Kingdom of God has come to earth in the form of God's way of salvation, which is a revelation received by faith. It is something from outside that is accepted, and then when taken hold of, brings about an inner renewal. It is the start of that renewal process that will transform men and empower them to begin and do things anew.

This empowerment is to restore the fallen image of God in man, which was lost through the sin of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. In turn, this brings about a new relationship with the source of all power, that is, God. In this new relationship, man can begin to receive an understanding of reality from a true perspective and, as this truth is recognized and acted upon, a new beginning is made. A measure of this truth will come

through newly acquired relationships with God. In the words of Psalm 1:3, in the Authorized Version of the Bible, "whatever he does will prosper" because now the blessing of God will be there, through restored relationships and bringing the creature and the creator into harmony. The first step in the process of empowerment is to bring the individual to an understanding of his worth and value. As Sugden (1997: 337) notes, "Freedom of the captives is only possible after liberation from one's bondage to sin. First to address all those things which enslave people and prevent them from making choices with courage and conviction."

A powerful motivating force for this is the concept that God loves that person and has sent Jesus to provide a way of deliverance from the bondages, which have held that person back from a relationship to God. A second step is building the individual into a new concept of community, the Church. As set forth in the scripture, in the ideal Church, Christians love one another. The Church becomes a new 'community' that can act together in seeking the power of God on their behalf: "Where two or three are gathered in My name there am I in the midst of them" (AV 1945: Matthew 18:20); "whatever you ask in my name it will be granted to you" (AV 1945: John 14:13).

Another source of empowerment is found in the collective actions of the newly developed Church community. It is found through the further reinforcement coming from the concept that the community is linked-in with a wider group of similarly committed churches and, then, directly linked with the power of God. Direct intervention is also possible through the power of God operating in vertical acts of God. This may be demonstrated in physical healing or in divine intervention on behalf of those in need, or even by power encounters, such as Elijah saw at Mt. Carmel (AV 1945: Kings 18). Quoting Sugden (1997: 320-21) again: "The Biblical model is of an individual embedded in community...and the gospel is the means of connecting the individual both to the community and to transcendence thus giving the individual eternal significance and importance...Mission is God himself having turned to the world and active in the world. Mission is larger than the Church's activity and is no longer confined to the Church. This is the shift that took place."

The wide range of activity within the world, outside the confines of the Christian Church and its agencies, is recognized. Yet a commitment to a Biblical perspective is

seen as intrinsic and necessary for truly sustained development to take place, so that it sets people on the path of progress and has a permanent impact on culture. In this regard, Sugden (1997: 338, 346) comments, "Christ is made visible by program activities that are accompanied by prayer and words of witness. Christ is made attractive as the source of comfort, hope and transformation for the poor. People are moved toward Christ. People are invited to experience Jesus…The teaching of the Kingdom of God lifts out for human society supra cultural principles and values that reflect God's intention for people in community."

Uses of Empowerment

As noted above, the full meaning of empowerment comes when the human encounters Jesus through faith and belief in the Gospel. Empowerment amongst Christians is reached through different manifestations. From a beginning experience of personal empowerment, the individual and the community move forward in active engagement with their environment. First, personal inner reflection results in lifestyle changes and second in community, the Church begins an active program of interaction with the forces controlling their situations. Outworking of this kind are described below in the experience of churches in Tamil Nadu.

Challenging Personal and Community Vices

Christian evangelical understanding is that some of the poverty of people is related to their own personal and community habits. Negative forces such as substance abuse in the form of drunkenness or taking drugs are dominant activities in some communities. Until some means is found of meeting these needs or modifying their behavior, progress will be limited.

An example of this dimension of empowerment is seen among groups researched by Jayakumar Christian (1994). Jayakumar has surveyed a number of Christian Church and NGO groups: the Evangelical Church of Porur, the Ikkadu Church of South India, the Pentecostal Church at Kollaicheri, Chingleput in Chennai Tamil Nadu, and a group Awaz near Raipur (Christian 1994: 136-44). Among these groups there is a consensus that, fundamental to development, there is the need for cultural change. This is both at the

personal and community level. Personal social problems, such as drinking and large families, dominate the lives of the poor. Transition rites in societies have been linked to belief systems requiring elaborate propitiation activities, which prove expensive, financially crippling the family. Included are social traditions, marriage, birth, and death ceremonies that require feeding large groups of people. Another set of circumstances revolves around religious festivals, requiring expenditures that are related to ideas of propitiating the dominant gods. Speaking from the hills areas of northern India, Chakkarnat mentions where a local reformer was successful in preventing buffalo slaughter in favor of a less economically crippling ritual being developed (Chakkarnat 1999). Development takes place when a moral change in the life of the poor takes place. Changes in society come over a period of time, through changed lives.

Considering the Pentecostal Church located at Kollaicheri, Chingleput, in the Madras area, Christian (1994: 150-56) adds in an understanding that conversion brings about a change, resulting in a new resolve to work rather than depend on others, a form of the classical 'Protestant work ethic' approach from which other good things can flow. The Pentecostal paradigm defines transformation as behavioral, moral and value changes. The illustration of Awaz (Christian 1994:156-62), in Raipur, offers the social habit of dependence as another challenge to be met and changed. Rather than developing self-reliance, here the individual or community looks for patrons to meet their needs. Rev.Muthusamy Raj (1997: 29) states the testimony of nearby Santal people who were previously raided by Maltos at the time of the harvest. Now they are able to sleep peacefully as the Maltos have been changed.

Challenging the Dominant Structure of Society

Christian found that many Church groups limited their efforts to personal and moral change, such as the one, in Porur, with their main interest in Church planting and evangelism. Others, like Awaz and the Pentecostal Church, in Chingleput, were willing to seek real structural change by going beyond the traditional ministry of the Church. Further, beyond the personal and the demands of the cultural religious groupings, social systems hinder the poor in relation to land rights, irrigation opportunities, access to new knowledge and information, access to credit and control of marketing systems. Much

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more than personal reformation and change are required to meet these needs. Structural change in the society is the objective.

The group in Raipur, Awaz, is not a church, but a Christian agency with a strong community outlook. Its vision is not evangelism, but mobilization of the poor against the power structures that dominate them. One such structural inequality is the landlord system, a system that exploits the poor and is backed up by the Panchyat and other government authorities. In the place of the unrighteous system, Awaz encourages a form of collective socialism. The Christian element is that the unjust structures are understood not only to have human elements but, also, spiritual powers behind them. This area is addressed below under confronting evil.

In pursuing their ministry the Christians have found that they cannot ignore present needs. This is equally true of other religious groups. Swami Vivekananda was impressed not with the message of the Christians but with what he called their 'organizational ability'. He then went on to establish the Ramakhrishna Mission with the explicit task of meeting the needs of the underprivileged Indians as a first step toward presenting to them the enlightening message of Vedanta. In similar vein Dr. Ariaratane of Sri Lanka responded to the challenge presented by missions. He organized a group called Sarvodya sending these people out to minister to the Buddhist people who were in need. His primary motivation was to improve the quality of Buddhism, a fact noted by the secular development agencies from whom he drew the financial resources needed. He sought to utilize intrinsic qualities offered by the Buddhist heritage such as Shamardhana or voluntary good works.

CHAPTER 3
THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN INDIA

India: Historical Background

The thesis examines the impact certain selected Christian NGOs have made on development in some areas of India. The objective is to determine what were the factors that produced their success or failure and then to find recommendations for their future as well as the potential of these principles in a wider area of usage by NGOs. In order to understand the context in which this has taken place a short history of some of the relevant periods in Indian history is given.

Aryan Invasions 1500 BC

Evidence discovered during the 1920s by archaeologists at Mohenjodaro and Harappa (near Karachi in Pakistan) shows that there was a flourishing Indus Valley civilization in the northwestern part of the Indian sub continent. from 3300 to 1700 BC. The extent of this ancient civilization covered the Indus and Ghaggar Hakra river valleys, parts of Afghanistan and Turkemistan.

Figure 1: Pre Aryan Civilization 1500 BC
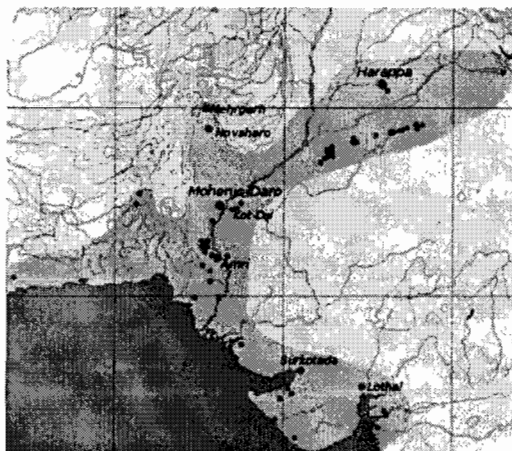
Source: Wikipedia:
www.wikepedia/wiki/Indus_valley_Civilization

The first known invaders of India were Aryans (also mentioned sometimes as Indo-Aryans). It is believed that the Aryans arrived in north India somewhere from Iran and southern Russia at around 1500 BC (Cambridge 1987: 325). The Aryans brought with them the Rig Veda, a document containing hymns of praise to their gods, which then gave rise to the Upanishads and other religious texts on which the philosophical monistic beliefs of the Hindu faith have been established. The Aryans fought and pushed the local people, called Dravidians, southwards. North Indians are considered to be the descendants of the Aryans and the south Indians are considered descendants of the Dravidians. It is probable in turn that the Dravidians replaced the existing indigenous people who retreated to the less fertile hill tracts along with other tribal peoples. It is from amongst these people variously described as *adivasis* or *Dalit* that the greatest Christian response has come.

The Vedic religion imposed a rigid caste system giving Brahmins, the first caste, a significant hold and power over people. This rigid system was challenged by the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. Siddartha Gautama (563-483 BC), later known as Buddha became the founder of Buddhism rejecting the Brahmanic caste system (Cambridge 1987: 327). This was the first of a series of revolts against caste in India. Later came Sikhism and Islam followed by Christianity all of which have followed in this tradition.

The Aryan invasion is a significant happening in India because it was the means by which Hinduism was established in India. The Dravidians were driven into South India and the other groups displaced to the less hospitable areas of the country or reduced to servitude becoming the Adavasi and Dalit peoples of India today. Christian mission has registered its greatest success among these marginalized peopled.

Significant Indian Empires

Few conquered and ruled the whole of what is now considered India, but many established significant kingdoms in the sub-continent. Among them are the following.

The Maurayan and Gupta Empires 322 BC – AD 700

Two famous empires from Bihar in northeast India were the Gupta and Maurya Empires, which ruled most of north India and large parts of south India. One of the Mauryan

Emperors, Ashoka, had perhaps the largest Indian Empire covering almost the whole of present day India. The Maurya Empire existed somewhere between 4th century BC. Until the 1st century BC. Ashoka one of its greatest kings sickened by the bloodshed of the Kalinga War devoted himself to Buddhism. The result was half a century of peace. Chandragupta Maurya's embrace of Jainism increased social and religious renewal and reform across his society, while Ashoka's embrace of Buddhism was the foundation of the reign of social and political peace and non-violence across all of India. The Gupta Empire existed from the 4th century AD until the 7th century AD.

Figure 2:   Gupta Empire AD 320-600
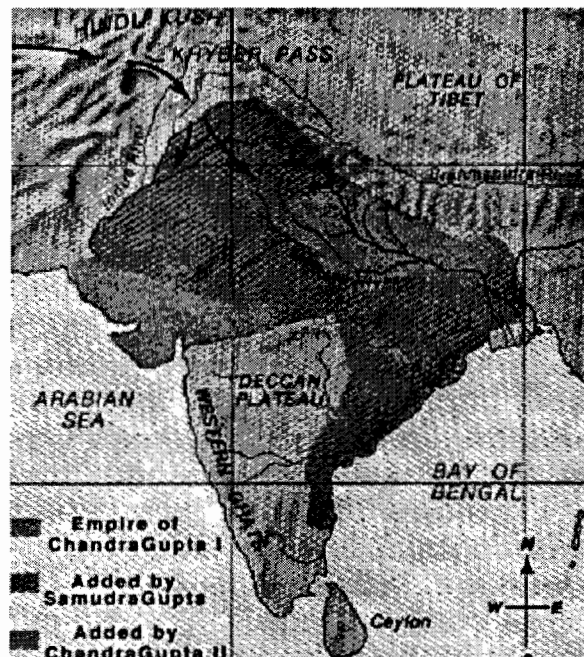
Source: Wikipedia: <www.wikipedia/wiki/Gupta_Empire>

Gupta Empire AD 320-600

The Gupta Empire was one of the largest political and military empires in the world. It was ruled by members of the Gupta dynasty from around 320 to 600 AD and covered most of Northern India, the region presently in the nation of Pakistan and what is now western India and Bangladesh. The time of the Gupta Empire is referred to as Golden Age of India in science, mathematics , astronomy, religion, and Indian philosophy. The peace and prosperity created under the leadership of the Guptas enabled the pursuit of scientific and artistic endeavors. The decimal numeral system, including the concept of

zero, was invented in India during the reign of the Guptas. Historians place the Gupta dynasty alongside with the Han Dynasty, Tang Dynasty and Roman Empire as a model of a classical civilization.

The Muslim Conquerors 800-1500

Islam arrived on the subcontinent early in the 8th century AD with the conquest of Baluchistan and Sindh by Muhammad bin Quasim. Islamic invasions from Central Asia between the 10th and 15th centuries AD brought most of northern India under the rule at first of the Delhi Sultanate and later of the Mughals (Cambridge 1987: 93).

Figure 3: The Mughal Empire 800-1500
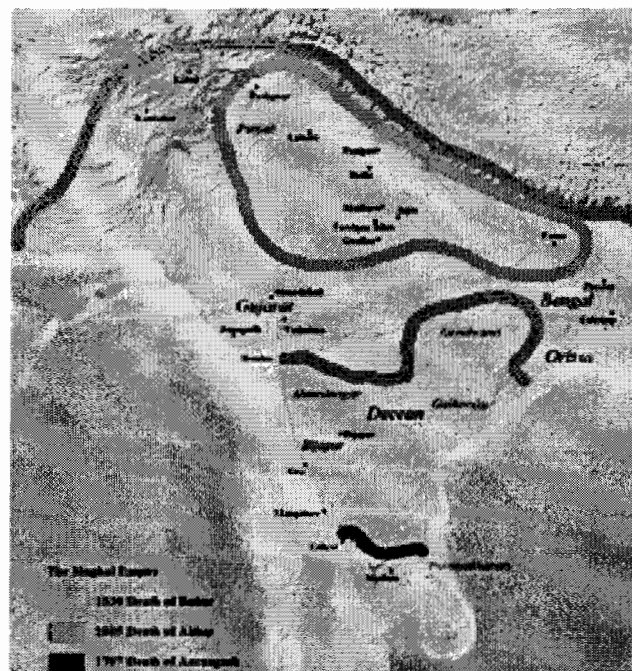
Source: Wikipedia: www.wikepedia/wikki/Mughal_Empire

The Moghul are perhaps the most famous of the all Indian Empires. At their height they controlled the whole of north India, present day Pakistan and large parts of south India. Within their empire they had many kings and rulers who were subjected to them. Famous amongst these rulers are: Babur 1526-1530, who won the battle of Panipat against the then ruling Lodi king Ibrahim Shah; Humayan who ruled 1530-1545; the more famous Akbar 1555-1605 who ruled wisely and tolerated religious differences; Jahangir 1605-1627. Shah Jahan, the most famous of them all, was the builder of the

world renowned Taj Mahal in Agra. Aurangzeb (1658-1707) presided over the decline of this great empire. Aurangzeb was a religious and fanatical Muslim, who tried to enforce Islam and Islamic law on his citizens.

After Aurengzeb's death the Moghuls started collapsing into separate independent kingdoms even though there was always an overall acting Moghul Emperor. In this period of chaos in the Moghul and Maratha empires, some European powers—English, French, Dutch, Danish and Portuguese - began controlling Indian territories.

Significant religious developments during the Mogul era were the rise of Sikhism following the teaching and inspiration offered by Nanak (1469-1539). Under his guidance numbers of Hindus broke away from the rigid caste system to form new religious groupings. Many of these were from the Jat peasantry. The result of retaining the sacred scriptures in the Panjabi language has meant that Sikhism is now largely confined to speakers of this language.

The other break with caste and Hinduism came from the influence of Muslim Sufi saints who saw many of the lower castes turn to Islam as a relief from the bondages imposed by caste systems.

These three Empires span the pre British period of Indian history when the Hindu caste system was embedded. Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism and Islam grew up and became part of the Indian mosaic. The caste system and communal divides that characterize present day India were consolidated. From a geopolitical point of view, the Mughal period can be seen as a precursor to the British Raj, with power in the hands of a ruling elite with origins, language, and customs very different from those of the mass of Indians

Western Influences in India

British: The East India Company (EIC)

Based in London, chartered by Queen Elizabeth in 1600 the company presided over the later creation of the British Raj (Metcalf and Metcalf 2002: 43). In 1617, the Company was given trade rights by Jahangir the Mughal Emperor. 100 years later, it was granted a royal dictate from Emperor Farrukhsiyar exempting the Company from the payment of custom duties in Bengal, giving it a decided commercial advantage in the Indian trade. A

decisive victory by Sir Robert Clive at the Battle of Plassey in 1757 established the Company as a military as well as a commercial power. By 1760, the French were driven out of India, with the exception of a few trading posts on the coast, such as Pondicherry. In South-East Asia, the company would establish the first trading posts and exert its military dominance leading to the eventual establishment of British Malaya, Hong Kong and Singapore as British Crown Colonies. The Company continued to experience resistance from local rulers during its expansion. This victory estranged the British and the Mughals, since Siraj had effectively been a Mughal feudatory ally. After the Battle of Buxar, Shah Alam II the ruling emperor, gave up the administrative rights over Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. Clive thus became the first British Governor of Bengal. The hundred years from the Battle of Plassey in 1757 to the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 were a period of consolidation for the Company, which began to function more as a nation and less as a trading concern

The EIC was not friendly to missionaries. William Carey was forced to begin his ministry from the Danish colony of Serampore on the banks of the Hooghly river near Calcutta (Firth 1961: 189).

Following the 1857 insurrection, known to the British as the "Great Mutiny" but to Indians as the "First War of Independence", the Company was nationalised by the Government in London to which it lost all its administrative functions and all of its Indian possessions, including its armed forces which were taken over by the Crown The Queen's proclamation did not give Christians any special rights the relevant section reading "Firmly relying Ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the Right and the Desire to impose Our convictions on any of Our subjects." Even so subsequent events often saw the support and collaboration of British officials who gave opportunities, particularly for charitable work by Christian missionaries, amongst the people of India.

The Early Impact of Christian Missionaries on India
The early results of mission activity did not result in the expected conversion of the "heathen" as anticipated. Hinduism was mistakenly dismissed as a gross superstition. Whilst some of its outward manifestations in the 1700s were offensive to accepted

European standards e.g *sati* (widow burning), in reality Hinduism had a long history and deep philosophical roots together with a huge literature and tradition from which to draw strength and resilience (Cambridge 1989: 345). A trickle of converts continued such as Nehemiah Goreh (1852), Ramchandra in Delhi (1852) Pandita Ramabi in Maharastra (1883) and Narayan Talik (1895).

This reality of influence, but not conversion, led to a reaction within Hinduism which produced reform movements (Metcalfe and Metcalf 2002: 85). One of the first was in response to the mission in Bengal of William Carey (1761-1834). Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) studied Christianity, admiring its humanity but rejecting its doctrine. In response to this challenge he founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1827 which sought to incorporate the best of Christianty in a reformed Hindu world view. A more popular form linked to strong devotional emphasis was that of Ramakhrishna Paramahamsa (1836-1886). His disciple known as Swami Vivekananda (1862-1902) founded the Ramakhrishna mission giving it an emphasis on social work rather than philosophical ideals. He rejected the austere philosophical tradition of Shankaracharya in favor of social uplift and concern. "He did not really object to his adversaries criticism that his teaching and their results – famine relief, education for boys and girls, care for the sick and poor were closer to a Jesuit model than to the highly ecstatic teachings of his master" (Cambridge 1987: 347).

More closely linked to the Vedic tradition is the Arya Samaj founded by Swami Dayananda Sarasvati (1827-1883) in 1875 which had as its objective a return to the pure teaching of the Vedas. From this movement there have developed forms of Hindu re baptism called *shudhi,* which seek to bring back wayward converts into mainstream Hinduism. In 1915, The Hindu Mahasabha was formed in 1915 It sought to promote strong concepts reinforced by the publication in 1923 of a treatise on *Hindutva* or "Hinduness" by V.D. Sarvarkar (1883-1966). This treatise presented the concepts of Hindu domination of the subcontinent, adopting ideas from the Nazi era in Europe and concepts like the *dhimi* of Islam. These concepts require that non Hindus could live within India but must recognize the dominance of Hindu culture refraining from proselytizing, These are ideas favored by those who formed the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) political party. Members of these groups have been in the forefront of opposition to

Christian conversion. Laws limiting the right of conversion have been passed in States such as Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), founded in 1925 by upper caste Maharastrians, is a more specific political form of this type of response. A member of this group Godse assassinated Gandhi in 1948.

Among Muslims there have been two serious attempts to counter the influence of missions and the British. The first came out of Deoband School (1867). This school developed a form of Islam based more firmly on the Quran a scriptural Islam distinct from the parochial practices of the Sufi shrines. The Sufis practiced a devotional form of Islam, which appealed to the masses more than the austerity favored by the religious leadership.

The other was the more secular orientated approach of Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) focused on the college at Aligarh. He was determined that the Muslim world should come to terms with Western civilization. This approach is a more liberal and modernistic form of Islam.

The most recent of these Hindu reform type movements has been the emergence of yoga oriented guru disciple movements, led by charismatic founders who are regarded as incarnations of God or *avatars*. One of these is Sarya Sai Baba born in 1926. The main factors, which distinguish him from other gurus are the occult powers which are seen to rest on him. Others are the Transcendental Meditation of Balayogeshwar and the Hare Khrishna movement, both of which have had considerable impact on the Western world as exports of Hindu faith and practice.

In time the reaction moved on from countering the inroads of Christian mission to the more specific political goal of removing the British from India.

Events of the British Raj

The overbearing and perceived arrogant attitude of the British overlords led to a revolt in 1857 variously described by British sources as the Indian Mutiny but acclaimed by Indians as the First War of Independence (Metcalf 1989: 91). Following this happening the British created separate demarcated space for themselves labelled 'civil lines' and in the military area spaces called 'cantonments' where they developed their own internal life styles.

In 1885 some seventy English educated Indians came together in Bombay to form the Indian National Congress with the aim of gaining more Indian participation in politics and the civil service. In 1915 Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1868-1948) returned from South Africa to begin passive resistance to the British Raj.

Natural calamities in the 1890s produced direct action. The failure of the monsoon in 1896 and 1899 led to famine in the south of India. In 1897 bubonic plague swept through Bombay. These calamities received poor administrative responses leading to more suffering and despair. Such inadequate government response gave opportunity for Christian missions to offer relief often in the form of orphanages which provided opportunity to give instruction over a prolonged period forming the basis for a group of converts over a long period. An example is the ministry of Pandita Rama Bai in Poona (1896).

In 1919, following the First World War, reforms termed the Montagu-Chelmford acts foreshadowed the end of the Raj with the suggestion of giving Indians the right to control their own destiny. However the continuation of the Rowlatt Acts which allowed for detention without trial and other forms of repression soured the climate. Then when Reginal Dyer took it on himself to authorize a firing into a unarmed crowd at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar in 1919 he provided a rallying point remembered to this day by Indian nationalists. Gandhi now took central stage in leading India's nationalistic aspirations.

He was joined by men like Moti Lal Nehru (1861-1931) and his son Jawaharlal (1889-1961). The resultant India was very different to the agrarian simple village type goals of Gandhi but due to Gandhi's charisma and leadership these men joined him to achieve the basic goal of removing the British. Finally in 1947 the British left dividing India into two parts India and Muslim dominated East and West Pakistan.

In brief Christian mission in India today owes its origin first to the coming of the Portuguese who established Catholic missions and then to the British takeover of India following the East India Company. This colonial era provided the freedom for missions to operate.

Independent India

The survival of independent India has been a great achievement given the horrors of the atrocities enacted during partition in 1947 where thousands were slaughtered in northern India as populations were exchanged. This was often a forceful evacuation in a type of ethnic cleansing along religious and communal lines.

The exclusivist and communal nature of Indian society influenced Nehru and the Congress party to adopt an economic policy aligned more to socialist rather than capitalist ideas. Five-year plans were adopted with grand visions, which were only partially realized. Improvements in communications, health and hygiene produced significant population increases but were unmatched with the needed equivalent economic opportunity. Large programs to alleviate poverty were proclaimed but little change really took place. The hold of caste whilst formally disclaimed remained.

The loss of the informal support of the British Raj led to the gradual withdrawal of foreign missionaries due to visa restrictions, which initially favored replacements but in time gradually closed the door. A loophole favoring those of British Commonwealth connections finally closed following the assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984. It took considerable time for the Indian Christian church raised on concepts of patronage and dependence on foreign support to adjust to the new realities. Over a period of fifty years this transition has been made and now Indian Christians have found their own balance between internal limited resources and foreign support.

The caste issue remains within India. There have been attempts to change it formally. A notable example being that of Dr B. R. Ambedkar, who became a Buddhist before his death in 1956. The new constitution outlawed Untouchability and provided for reservation of seats in legislatures, opportunities in education and employment for those deemed Scheduled Castes Formally passing laws abolishing caste has not changed social attitudes deeply entrenched and supported by Hindu belief systems. As will be detailed later this has afforded an opportunity for Christian mission.

The economic situation remained stagnant for many years until relatively recent times when a more globally aligned policy of opening up the market to foreign investment finally broke the former cartels which favored a few like Tata and Birla.

Economic growth more commensurate with international standards has taken place. However along with the experience of many nations the initial impact has been to increase inequality in favor of the educated and skilled. Now, whole sections of the populous find themselves living on commercially desirable land. This land, to which they have no title, has beneath it coal, iron ore and bauxite. Other parts are desired for dam building, irrigation and hydroelectric generation. These threaten the old established livelihoods of the people who have traditionally enjoyed the use of legally ill-defined areas. It is from amongst these people that a response has come to Christian mission in recent history as will be detailed in the thesis.

The departure of the British proved initially traumatic to the Indian Church but after a period of consolidation and regrouping numerous Churches and NGO type groups have continued the ministry of Mission concentrating their efforts on the responsive dalit areas.

The Significance of Marginalized Groups

Perhaps the most striking finding of the case histories of successful Christian missions has been their success with individuals and groups that are on the margins of the larger society. This marginalization is typically multidimensional: they are all economically and socially marginalized, but may also be geographically or culturally marginalized. The following discussion is based on finding from within Christian NGO type groups but it is also important to understand that these same basic principles can also operate in Non Christian religious and secular NGO development groups. Dalits are the major community that has been impacted by Christian Mission. An understanding of their background, present condition and need is necessary.

Conditions of Dalits in India

The word Dalit is derived from Sanskrit and is linked to the idea of being ground or broken. (Mendelsohn 1998: 3) "From the standpoint of the Vedas untouchables have no place at all. They have no legitimate place in the order" (Mendelsohn 1998: 5). The origin of these people has various theories one of the predominant ones being that they are conquered peoples who were supplanted by the Aryan invaders of India at a period

around 1500 BC (www.socialism.com/fsarticles/vol28no5/28509Dalits.html). The dalits are made up of the people in what are termed the scheduled castes. These are those who remain below the level of the accepted caste order. The modern position of the dalit is linked more to their poverty and landlessness, which renders them powerless. Dalits who have been able to gain education through government assistance and so find economic status are much more acceptable to society.

Table 1: Scheduled Castes and Tribes 2001 Census

Total Indian Pop Billions	Sched. Caste Millions	% total	Sched Tribe Millions	% Total
1	167	16.2	84	8.2

The Living Conditions of Dalit Communities

India today is a much more enlightened place than that seen by the missionaries in 1800. Laws have been passed that give quotas to scheduled castes so that the recent President of India, K.R. Narayanam from 1997-2002, was a scheduled caste man of education and standing. Emerging dalit leaders are, like Ram Raj, who holds the position of Assistant Commissioner of Income Tax in Tamil Nadu. But despite all this in many, particularly rural areas, of the country the plight of dalits is unenviable. Current news magazines are highlighting the situation.

Being a member of a scheduled caste condemns that person to difficult living conditions. "The most undesirable jobs are assigned to these people as matter of their destiny. Today (1998) 49 years after independence, seven and a half lakh (750,000) sweepers clean service latrines. It is a common sight to see a sweeper carrying a heavy load of night soil on his head in a bamboo basket or leaking drum" (Jha 1997: 13). Rural scheduled caste people are usually landless (in Bihar 87.5% own no land) or have very small uneconomic parcels of land. Their income can only come from hiring themselves out as agricultural laborers. However this can only provide them with work for a maximum of six months in the year, but for 33% in a Bihar situation work was available for only 3-5th months. These conditions place these people in precarious subsistence further increased by indebtedness from which many never escape opening the door to

bonded labor and other undesirable happenings. (R. Roy 1999: 37) Bonded labor, officially abolished, continues with an estimated 40 million persons, including 15 million children, as bonded laborers in India, according to a recent report Dr. Hedlund of Chennai states that struggle for subsistence results in a vicious cycle of child labor and female exploitation together with other social evils. Economic deprivation also encourages criminal activities and undesirable avenues such as the sex trade and landless laborers earn a minimum wage of around Rs. 10/- per day, an annual income of about Rs. 3,000/-, which is totally inadequate for a small family

Commentators on the dalit challenge in India, R. Roy (1999), Jha (1997) all describe the situation as a heritage from a background that grew out of the original caste division within Indian society in Vedic times. They go on to comment that what originally may have been a system of providing support and order within Indian society has degenerated into power structure favoring those within caste and disadvantaging those out of caste. R. Roy (1999) describes the present situation as an organic system that needs to be replaced. Breaking out of this system is very difficult. Attempts to assert their constitutional rights are met with violence." Atrocities are committed whenever dalits try to assert their rights or protest against oppression. Private armies have been raised by landlords in Bihar to terrorize and oppress Dalits" (Das 1995: 89).

Religious Background to the Dalit Situation

The dalit situation is related to the Hindu concept of caste as these people are 'out of caste' described as Scheduled Castes in religious terms—untouchables. The concept of caste is based on a Rig Vedic text that reads, "The Brahman was his mouth, the Rajanya was made of his arms, then his two thighs became the Vaishaya, from feet Shudra was born" (Dutta 1968: 31). Out of this concept a complex system of castes has evolved which provides the religious basis for the Hindu social order. "The Hindus practiced Untouchability against the largest numbers of their own faith and were practitioners, as part of the caste system, of one of the world's most rigid systems of exclusion"(Varma 2004: 6).

Caste is further reinforced by the concepts of the Hindu faith based on *karma* and *samasara*. Hindu concepts of *moksha* (liberation) are linked in with the performing of

religious duties known as *dharma*. In turn these add up to ones *karma*, which then determines the position of rebirth in the next reincarnation. "It is accepted that people are born to their own destiny and suffer or prosper in accordance with their previous karmas. Life is a continuing saga and the possibility of redemption from want and hunger that the poor seek can await a next birth, with no need for help or human intervention" (Varma 2004: 90).

Viewed from this vantage point the caste members are persons whose *karma* has been very good and so he has attained to this more socially prestigious position. In contrast the untouchable or dalit has been born into a disadvantaged situation, which can then be attributed to his poor quality *karma*. Giving religious sanctions and backing the system produces a justification for taking actions and ignoring the plight of the unfortunate "The theory of karma has different metaphysical and pragmatic uses; however it can very well be used to explain the freezing of *varna* into numerous *jatis* on the one hand and the unequal distribution of societal resources on the other" (R. Roy 1999: 13).

Effect on the Dalit Communities of the Application of Caste Concepts

Loss of a Sense of their Own Worth

Underlying all the other debilitating effects of being out of caste is the sense of worthlessness. From a religious viewpoint, as noted above, a dalit is a person who is suffering from the effects of bad karma in a past life. In this perspective he deserves his own fate. The direct effect of this is to destroy his sense of worth and value. He is condemned to a life of drudgery with consequent poverty in order to fulfill his *dharma* in the hope that a subsequent reincarnation will bring him back to a better life and greater chance of obtaining to *moksha*. The internalization of his fate brings about a resignation to his situation and status, which has opened the door to widespread exploitation. "It should be recognized that these classes have been trained by centuries of exploitation and servility to avoid the acceptance of responsibility that may prove burdensome, to get all they can out of every situation, while obligating themselves as little as possible" (Picket 1934: 217). Mangalwadi states: "Perhaps the most devastating effect of centuries of poverty is a total loss of self respect, self confidence, trust in others and hope for any

change. Poverty is not their main problem. The lack of hope, lack of faith, lack of initiative are the paralyzing factors which prevent them from moving toward freedom and development" (Jayakumar 2004: 355). One of the greatest needs of the poor is a sense of their own worth and dignity that would then give them a hope of having a future. Caste is also related to holding on to power; benefiting those who possess higher caste. Any attempt to change this distribution results in strong opposition. "The caste system benefits the people at the top of the hierarchy. They have the means of exploiting people through internalizing a slave mentality without endangering social stability. In a scarcity society caste provided a degree of mutual interdependence, which discouraged competition. It provided people with a sense of dignity and belonging. It enabled the lower castes to have a certain security. A policy of positive discrimination in favor of lower castes reserves a specific number of posts for members of lower classes" (Sugden 1997: 171).

Other practitioners whose policies begin to bring about change in the society have also encountered caste-based opposition. The BRAC in Bangladesh states that religious leaders and others have used the mask of Islam as a means to attack property. In the estimation of the BRAC this is motivated by the threat that BRAC poses to the traditional, exploitative and oppressive power structure rather than genuine religious sentiment (Krishna 1997: 44). The Grameen Bank founder M. Yunus found similar activity when he began. " The village mullahs were a very potent source of opposition. They told women that they were violating religion, could not be assured of a decent burial and would face eternal condemnation" (Krishna 1997: 16).

Lack of Opportunity for Advancement

Caste is a rigid system designed to keep each group within its own area doing the things that have been decreed to be their lot in life. This is the way to fulfill your *dharma* and so attain to a better *karma* and reincarnation. Social mobility is discouraged. Education was limited to selected groups within society and so jealously guarded. Attempts to improve your status or protest against injustice were met with violence. Each group is to remain within their own status role.

Powerlessness

Another important socioeconomic factor is a culture of patronage and dependency, which is entrenched on both sides. Those in power expect to have the right to dispense patronage on their own terms. Many of the poor are ready to accept this situation rather than begin the long struggle to change a system, which for centuries has at least provided survival. "Through the centuries there have been revolts against this form of injustice. Some of these revolts kept the followers within the ambit of the Hindu world. Among these are Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism' (Mendelsohn and Vicziany 1998: 22). More recent movements have taken lower caste Hindus away from the Hindu fold into Islam. This occurred in the 1500s during the period of the Sufi saints, latterly, it has been the preaching of Christian missionaries that has found a ready ear.

The missionaries with their theological backgrounds and evangelical fervor see their preaching as a means of attaining eternal salvation. In contrast many of the members of these groups though see in the message a means of finding hope and them upward mobility and improvement of status within the society

Responses to the Christian Ministry by Dalit and Tribal Communities

The Phenomena of the Mass Movement

Though the original intent of the missionaries was to produce a Church embracing all types of people, they soon found that the major groups Hindu and Muslim were not very open to their message. "Confronted by obdurate Hindus or Buddhists in India and Sri Lanka, evangelical missionaries engaged in verbal and written polemic in what inevitably proved to be a futile endeavor to convince their audience of the truth and reasonableness of Christian doctrine" (Stanley 2001: 12).

The major response to the Gospel in India has come not from the majority groups in the population Hindus (80.5 %), Muslims (13.4%) but from others who make up 24% of the population being the lower castes of the nominal Hindu groups, then from tribal groups in the northeast, and the tribal belt running through from Gujarat, Madhaya Pradesh, and to Orissa. Reasons for this phenomenon are explored below.

The Unique Challenges of the Mass Movement

The mass movement brought with it unique challenges that were outside the experience and understanding of many Western missionaries for whom conversion was a very definite individual experience.

The original response from the lower caste groups was unwelcome and met with great uncertainty from the missionaries. The form of conversion was not the individualistic type favored by evangelical theology[3]. Rather it was in the form of community decision, leading on to types of mass movements where the whole group entered into Christianity as a block.[4] "One way to understand conversion is to see it as part of a broad spectrum of religious change in India in the 19th and 20th Centuries where disadvantaged groups were using religious resources to find meaning in their lives as individuals particularly in a time of socioeconomic change" (Brown and Frykenberg 2002: 6). As Firth (1961: 202) has noted, "It must be admitted that such movements of lowly folk into Christianity are prompted by a variety of motives. One of the foremost is a desire for social betterment and a conviction that the Christian agencies can help them. There are also some hopes of material gain. The characteristic of mass movement is that the people come to the faith in tribal and caste groups whether large or small. When this happens it is inevitable that many persons are included whose knowledge of Christian teaching and faith is small. They come with the rest as a result of a communal decision."

This communal decision involves the following three aspects:

1. Acceptance as People. In time the acceptance given to them by the missionaries, expressed through the interest taken in them, education offered and a theology which emphasized the worth of the individual being accepted as one made in ' the image of God' and a recipient of the love of God in Jesus Christ gave to them a new sense of their own worth and so empowered them

2. A desire for Improved Social Status. As noted above, the Dalit within the prevailing social system upheld by the Hindu religion, finds him or herself in a disadvantaged position. Most commentators on development in India regard caste, and other such restrictive systems, as being at the root of the powerlessness and disadvantage felt by

the poor (Gedam 1998: 43). Through the centuries there have been revolts against this form of injustice.

3. Internal Factors. In addition to these external factors there are dynamics within the faith, culture and understanding of these peoples, which have made them more open to accept the Christian message. Translating the Bible into their own mother tongue is a powerful affirmation of their identity.[6] Understanding the *otiose* High God of the Adavasi makes comprehension of a Creator God more easily grasped. When the bridge is made from this concept to the God of the Bible then greater comprehension is gained. The call for justice in the writings of the Minor Prophets in the Old Testament of the Bible resonates strongly with people under oppression.

Opposition

The message though welcome to the tribal has met with great opposition from the majority society. The opposition begins from the dynamic that all change is disturbing. Missionaries have become agents of change as they brought with them a message that offered another interpretation of reality than that of the existing Hindu worldview of the Indian.[7] "What soon became clear was that conversions to Christianity led to changes not just in self esteem but in health, education and the prospect of social and economic advancement." (Brown and Frykenberg 2002: 7). These changes have been very positive and welcome to these depressed communities. Referring to conversations with dalit people Father Pinto says they say that the coming of mission has been a great blessing (Interview in Delhi, January 2002). But to many others the subsequent change in social dynamics has been upsetting. Newly empowered people demand social change.

Although the numbers are relatively small, many Hindus have perceived even this change as an aggressive attack on their religion and their sense of identity. "The Hindu fundamentalists, or Hindutva organizations, rallied over what they describe as a Christian conspiracy to wipe out Hinduism' (Brown and Frykenberg 2002: 133). The crisis reached a height when, in 1998, an Australian missionary was murdered in Orissa.

The confusion arises due to the many differing perceptions of those involved. The missionary sees the response as a joyous one of bringing salvation to those who are otherwise 'lost'. The adavasi although appreciative of the salvation message is strongly

motivated by a desire to escape the clutches of caste with all its debilitating factors and find a way to a better life for himself and his children. On the other hand the Hindu sees an attack on his culture. The adavasi is eager for the material benefits that education and better health bring. The Hindu see these aspirations and the service offered as a type of bribe to bring the less fortunate Hindus into Christian faith by illegitimate means. Some Hindu neighbors are very critical of Christianity. "They still hold a prejudiced idea that the foreign missionaries lured the poor Adivasis with material help. They always complain about Christianity calling it a foreign religion" (Brown and Falkenberg: 2002:39). Socially the newly acquired identity of the adavasi threatens the traditional dominance that the more privileged groups have always held.[8]

The missionary does bear some responsibility for this opposition as, in an attempt to produce theological purity, there has often been considerable insensitivity to cultural dynamics. Earlier in history this was noted by Elwin Verrier in Assam who began as a Christian worker but moved into anthropology opposing the missionary activity of interfering in the lives of the tribals in North East India. In 1925 the local government official J.P. Mills required the missionaries to modify their stances on changing the clothing styles of the local Nagas. Modern mission today understands more of this dynamic in the current pluralistic climate. Under the rubric of conceptualization more is sought to be done to incorporate the history of people into their new found faith in Christ. Later examples to be given from the Malto people in Bihar will emphasize this point.

Another important example is seen in Bangladesh (Parshall 1980) where the New Testament has been translated into the peculiar local Bengali that uses Koranic terminology rather than the classic Sanskrit of the Hindu Bengali. The resultant *Injil Sharif* has received wide spread acceptance as opposed to the former *Susamachar* (Good news in Sanskrit terms). Further the forms of liturgy adopted have been sensitive to Islamic understanding of worship incorporating body postures, repetitive liturgy, washing before prayers as well as segregation of men and women in worship services.

In Papua New Guinea an American, Don Richardson (1984) developed the concept of the *redemptive analogy* looking for traditions within the mythology of the people which showed similarities to the concepts and ideas present in the Bible. His outstanding example is their tradition of establishing peace by exchanging children,

termed the Peace Child, which had analogies to the sending of Jesus as the heavenly representative to men.

A Brief History of the Christian Mission in India

The major effect of Christian mission in India has led to the uplift of what are now termed the dalit communities or scheduled castes, tribals and other underprivileged people. This ministry to dalits and others has produced the statistical Christians of India now numbered in census figures around 2% of the population (Government of India Census 2001). Some examples worth quoting are the movements in the fishing coasts of the Madurai mission, Nayars of Tinnevelly, Sambars in South Travancore, Mazhabi Sikhs in Punjab, Mundas, Orayans and Khoris of Chota Nagpur, Mahars of Maharastra, Kammans, Madigars in Andhra Pradesh, Garos, Khasi, Nagas and Mizo in northeastern India. Although not registering a numerical effect to the same degree the impact of the educational and medical mission to India has produced an impact on social uplift for the whole of India.

Early Christian Contact with India

Christianity has a long history, in India, going back to the second and third centuries AD. Tradition has it that the Apostle Thomas was the carrier of the Gospel to India (Firth 1961: 3-5). In Kerala, the Syrian Church has links going back to the Church in east Syria which was, at that time, in 300 AD, Mesopotamia and Persia (Firth 1961: 18-20). The Kerala church, consistent with Indian culture and traditions, remained within the confines of the State of Kerala practicing a form of caste within their own community.

More recently in India, European Christian missions have been a significance force. The first to arrive were the Roman Catholics. These men from Spain and Portugal came in the wake of the traders who, in 1498, rounded the Cape of Good Hope after the voyage of Vasco de Gama. In 1510, The Portuguese Albuquerque captured Goa from the Sultan of Bijapur in 1510 and the area became a Portuguese enclave. The Catholics moved on to found settlements in India, at Cochin in the southwest, and Tuticorn and Mylapore in the southeast.

The rulers of Portugal set about what they perceived as their divinely ordained task of sending out Catholic missionaries bringing the Gospel to this region (Coppa 1974: 109) In 1542, the arrival of Francis Xavier of the Jesuits saw a reform taking place in Goa, together with an outreach to fisher-people, the Paravas on the Coromandel coast, between Madras and Cape Cormorin. In time, the whole caste became Christian. From these early beginnings, many dedicated Catholic missionaries arrived to establish an outstanding network of schools. A basis for high academic and moral education standards, the Convent schools of the nuns and the brothers produce high quality students. Today access to schools, such as the Jesus and Mary Covent in Delhi and the Bishop Cotton School in Bangalore, continues to be highly sought after by non-Christians. The latest contribution to this altruistic endeavor is a unique figure, Mother Theresa, of Calcutta.

Protestant mission began to appear following the formation of the Society for the Propagating of the Gospel (SPG) in England in 1701 (Firth 1961: 131) The first missionaries came from Denmark sent by King Frederick IV, in 1706, to Tranquebar in Madras state (Tamil Nadu in the modern era). He could find no Danes but accepted Germans from Halle where a spiritual revival had taken place, giving rise to what has been termed pietism. Later spurred on by revivals of spiritual life in the English churches, groups began to form around 1792, such as the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS), the London Missionary Society (LMS) and the Church Missionary Society (CMS).

The early work in Tranquebar, South India began with orphans and a few converts The mission in Madras state showed no real significant progress until the ministry of Ringeltaube in 1804 who joined forces with a convert Vedamanikam. The ministry of Vedamanikam produced results in a scheduled caste, the Nayas. He initially baptized four hundred of them in 1811. His successor Mead continued baptizing, leading to a movement of Nayas into the Christian faith, which continued throughout the nineteenth century. Similar happenings took place in Tinnevelly where Gericke baptized 1300 people in 1820 leading to a mass movement into the Christian fold. By 1889 the community numbered 59,000 spread over 1506 villages (Firth 1961: 155).

The Protestant mission continued over the next century. An idea of its numbers can be seen from the graph below. Of the statistics quoted approximately 6,000 foreign missionaries would have been in India at the peak of the enterprise.

The figures below show the post-World War II surge when many American Christians used the GI Bill to finance education in Christian Bible institutes such as the Praire Bible Institute in Three Hills, Alberta. From there they were recruited into missions and went forth to evangelize the world

Figure 4: World Protestant Mission Workers:
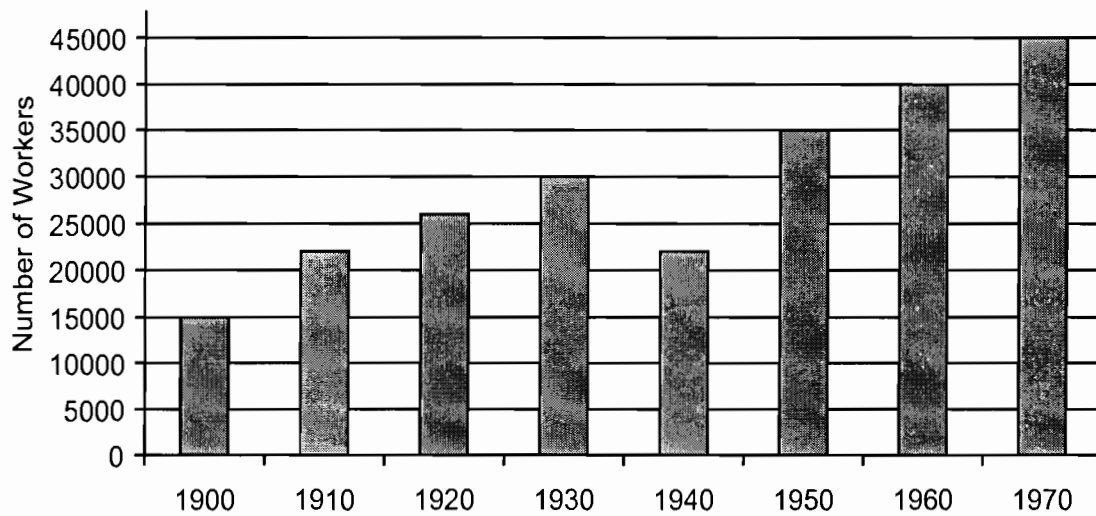
Note. Adapted from The 25 Unbelievable Years, Winter (1970: 54).

The foreign mission in India began to end following the exit of the British in 1947. "Missionaries had a protected position in this subcontinent since at least 1813 when they were first permitted into territories controlled by the BEI Co. British imperial power had provided a protective shelter for their work." (Stanley 2003: 111) By the early 1960s all missionaries who required visas had been withdrawn. Following the assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984 the final loophole was closed and all foreign missionaries were effectively withdrawn.

A period of hiatus ensued until the Indian Christian Church found its own equilibrium resuming the impact of mission from resources found through its own initiatives, some coming from within India and others internationally. The chart below

details growth from 1972-1997. The Friends Missionary Prayer Band (FMPB) and Indian Evangelical Mission (IEM) have 800 and 463 missionaries respectively.

Table 2: Domestic Indian Missionaries

Indian Missionaries Twenty Five years of growth 1972-1997			
Year	Cross Cultural Missionaries	Domestic or local Missionaries	Total
1972	543	na	543
1980	2208	na	2208
1983	3369	na	3369
1988	10243	na	10243
1994	12000	na	12000
1997	15000	5000	20000

Statistics for Domestic Indian Missionaries 1972-1994
Adopted from Rajendran 1998 Which Way Forward Indian Missions?

From the viewpoint of this study a number of indigenously developed missions stand out. Two examples are The Friends Mission Prayer Band (FMPB), which was formed from amongst the newly empowered dalit communities in Tamil Nadu, and the Indian Evangelical Mission drawing from similar resource centers.

The FMPB was begun as a small prayer group among university students in 1967 but has now grown to a group of 1,800 missionaries and eight hundred field workers at work in 130 different locations through India. The primary focus of the group is to meet the needs of what are termed people groups[1] of which there are said to be between 3,000 and 4,000 throughout India. To date the group has been able to reach out to between 80 and 90 of these with an objective of reaching 300 by 2010. FMPB notes that there are a number of responsive groups to the Christian message. These include: in Bihar: Malto, Santal; in Tamil Nadu: Lambari, Gond; in Uttar Pradesh: Chamar; in Punjab: Mazabi Sikh, Roya Sikh; in Gujarat: Kuknas, Basawa, Gamit, Bhil; in Maharastra: Worli, Pora, Wagi; and in Chattisgarh: Kho, Munda, Kalang. The FMPB work amongst tribals has been characterized by unusual manifestations of physical healing and deliverance from what are understood to have been evil spirits. To those who are involved in this type of

ministry these are miracles in the biblical sense. More details will be given from the work among the Kukna and Malto peoples in the next chapter. The basic approach has been to reach out to people with the spiritual message of the Gospel and only when significant response has been found to begin the subsequent social outreach work that is needed. This is in part to avoid the oft-quoted challenge from non-Christians that the work is based on material inducements rather than a genuine spiritual change of heart and life.

The India Evangelical Mission (IEM) had a very different origin to the FMPB. IEM was a result of the outworking of the Lausanne International meetings in 1965. The follow up meeting held at Devalali in India resulted in a move amongst Indian leaders to form their own missionary group dependent on India resources rather than foreign funding and support. The first action was to appoint the Rev. Theodore Williams as the Secretary. Theodore was a bible college teacher in Bangarapet. Beginning from their very modest origins of supporting existing Indian missionaries in the Andaman Islands the group has grown to be a significant one on the Indian scene. (Williams 1990: 17)

The IEM draws members from the same sources of altruistic Indian Christians who themselves have been influenced by the western missionary approach. The data for the financial chart was obtained on a personal visit to the Treasurer in Bangalore in January 2006. It was not possible to get fully accurate numbers on missionary personnel. Some data was supplied for the period 1965-1970 from the book by Williams (1990) but recent data has been obtained by extrapolating from the finance chart based on the cost per missionary. As the finances are raised on the basic of personal support for each members of the IEM this gives an approximation of the numbers. In recent years the numbers have been growing by 10 to 16 per year.

IEM Finances
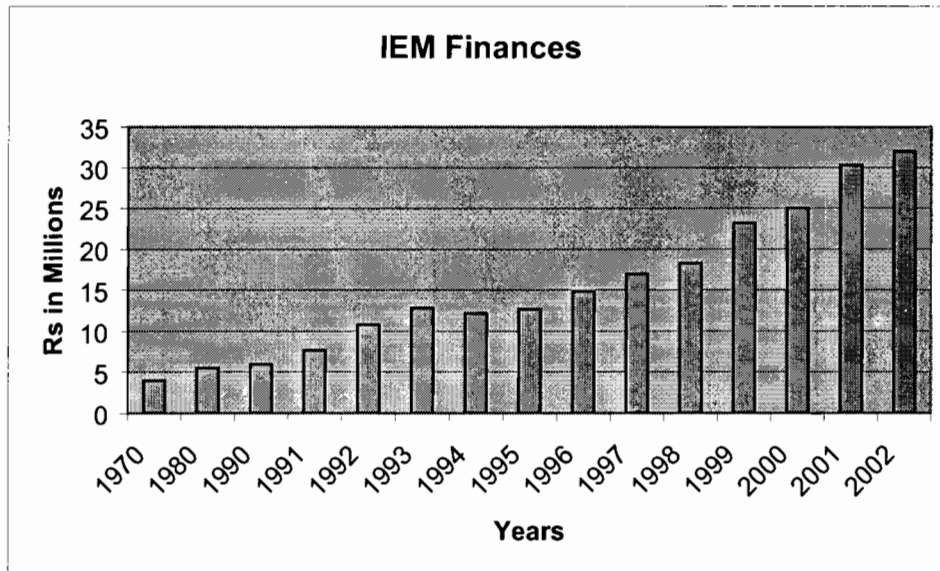
*Data supplied from (Williams 1990) and IEM web site <www.iemoutreach.org>
together with a visit to the IEM treasurer in Bangalore in January 2006.*

Figure 6: IEM Missionary Numbers

IEM Missionary Numbers
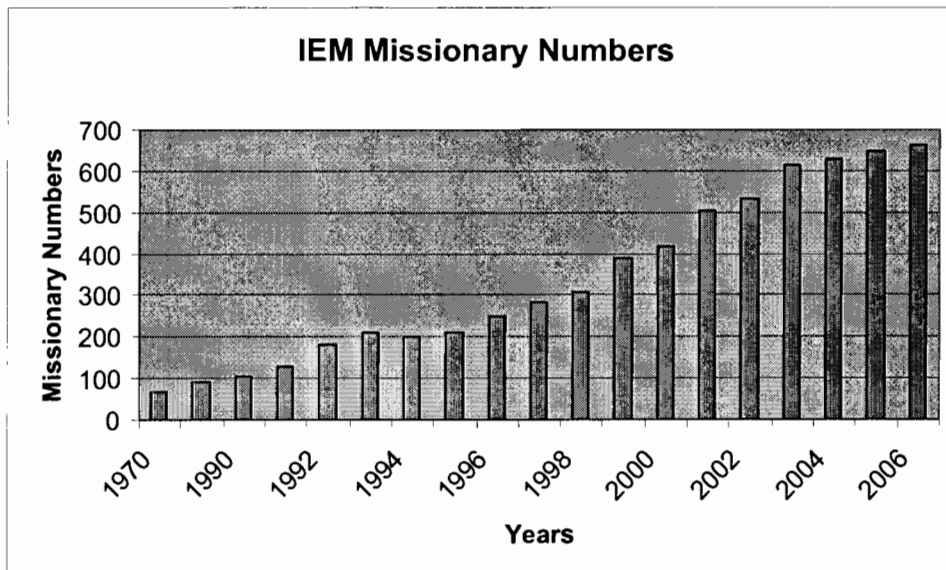
The intent of the IEM has been to draw on Indian resources both in personnel as shown above and in finance. An understanding of the type of work of these groups FMPB and IEM can be gained from the following chart. Their primary aim is Church planting and

membership. From the viewpoint of this study the importance is to note that these groups have been conduits for movement into development activity by numbers of their members. They have progressed to more active development groups such as Emmanuel Hospital Association.

Table 3: Activities of Indian Missionaries

Location	Date	*People Group*	Ministry	Province	Church Data
Andamans	1967	Tamils			
		Bengali Refugees			
	1999	Jarawa Tribe	Clinic School		
Araku	1988	Kotia	Clinic School	Andhra Pradesh	10 churches 100 members
Bonagirpally	1978	Gond, Reddy Lambarda, Yerukala		AP Telegana	
Chikaldra	1981	Korku, Gowli, Gowlan	Nutrition	Maharastra	9 churches 200 members
Chinoor	1975	Lambada, Neethankani Yerukalan		Andhra Pradesh	1200 members
Chitradurga		Lingayat, Golla, Nayak	Development	Karnataka	3 churches
Dang	1980	Kukani, Bhil	Medical education hostels	Gujarat	13 churches 1500 members
Hamiltonganj	1992	Sadri, Bengali		West Bengal	2 churches 100 members
Ho	1986	Ho, Santhal, Munda	Education, development	Orissa	8 churches 200 members
Hosur	1993	Kurumbu, Lingayat, Irulara Pusari			
Jalpaiguri	1992	Bhutanese Nepali		West Bengal	Few churches
Kolam	1986	Kolam		Maharastra	
Koya	1975	Koya	Medical	Andhra Pradesh	35 churches 3000 members
Khrishnagiri		Pusari, Kurumba, Vanagiri	Community Health, Hostels	Tamil Nadu	

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Location	Date	*People Group*	Ministry	Province	Church Data
Kullu	1967	Kullu, Nepali, Lahauli		Himachal Pradesh	2 churches
Bastar	1978	Bhatra, Bhurwa, Madiya		Madya Pradesh	Few churches
Nasik	1984	Bhil, Kukna	Education, sewing	Maharastra	Few churches
NWUP	1971	Garhwali, Nepali		Uttar Pradesh	2 churches
Sirohi	1978	Garasi, Wagari	Literacy medical	Rajasthan	
Tharu	1992			Uttar Pradesh	10 members
Utraula	1992		Medical	Uttar Pradesh	

Ministry Areas FMPB, IEM

The ministry areas of the IEM are also in the regions peopled by dalit and tribals for the most part (e.g., Orissa; Mundas, Hos, Juangas and Bhuyans, Bondo, Andhra, Gujarat). These are the groups that the existing Indian Christian Church is most able to reach out to.

Thus began a major contribution that mission has made to India, the uplift of these depressed communities. In the case of the Tamil Naya communities, the results of over a century of inputs has been to produce a community that is sufficiently empowered to take the message on to other similar underprivileged groups throughout India (details in Part 2). Details will be given of how this has worked out in an area of northern India around the city of Dehra Dun.

The foregoing makes clear that the primary motivation for mission in India was the spread of the Gospel and the growth of Churches. This was not true of all Christians. As noted above the early ministry of St. Thomas, which is said to have brought into being the churches in modern Kerala, produced converts but these churches did not go on to evangelize the other parts of India. Similar modern thinking comes from the Anglican Bishop of Vancouver who similarly sees the Christian mission as a non-proselytizing one that respects the viewpoints of other religions "These are more worthy objects of our evangelistic concern. Evangelism should be directed toward those who have no living faith. Not those who do (Ingham 1997: 139). Many share the view that Christians should

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confine themselves to humanitarian activities and not seek to evangelize or proselytize, as it is termed by others. Critics from Mahatama Gandhi to Shouri in recent times have questioned the work of Christian missions often attributing their good works to ulterior motives. "Conversions have been going on for 2000 years. They have been proclaimed to be an essential element of Christianity, the duty of every Christian" (Shourie 1998: 13). Whatever the merits or demerits of these claims may be, it remains that for Christian missions and in fact all religious groups, the desire to spread the message and in that sense make converts remains a strong motivating force for recruiting suitable volunteers, thus sustaining the mission in the face of considerable opposition. This study confines itself to the work of evangelical missions; examples been taken from those who have aggressively reached out and sought to spread the Christian gospel.

CHAPTER 4
FOUR CASE STUDIES

Effective Protestant Missions in Modern India

The preceding discussion has dealt with the major background inputs, which laid the foundation for an effective ministry in modern India. We now consider examples of four effective missions in different regions and sociopolitical situations in India. By comparing and contrasting features of the operation of these missions we hope to identify the major factors that make for a successful mission in modern (late twentieth, early twenty first century) India. If these factors are identified, then we can address the question: Do the factors that make for success in Christian missions also apply to successful altruistic activities by members of other faiths, or to the work of secular NGOs?

The most significant case is the empowerment of dalit communities in Tamil Nadu undertaken by early European missionaries. This empowerment lifted these communities socially. A further development has been the vision of these communities to go further and work toward the empowerment of similar groups in other parts of India.

The second set of cases considers the ministry of Indian indigenous missions peopled largely from the former Dalits of Tamil Nadu. This activity has been amongst the poorer tribal groups in Bihar and Gujarat.

The third area of research is into the work and ministry of two dedicated Indian doctors who pioneered an outreach to the poorest people in Maharastra. The result has been the uplift of these people and the development of a model, which has been followed by other groups within India. Recognition of the worth and value of this model has been given by the World Health Organization, Harvard University, and the Government of India, leading to the training of many workers internationally.

The fourth group studied is the Emmanuel Hospital Association that has built on work begun by Western missionaries in the areas around Dehra Dun.

Ministry to the Dalit Communities of Tamil Nadu in South India

One of the first successful results of ministry to under privileged people is found in South India in the State of Tamil Nadu. As noted above, under the history of mission in India, successful outreach has been amongst the dalit peoples of India rather than the major four caste groupings. A survey of the condition of dalits explains why this has occurred and gives reasons for the response of Dalits to the Christian gospel message. The initial response has been in the form of mass movements. The nature of the social needs of these people has required extensive inputs from the missionaries in the fields of education, health and welfare leading to significant empowerment of these communities. This empowerment has progressed to the point where the Tamil Nadu community has become instrumental in providing outreach, which is now impacting the Dalit communities in other parts of India.

Tamil Nadu Dalits

The results of field orientated research particularly in the Dehra Dun area showed the importance of the Christian groups in Tamil Nadu as resource people for much of the outreach into tribal areas in Bihar (the Malto tribe as an example) and Gujarat (the Kukna tribe in the Dangs area) as well as the work of the Emmanuel Hospital Association (EHA) in the Dehra Dun district. Research into the background of these Tamil Nadu Christians showed that the inspiration for these effective ministries arose out of their own experience. This experience was based on an ideological foundation related to the experience in Europe of the Reformation. The original European missionaries mediated the Reformation ideology to Indians in Tamil Nadu from Germany, Denmark and the United Kingdom.

In order to understand these matters contact was made in 2004 with Dr. Samuel Jayakumar of the Madras Theological Seminary. Material gained from him in his thesis and subsequent book, *Dalit Consciousness and Christian Conversion,* was supplemented with library research into the nature of the Reformation ideology that formed the basis of the effective outreach. Further field related data was taken from interviews with Mr Patrick Joshua of the Indian Evangelical Mission, Dr. Richard Gnanakan of ACTs development agency in Bangalore, Mr. Joe Aloyisus of the MYRADA NGO in

Bangalore, Dr. Ben Wati former director the Evangelical Fellowship of India, Dr Theodore Williams founder of the India Evangelical Mission, Dr. Prabakaran of the Bible Society of India, Dr. Vijay Abraham of EHA in Varanasi, Rev. Rai of Friends Mission Prayer Band (FMPB) also in Varanasi, and Mr. Prakash of SHARE Mussoorie. There were other interviews with a variety of NGOs in Dehra Dun who had taken inspiration from the reformation-based ideology espoused by the Tamil Nadu Christians. They were SNEHA (Hindi word for Love) an outreach to rag pickers, Emmanuel Raj a Tamil Christian in a hostel ministry, and Mr. Abraham of the Rajpur Blind Institute.

Figure 7: Map of India showing Tamil Nadu
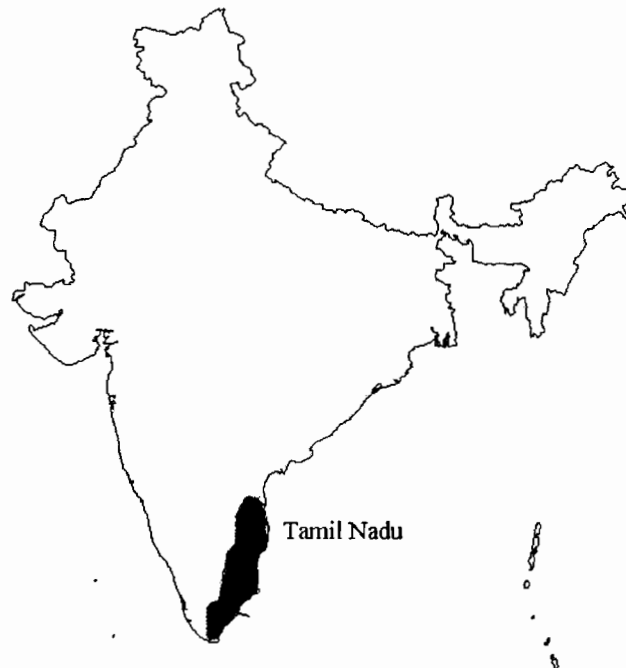
"The missionaries had been wary of too active an involvement with those at the bottom of the Indian society, for fear that they would alienate the high castes and therefore limit their overall effectiveness. But by the 1870s this had changed. High caste society was not responding deeply to the challenge of European ideas and institutions, but was for the most part doing so within the councils of Hinduism. The previous insistence on Christian knowledge as a prerequisite to conversion was dropped. Key figures led large groups

into the embrace of the Churches" (Mendelsohn and Vicziany 1998: 84). Some of the first of these were the Naya and Paraiya communities (Samuel 2003: 67).

The responsiveness of these communities was based on social and spiritual needs. The social needs were very evident as these groups were victims of an oppressive caste system, which had kept them in an underprivileged situation for centuries. These groups never accepted this situation in their spirit but were forced by circumstances to accept such a degraded status. The opportunity offered by the missionaries to find a way of escape and attain upward social mobility was eagerly grasped. "The greatest impact of the Christians missionaries was to introduce small but politically significant numbers of Untouchables to western education. For almost all Untouchables education lay beyond the bounds of possibility. The impact of throwing open schoolroom doors to Untouchables at the end of the 19th century was revolutionary " (Mendelsohn and Vicziany 1998: 86).

That this movement also had a spiritual component is evident from the fact that although persecuted by the dominant Hindus they persisted in their stand. (Clarke 1990: 41) "Sections of the Nadars embraced Christianity and improved their social status. This caused alarm amongst the Hindus who persecuted them to make them give up Christianity" (Samuel 2003: 83).[3] The Hindus, particularly the Brahmins were outraged that the missionaries were offering education to these hitherto under privileged groups. The Brahmins were the dominant community and did not even allow the Sudras (the fourth rung on the caste ladder) to become educated in book learning. The missionaries, protected to a large degree by the British colonial umbrella, were able to persist and continue in their desire to make literate and educate these emerging Christian groups. "As early as 1814 Nadar women were pressing government to allow them to cover their breasts in a manner previously reserved only to high caste women. But Nayars were angry that such lowly persons were seeking to obliterate a major distinction of respectability" (Mendelsohn and Vicziany 1998: 85).

The effects of accepting the Gospel began to develop in these communities over the next one hundred years. The results came from two major sources. The first may be termed a theological orientation that had significant impact on their own self-image and sense of worth something denied them by the Hindu caste system with its emphasis on

karma and *samsara*. Christian theological concepts said that the human was created in the image of God (NIV 1977: Genesis 1:26) and that God loved them enough to send his Son to die for them (NIV 1977: Johns 3:16). By coming to faith in Jesus they became a new creation and were born anew, transformed to find a new life and reality (NIV 1977: 2 Corinthians 5:17). "The Nadars utilized the biblical images of 'new creations in Christ' and hence as sons of God were equal to any other man in essential worth and dignity which had been denied them for centuries" (NIV 1977: Samuel: 110). Mendelsohn and Vicziany (1998: 81) go on to state that the newfound sense of worth and value began to have social effects. Many abandoned their old traditional occupation of climbing coconut trees for more lucrative opportunities. Others took advantage of education by becoming teachers, doctors and lawyers.

Other significant impacts of accepting Christian teaching led to the recognition of their innate abilities demonstrated through lay leadership in the Churches."By introducing lay leadership they recognized the potential of the outcaste communities and enabled them to discover their talents and to use them for the welfare of their own people" (Samuel 2003: 194). Education began to change their worldview and enlarge their horizons. "The missionaries had to educate them to think differently. A new horizon opened up for Dalits who accepted God's creative power his will and purpose, of hope and salvation so they could risk exploring new territory" (Samuel 2003: 194). Vigorously involved in awakening their minds, as they thought this was essential for their converts to live in dignity and identity. The missionaries rightly understood that learning should accompany conversion. Education alone could not deliver men and women from their suppressed and oppressed condition. The awakened worldview also enabled them to take up new possibilities by being freed from the bondage of local gods and deities (Samuel 2003: 120)

Further progress was made in reforming the groups by encouraging them to leave behind old habits. Drunkenness, gambling, idleness, excessive expenditure on rites and celebrations were discouraged as activities which are inimical to economic and social progress.

The awakened new consciousness was not without hazards. Some of the flaws of the caste system began to appear in the converts. Nadars particularly having no other

pattern to work on began to assert a form of caste themselves. They did not want to assist others to improve their status. The missionaries were disappointed that the poor Palmyra climbers who were seizing every opportunity offered to them for their social achievement did not accept their ideals regarding caste. As they were the majority, the Nadars did elbow other Dalits out of the way. (Samuel 2003: 243). "The Christian Nadars did nothing for the advancement of Christian Paraiyas. Instead of helping their fellow believers they became a hindrance to their spiritual and social advancement" (Samuel 2003: 246).

As with all change new dynamics emerged. Jayakumar Christian who talks about the poor and the "unpoor" takes up this point. These are ones who have the power at present and the ones who do not. Sen who talks about "unfreedoms" suffered by the underprivileged embraces a similar concept. Christian's argument is that the process is not complete without the newly liberated being willing to accept a more egalitarian society which encourages all to develop their talents and abilities for the greater benefit of all.

This effect is taking place. Examples will be given below of those from the Nadar communities in Tamil Nadu. These people are reaching out throughout India and sharing the good news of the Gospel. They are also willing to accept social responsibilities in a much wider sphere of activity.

Missions to Tribal Peoples

One of the major expressions of the activities of Christian NGOs has been with tribal peoples in India. The earliest expressions were in northeastern India amongst the Nagas and Mizo peoples. These have been well documented and are not dealt with in this presentation.

Information about these more recent tribal activities has been gained from reviewing thesis work of some of the members of the FMPB. Opportunity was taken to interview Reverend M. Raj at Varanasi in 2004 where he was engaged in orientation for new workers of the FMPB. Discussions were also held with Dr. and Mrs. Dr. Paul in Pune who have translated the Kukna New Testament. Attempts were made to meet with

fieldworkers from this area but these were frustrated by the sensitivity of the political and religious persecutions situations. On the advice of Mr. George David of Mhow in Madhya Pradesh this attempt was withdrawn. The interviews with Mr. Patrick Joshua in Chennai the leader of FMPB added further information about the qualities of dedication and perseverance required to undertake this kind of work.

The examination of the detailed accounts of outreach in the theses was substantiated by interviews with those who had been involved in these outreaches. From this material the conclusions noted in the text reinforced the theme of this presentation. There lies behind the work an ideological foundation, which gave rise to effectiveness preceeded by a motivation coming out of the Christian commitment. The basic altruism intrinsic to humanity has found reinforcement and encouragement from the basic Christian worldview of these people.

Tribal people make up a number of around 51 million or 7.76% of the population (Sachchidananada 1992: 4). There are two main groupings. One of these groupings lives in a belt that stretches from Gujarat in the west to Orissa in the east. These people occupy tracts of hilly and forested land, comprising around 20% of the geographical area of India. They go by various names such as Bhil, Gond, Santal, Munda, and Oraon. They are said to be of Proto-Australoid ethnic stock. The other grouping is in the NE area of India being of Mongoloid ethnic type (Chaudhuri 1982: xix). .

The tribal people of mainland India would class themselves as Adavasi rather than Dalit believing that they are the original inhabitants of the sub continent (Sahu 2000:9). Their belief systems are of the animistic type although many have undergone degrees of what is termed Hinduization and Sanskritization meaning that they have gradually begun to merge their belief systems in with the dominant Hindu pantheon of gods (Sachchidananda 1992: 24). It has been the aim of the renaissance Hindu sects such as the Araya Samaj to encourage this process with ceremonies termed *Shudi* where groups of these people are baptized in the Hindu faith.

Prior to the time of the British these peoples co existed with the mainlanders, their areas being largely inaccessible. Their way of life produced a balanced, self-sustaining ecological system. The British in their desire to extend their taxation and other systems

over the sub continent began to make contact with these peoples beginning to bring them into the modern world.

It is this incursion into their previously inaccessible areas that has brought change and challenge to these people. Unlike the Dalits they are not Untouchables in the Hindu belief system. However their conditions mirror these people as they have found it very difficult to meet the challenges posed by the encroaching outside world. Socio economically they form some of the weaker and vulnerable groups within the total society due to their high levels of illiteracy and a simple way of life which produces at best a subsistence economy.

The arrival of outsiders brings many other influences, which invite change and problems. Borrowing from money lenders for consumption rather than investment purposes has led to wide spread exploitation which in turn often results in the appropriation of their land and forces them into precarious labor markets for the unskilled. Social problems such as excessive drinking lead to alcoholism. The exploitation of their women gives rise to prostitution. Crime has also entered into their fragile world and wrought havoc. Social disintegration and deculturization have led often to drastic declines in their population in a number of cases. The Kolgha in Gujarat (a group similar to the Kukna, to be discussed later) were 185,497 in 1931 but declined to 75,503 in 1941 (Sahu 2001: 63). Their spirit related gods no longer protect them, nor do their herbal medical systems offer defence against new diseases like TB, which arrive with the incursions. Alienation from the land they belong to has serious cultural effects as land is linked to identity that has now been lost (Chaudhuri 1982: 69).

Historically the tribals have resisted these incursions with armed rebellions. As far back as Moghul times the Kolis in northwestern Poona were suppressed with great slaughter (Yadav 2000:320). There was a Santal rebellion led by Tilka Manjhi in 1781. Tilka is now a recognized martyr with a shrine in his memory. Another uprising occurred in 1855. Birsa Munda led a similar movement in 1900.

In the time of British rule attempts to alleviate the distress of tribals was largely carried out by non-government agencies such as Christian Missions and groups like the Ramakrrishna Mission. "Whatever the motivation, the contribution of these missionary

organizations to improving the lot of the tribals should not be under estimated" (Yadav 2000: 410). Since Independence in 1947, the Government of India has taken initiatives such as community development programs, reservations for tribals in educational institutions, government jobs and state parliaments, all of which has improved the quality of life for a small group of the more privileged people amongst them.

The other major challenge to the tribal way of life comes from economic forces which desire their land because of its forest, mineral and hydro electric potentials (Sachchinanda 1992: 29, Vyas 1980: 19). Many tribals have depended on the forests for their existence. The arrival of commercial practices, such as logging and then replanting with non-indigenous trees for commercial exploitation, have greatly disturbed tribal life (Chaudhuri 1982: xxii). The Narbada Dam project in Gujarat will displace one million tribal people from their ancestral lands (Yadav 2000: 417).

All of these factors leave the tribal community in a very precarious position. They must find some way to meet these encroaching forces or face extinction and disintegration.

The Malto Tribe in Bihar

A notable example of social uplift is demonstrated among the Malto people in Bihar. A group known as the Friends Mission Prayer Band (FMPB) began work among these peoples. This material is based on interviews with Reverend M. Raj who worked amongst the Malto peoples and with Drs. Paul who translated the Kukna Bible. Reverend M. Raj (1997) wrote an M.A thesis at All Nations Christian College, Ware, United Kingdom. I have used this material to gain the needed inputs about the Malto people. Similarly Reverend C.C. Ponraj completed his thesis on the Kukna people at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California. Documentation from this source provides updated material about the Kukna people.

Figure 8: Location of Malto and Kukna peoples
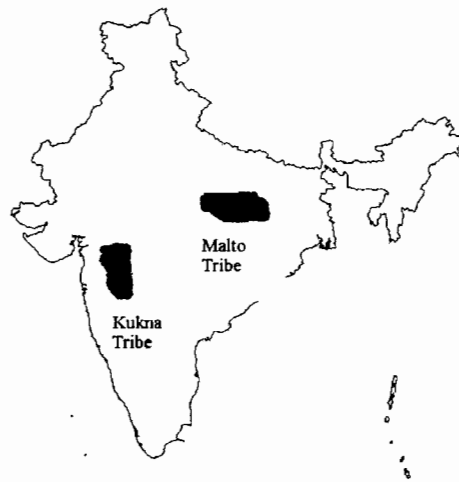
Condition of the Malto People

Socially

The Maltos live in the Rajmahal Hills of the Santal Pargana district in South Bihar, part of one of the major concentrations of tribal peoples in India. This group comprises people known as Santals, Mundas and Uraons.

Bihar is one of the most backward states in India. The National Family Health Survey of 1995 states that Bihar occupies the lowest position with regard to neo natal and infant mortality figures. Per capita income is only Rs. 2,212 ($45) against a national average of Rs. 4,282 ($130). Literacy, health care, and the availability of electricity are all significantly below national averages. The State is a graveyard of unfinished public projects. Corruption is rampant. In this difficult situation the Malto and other tribals occupy some of the lowest positions in the society.

Singh (1997), in his account terms these people Malpaharia speaking the language Malto. Under the 1981 census they numbered 100,177. Eating a staple food of rice supplemented with mutton, fish and eggs; they are monogamous, pay bride prices, inheritance of property goes largely to sons; they also have rituals of child naming and first feeding of rice. The dead are cremated and a 10-day mourning period observed. Traditionally they have been hunters and gatherers but now are mainly agricultural. Women share most of the routine work linked to raising crops. Their religion has been a

mix of Hinduism and traditional religion. The 1981 census of India lists Hindus at 91.97%, Christians at 0.48%. Response to formal education has been poor. In 1981 only 5.15 % were recorded as literate. During the early years of British rule some of these tribes people were recognized as robbers and cattle rustlers, who practiced the custom of waylaying and murdering their victims offering the bodies as sacrifices to Kali, one of the Hindu deities, then plundering their goods (Bruce 1968: vii). This ancient practice was termed *thagi*. The English word Thug is derived from this origin.

These poor conditions have lead to a demoralization and deculturalization, which put their community into serious decline with the threat of extinction. Disease has decimated the people. Malnutrition, tuberculosis, goiter, jaundice, cholera, malaria and various water-born diseases have wrought havoc. The adoption and use of alcohol, smoking and chewing tobacco brought on further decline (Muthusamy Raj 1997: 2).

Their poor condition along with climatic changes left them in the hands of rapacious moneylenders who further exploited their poor conditions. The result has been a systematic decline from one million to less than 70,000 during the past 40 years moving them toward extinction (Singh and Manhoran 1997).

Religion

As noted above the religion practiced is a mix of Hinduism and traditional beliefs. The traditional beliefs come under the description of animism. In this worldview the surroundings are inhabited by spirits, which control the destiny of people. These spirits are to be appeased and placated. The Malto practiced both animal and human sacrifice in an attempt to meet these challenges. A report in the *Times of India* (5 November 1995) assesses that 50 people are killed each year under charges of witchcraft discerned by local shaman. The expense of these sacrifices and rituals are a further drain on the resources of these people.

Access to the Modern World

Sen (2000) places great importance on two keys to progress and development - education and health care. To this can be added financial resources needed to gain freedom from moneylenders who extort unreasonable and often dishonest payment from these vulnerable people. Attempts have been made to bring these needed resources to the

people. Lack of adequate communications and infrastructure has been a major hindrance. Only half of the villages are accessible by four-wheel drive vehicles and this only in the dry season.

Schooling has been hampered by the distrust of the Malto of outsiders and their unwillingness of accept instruction in the foreign language of Hindi offered to them by the state school system. Money advanced by the government sources even to the extent of 20 million rupees has failed to solve their financial needs due to lack of trust and communication. (The cultural hurdle referred to earlier where people are unwilling to accept needed help because it does not flow to them in ways that they can culturally accept).

The Ministry of the Friends Mission Prayer Band

The first challenge that the FMPB workers faced was to gain the confidence of the people and establish credibility among them. This they did by adopting what they termed the incarnational approach. This required them to go into the environment of these people and live among them under their conditions. A major challenge that took the lives of some of the early workers: Mr. Jeyaraj and his son in 1983 from effects of a local disease, *kala aja*; Patrick Joshua's son died of cerebral malaria in the same period (Raj 1997: 24). The missionaries persevered and went on to learn the local language Malto. They then began to present their message in local cultural concepts utilizing the Malto love of dance and music. They began the translation of the Bible into the Malto language. This demonstration of the validity of the Malto way of life together with the willingness to continue on despite severe setbacks convinced the Malto people of the sincerity of the missionaries. In previous history lesser at attempts had resulted in hostility with beatings of preachers and driving them out of the villages as their sincerity was questioned and their motivation distrusted.

Needs met by the Mission

Persistence of Malto Culture and Identity

The power and persistence of local cultural identity is often underestimated. In the case of the Malto and the Kukna this factor is seen to be of major importance. Despite all

their degradation these groups of people have clung to their sense of historic identity and refused to leave it. Only when the incoming change agents have been willing to identity with the culture, affirm and recognise it has any progress been made. In the case of both of these groups early attempts by the traditional missionary methods of Western mission—sending western paid evangelists and preachers to share a message but not to identity with the culture of the people - only resulted in hostility and rejection.

Not until these new FMPB workers came and practised an incarnational, albeit costly approach has any real progress been made. Only by this method have the people been opened up to receiving new and positive ideas. These groups of people want any new ideas to come through their understood traditional channels of language and culture before they will listen heed and act. This type of challenge is recognised by development practitioners. Dr Khan mentions that the workers employed in projects in Pakistan accepted the opportunity as employment, going to the village situations providing information but then returning to their more comfortable environments. This lack of integration with the people resulted in little result being obtained. Robinson (1998: 73) also notes that the success or failure of work depends on the ability of the workers to live in the local situation and share with the people.

The incarnational aspects of the work amongst the Kuknas in Gujarat is not as extreme or sensational at that of the Malto but the same principles have been at work where a maximum involvement and adaptation of the local culture has been made. These workers adopted cultural forms of music and dance, recognised local political leadership, governance and building styles. Responsibility has been devolved to local people as early as possible.

Recognition of Power Dynamics

Incarnation then was the first step. Once credibility was established the dynamics of what controlled the lives of the Malto and Kukna was revealed. As noted above these peoples can be described as animistic having beliefs in the power of spirits to control the environment. The beliefs also embraced ritualistic and shamanic methods to propitiate and control these forces. However, in recent history these means were not longer proving to be efficacious. Disease and disaster were overtaking the Malto and decimating their

peoples. The cost of providing the animal and other sacrifices required by the shaman became a burden great enough to threaten their livelihood. Chakkarant (1999), in another study done in Uttarkand in northern India examines the economic impact of these religious ceremonies.

The missionaries found limited response to their efforts until they began to develop what is termed power encounter. They began to pray for people who were sick witnessing significant healings, which were interpreted by the Malto as being demonstrations of the power of this Christian god as opposed to the power of the spirits that they understood controlled the situation. This was further reinforced by happenings of the type which can be described as miraculous in Christian thinking and seen as such by the Malto of crosses, a woman recovering from a death type situation and then giving instruction to the Malto to heed the message being given to them by the missionaries.

The other major power within these people has been addiction to alcohol and tobacco with resulting economic and social effects. Drinking to excess is institutionally reinforced by ritual dancing music and enjoyment. As long as a high proportion of the economic resources of the community was utilised into this kind of activity further progress is not possible. Mere prohibition is not an answer as drinking is often an escape mechanism from a situation of deculturization and demoralization. The first step, as noted above, was to gain the confidence of the people through incarnational approaches and then to introduce a new life-giving message, the Christian Gospel, which lifted these people from their domination to the spirit world around them. Now that they had a more positive world view the addiction questions can be dealt with. Alcohol is regarded as undesirable by Christians and may even be raised to the status of a sin. By such means excessive consumption is controlled enabling the resources to be channelled to more productive uses. This reality is a feature of successful development activity. In Maharastra Hazare brought about a transformation in his village of Relegan Sidhi. Drought and despair had brought about serious demoralization so that the people were relying on the production of illegal alcoholic drinks as a means of livelihood. But this occupation brought with it serious social side effects which prevented them from moving out of their poverty and despair. Hazare began, as the Christians did, with forms of uplift. He then laid down a list of the conditions required for improvement. This list included a

complete ban on alcohol. Only when these conditions were met did he see the needed improvement and uplift.

The ability to meet this dynamic cultural reality amongst the Malto and Kukna resulted in significant numbers of people becoming Christians. For the purpose of this study this then resulted in the people being open to receive further uplifting development ideas that brought social benefit to the Malto and Kukna peoples. First credibility was established at two levels; acceptance of their culture as valid; and the demonstration of the power of the newly found God among them. Then they were they willing and able to accept ideas beyond their own experience in the areas of education and health care. Such concepts were new and foreign to their former thinking.

Introduction of Basic Development Concepts

The approach of most development practitioners has been to bring new concepts of development to the people—concepts that have proved of value and worth in other situations. Often though these are met with limited acceptance. As noted above the FMPB proved that there were some preliminary necessary steps to be taken before new ideas could be introduced. These included acknowledging the validity of the culture; as well as finding an answer to the power dynamics within the culture.

The Aroles in Maharastra similarly found that until they met certain basic felt needs at the local level of the people they were unable to introduce effectively their proven development ideas.

Once this stage of establishing basic credibility was reached it was possible to go on further to introduce more conventional concepts of education, health care and then economic assistance. The Malto Christians have experienced radical change in their life-style bringing release from fear, addictions and costly cultural practices. Self-help projects assisted by Evangelical Fellowship of India Committee on Relief (EFICOR) have made it possible for the people to counteract their own poverty and to rid themselves of exploitation by moneylenders and other oppressors. "The message of equality and liberty in Christ came as a great impetus to the Maltos social transformation" (Muthusamy Raj 1997: 34). Their health status is being improved through health camps conducted by the Emmanuel Hospital Association in which basic health and hygiene are

taught (Muthusamy Raj 1997: 41) Despite opposition by vested interests, community development is underway, and the Maltos are no longer a population in decline.

From the work of the FMPB among the Malto people of North Bihar has arisen an entire new diocese of the Church in North India. A large section of Malto tribe have been baptized. As of 31 January 2002, the records show 43,048 Malto Christian believers formed into 520 congregations (Berlin 2002). In January 2000 the New Testament in the Malto language was dedicated, translated by FMPB missionaries and published by the Bible Society of India. Christianity has brought social transformation to a demoralized and disintegrating society. Previously illiterate, oppressed, exploited, and decimated by rampant disease, today the downward trend has ended. The Maltos are receiving rudimentary education, learning basic norms of health and hygiene, resulting in a new sense of human dignity. Today the Malto people find their self-identity in Christianity, the incarnational witness of the FMPB missionaries having performed a vital catalytic function. In both these cases the substantial proportions of the depressed community have become Christians. The initial change has been followed by significant social inputs into their people.

Conclusion

The results of the work of the FMPB amongst the Malto people shows that only through the altruistic drive that their commitment to Jesus Christ produced was it possible to engage in the identification demanded by these people in order to break down their inbred cultural prejudices as well as the power of their ancestral spirits.

Once this initial bridgehead was established it proved important to offer these people a holistic interpretation of the Christian gospel which sought first to recognize the validity of their own cultural heritage by adapting and adjusting Christian expressions in line with it, and then to engage in the social uplift these people need to meet the demands of the modern world.

Comprehensive Rural Health Project

The initial contact with the Aroles who head up the CRHP comes from the fact that my wife Mrs Janette Blair taught the now present Director of CRHP Dr. Shobha Arole

through her high school years. This important linkage facilitated the visit made in 2003 to Jamkhed in Maharastra where the project is located. Dr. Arole took us to the villages where we met up with the people impacted by these activities, were able to ask questions and interact with them. Also to meet with her father Dr. Raj Arole the founder along with his now deceased wife Dr. Mabel Arole. There is not much written material about the project but we did secure a copy of the book written by Drs. R. and M. Arole during a sabbatical year at Johns Hopkins University in the United States. This together with some smaller booklet material from the project provides the basic information data gathered.

Figure 9: Jamkhed in Maharastra

Contact was made in the Dehra Dun area with many who had attended the courses offered by the CRMP giving an evaluation of the worth and value of this training and its capacity to provide inspiration, direction and by contextualising at the local level a basis for operation. Other contacts have been made with people in World Vision, students from American Universities as well as the impact of these ideas and concepts in groups as diverse as the Aga Khan Foundation.

A nearby similar project in Maharastra, directed by Anna Hazare in a village Relegan Sidhi was visited through the good offices of Dr. Mistri, a Muslim lady lecturer in Pune. Here it was possible to observe similar ideas and principles of operation that

have brought about transformation in this situation that formerly was derelect and dominated by bootleg liquor.

An essential requirement for a successful project is dedicated personnel, as shown above in the case of the empowered Dalit communities of Tamil Nadu. Another critical need is for a viable development model. An excellent example of a successful developmental model has been the one established by Raj and Mabel Arole in the Comprehensive Rural Health Rehabilitation Project (CRHP) at Jamkhed in Maharastra. Details of this project are given below. Information on the project was gained from interviews and observations made when visiting Jamkhed in February 2000, together written resources from Dr. Arole's (1998) publication *Jamkhed.*

Background Information

CRHP is the product of initiative shown by two dedicated Christian doctors, Raj and Mabelle Arole, who met up at the Vellore Christian Medical College where they trained The area they chose to serve from 1970, is among the 250,000 people of the 175 villages surrounding Jhamkhed, Ahmednagar district, in the chronically drought prone areas of Maharastra state north of Pune beyond Mumbai. The special area of their interest are the poor, the marginalized and the neglected woman and children. In a typical Jamkhed area village of 200 households a couple of the householders were Brahmins, 50% to 60% belonged to the dominant caste group, 25% belonged to other castes including Muslims. 15% were Dalits. Members of the dominant caste were not necessarily wealthy. In a village a handful of families possess over 60% of the land. The others depend on these wealthy farmers for their livelihood

The initiative falls in the category of the concern of charismatic concerned middle class individuals who care for their own people and wish to see improvement in their lives. The progress and development of the project is not related to any doctrinaire approach but rather to a basic knowledge of health improvement gained at Johns Hopkins University in the United States, followed up by an experimental approach which responded to messages from working with the local people.

Background

Raj grew up in Rahuri, a small village 130 kilometers north of Jamkhed in Maharastra. His parents were schoolteachers in the local school. A flood in November 1946 devastated the village, bringing an aftermath of cholera with its heavy death toll on the poor in the village. This happening etched into Raj's mind an indelible impression. From this grew Raj's resolve to be a doctor to assist these people. He also observed the tragic inequality related to the status of women who worked and drudged all day. The men also worked but had more leisure but did not appreciate the unequal burden given to the women. The Arole family was active and generous in the local community and, from them, he inherited a love for the village and a desire to serve village people.

Mabelle was the daughter of a Christian theological college professor, himself from the Tamil Christian communities evangelized by the early Christian missionaries. Her parents imparted to her a strong motivation that caused her to dedicate her life to serve village people. Her father was the major influence in her life giving her a deep spiritual understanding of the teachings of Jesus Christ which led on to her dedication to the rural poor of India. The plight of women troubled her father. He had wanted to be a doctor and so furthered Mabelle's desire to follow in that path.

Their life story in the book *Jamkhed* does not make a strong case for their Christian origins but there is not doubt about that as they state themselves. They are in Jamkhed because of their Christian background and training. It is from these roots that their motivation and perseverance has come. Raj and Mabelle became students at Vellore Christian Medical College, located near to Chennai in South India, later doing postgraduate study at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. They both found that they had a mutual interest in reaching the people of village India. On the day of their wedding

they vowed together to devote their lives to the marginalized and disenfranchised people living in villages. For these two, who were brought up in the mainstream traditions of the Christian Church linked in with the American Methodist Church, there was no conflict or problem about expressing their Christian commitment in social action. The crisis that prompted their action was the plight of rural Indians that they had known since their childhood and seen their own parents taking active steps to alleviate. In doing this they join many other Indians: Ramabhi of the Mukti Mission in nearby Khedgoan, Mother Theresa in Calcutta and Swami Vivekananda to mention a few who gave their lives for the poorer Indians.

The pair impressed their supervisors at Johns Hopkins with their great personal conviction, dedication and overflowing enthusiasm. (R. Arole 1998: vi). They were going back to India to find an area where conditions were worse than anywhere else and simply serve. They did not want to do research they simply wanted to serve, they believed and demonstrated that the very poor had great capacity for change and can effectively take positions of leadership if given the chance and some support.

The Medical Vision

A mission hospital at Vadala, a day's ox cart journey from Ahmednagar in Maharastra State was the first opportunity for Raj and Mabelle Arole following graduation from the medical college at Vellore. Dr. Cook the officiating American medical doctor welcomed them and then gave them the keys saying that they were in charge of the hospital as he was going on to do preventative work in the villages. The work was fulfilling and challenging but making little impact on the total need for a surrounding population of 200,000. Following the lead of Dr. Cook they began visiting in villages. They found that the village people often preferred to go to untrained local medical practitioners rather than the qualified hospital doctors. By patient enquiry they found that the cures affected by these practitioners, were more or less identical with that of their professional training. The hospital was far away and could not make house calls when needed as these practitioners did. However, as they charged fees the very poor could not make use of them. Like Raj and Mabelle they only treated symptoms they did not get to the root causes of disease. These remained poverty, filth, lack of food and clean water, resulting

in the inevitable cycle of disease and death. Diseases being treated in curative ways were preventable with the right approach. Raj and Mabelle realized they needed different training to accomplish this new task.

Everyone helping with the intravenous fluids required could only meet an outbreak of cholera. All worked, trained and untrained, and the people were saved. By putting trust in people and giving them responsibility a life principle had been stumbled upon which was to be one of the corner stones of future work in Jamkhed

In 1966 they decided to leave Vadala going to Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore to complete a Masters in Public Health.

Four years were spent in the United States honing their understanding of rural medical work. Opportunities to share in and observe work in tuberculosis in Cleveland, at the Leprosy research centre in Carville, Louisiana, all came their way. They understood the high cost of modern curative medicine as well as the all-important improvements in public health matters such as sanitation, safe drinking water and health education. Time spent on a Navajo Indian reservation was closer to the conditions in India. Poverty, water shortage and poor sanitation contributed to health problems. Many children were sent to boarding schools where toilet facilities were much better. On their return these children pressured their parents into upgrading their homes. They also observed an integration of traditional medicine with modern medicine as traditional healers performed ceremonies to care for the sick in hospitals. Securing masters degrees in public health from Johns Hopkins University in 1969 concluded the time. In addition to formal learning they were able to learn much from students who came from a wide range of developing countries.

Community Diagnosis

Leaders in this field have been Dr. John Grant with his concepts of involving the community in decision making of the people linked in with their socio economic status. James Y. C. Yen in China in the 1920s initiated the Mass Education Movement in Ding Xian County an area of 400,000 people. The emphasis of Dr Yen was on education, livelihood, health and self-government. Dr. C. C. Chen joined James recruiting local people for a ten day course and equipping them with a small medical kit and encouraging

them to keep records of births and deaths. Others in this early movement were Dr. Andreja Stampar of Yugoslavia and Dr. Sydney Kark in South Africa.

Role of Auxiliaries

Educated people do not wish to stay on in the villages in many countries. Local less educated people can be trained to perform specific health tasks in nursing care, environmental health, pharmacy and laboratory work, and will remain in the village as their lack of education often prevents them from migrating to cities. Dr. Carl Taylor at Narangwal in Punjab, India demonstrated the value of training Auxiliary Nurse Midwives to work on health, nutrition and family planning.

Under Fives Clinics

The first five years of life are crucial to a child's survival. The Under Fives Clinics is a concept developed by Dr. David Morley at Ilesha in Nigeria. He gave to trained auxiliaries responsibility for simple things like weighing the child to detect danger signs of loss of weight. Chairman Mao in China drew heavily on these ideas to develop the 'Bare Foot doctor' concept. In contrast to these basis practical ideas most of the government leaders and professionals continued to invest heavily in systems that largely benefited the urban elites.

Health Care in India

Health care has been known about in India for centuries. Sanitation was part of the Indus valley civilization. Aryurveda, Unnani, and Siddha systems preceded the arrival with the British of Allopathic. Social systems in India confined these benefits to the urban elites leaving behind the vast majority where were left to their own traditions and beliefs and depended on local healers an herbalists to take care of health.

In 1947 the Bhore Committee headed by Sir Joseph Bhore produced a report which became the blue print for health planning after independence in 1947. By 1952 the country was divided into development blocks of 80,000 to 100,000 people, primary health care centres were established with a doctor a staff. Budget allocations were meager

most of the money going to pay staff. Other specific programs to target tuberculosis, smallpox, family planning and leprosy were introduced.

These plans and systems remained largely ineffectual due to allocating funds to large hospital in cities and expensive medical colleges serving only 20% of the population. In Maharsastra 80% of funds went to medical facilities in its four or five major centers. Rural health centers had very little money for medicine, equipment and facilities for patients.

Academic Research or Service

Advisors at Johns Hopkins University were strongly in favor of an institutionally based project to provide resources in finance and personnel. Not to mention personal matters such as career, children's education, peer recognition. The finding were that the rural areas remained needy, few doctors would go to them, and although research was interesting but not many wanted to actually live in rural areas. Finally the Aroles decided to return to rural India building on their contacts in the Jamkhed area. Mr Bansilaliji Kothari invited them back to Jamkhed as did the local MP Mr. Abasheb Nimbalkar. Trust takes time and persistence. The Aroles patiently and with great humility continued their quiet work in the villages for seventeen years.

The Arole's Health Care Vision for Village India

The goal was to provide care for the poorest of the poor not reached by the government system or private doctors in rural Maharastra. To do this they would select a specific area and concentrate there. Infant mortality was known to be 150 per 1000 births, which were over 80% preventable. High technology was not required but consistent proper pre and ante natal care.

The objectives were to be: Reducing infant mortality by 50%, reducing maternal death, reducing the birth rates by at least 10 points, controlling leprosy and tuberculosis, providing basic curative care.

In order to implement this an organizational pattern of a central 20 bed hospital for complicated medical problems would be established to deal with surgical

emergencies, provide simple care and be designed from bottom up rather than top down. Health teams would go to villages to establish Under Five Clinics. More radical for that day were concepts like Community participation, empowering of locals workers, integration of services and epidemiological surveys to seek to deal with roots causes of disease.

Leadership

The project represents the joint initiative of these two dedicated Christian doctors, Raj and Mabelle Arole. There is no doubt that without their leadership there would have been no project and no results. From them has come the example, the drive and the resources that brought success.

The first factors come under Vision as outlined above. A positive Christian upbringing gave to them the principles on which to build. These principles centered on what is termed in Christian thought—incarnational leadership resulting in their identifying fully with the people they sought to serve, patience in communication, listening carefully to the concerns and interests of the people in the village. Also practiced was discernment and wisdom in adjusting their ideology and outlook to meet new and previously unexpected demands. Major readjustments were made in their thinking about medical technology and the ability of village people, particularly illiterate women, to absorb and apply concepts and ideas. This then led on to their unwillingness to become employers. They were instead, determined to take the longer route of building empowerment and self-sufficiency into the people.

As with all organizations built on charismatic leadership the challenge comes in being able to transfer these qualities on to another generation of followers and leaders. In this area the Aroles have put their trust and confidence in the village people themselves to sustain and keep the vision going. Rather than building a structure and organization which provides leadership and supervision to ensure the continuity, they have sought to produce a dynamic which would allow the village people to continually re evaluate their situation and then devise means to meet it.

Further rather than building up a larger organization around them in the Jamkhed area their resources have gone into training others to follow in their basic concepts. If this

proves to be effective they will have transmitted their ideas and inspiration to a worldwide audience rather than a handful of villages in Maharastra State.

Organization

As outlined above under Leadership the Aroles have not sought to build a significant organization around them on conventional lines. Rather they have entrusted their ideas and concepts to the people themselves and then sent them back to their villages to apply these in the given situations. Constant contact and feedback leads on to evaluation at the local level and improvements that fit the local situation rather than overall patterns that everyone then seeks to follow.

In producing this process they have gone through periods of development. Initially they sought to be built up a small team much on the model of the twelve disciples of Jesus in the incarnational model chosen. Or in Indian terms that of the guru and the *chela*. By their own example they modeled what they sought to teach. Seeking to help this small group learn to react to situations and then make their own adjustments.

In this initial process they found that they had to produce another mind set as the existing one was very much along the lines of the rote learning model intrinsic to most Indian learning where the learners reproduced the patterns of their teachers. This model of introducing a dynamic, which allowed them to make decisions and then adjust to the new situation, took time to develop.

The model is also low on capital investment so that there are not large amounts of property, or institutions with large staffs to be maintained requiring overhead expenses and accountability of large sums of money. Units are small. The village health workers do their own work and meet needs at this level. They do not introduce subordinates and others who then have to be supervised and financed. There are few buildings that belong to the organization. Communal facilities already in existence are utilized for the purposes of holding meeting or taking actions.

When needed resources are sought from other organizations utilized then incorporated into the village situation rather than being maintained and continually

required on an on going basis. This further cuts the overhead costs of running the organization.

Growth

Social Realities

The work began in 1970 with the return of Drs. Raj and Mabelle Arole to India. Contact was sought with a suitable community who would participate in their plans. Actually gaining participation by the village people themselves proved to be a very elusive goal. The communities are stratified with levels of leadership. The systems are dominated by caste and feudal structures. Entrance to the community in areas around Osmanabad in Maharastra was sought through the co-operation of Mr. Gibbs, a sensitive and informed person, who was the Collector of Osmanabad District. A typical situation was where one of the leaders summoned the forty village heads to come to a meeting. Raj wished for dialogue with them but was told that they agreed to the leaders suggestions so there was no need for further discussion. The leader was in control; he wanted a hospital in the village but had no intention of consulting the poor or relinquishing his iron grip on them. For these types of reasons Osmanabad proved inhospitable to their ideas.

An invitation came from Mr. Bansilalji Kothari to begin work in Jamkhed. Mr. Kothari was a contact of earlier work in Varada years before. The interest of these people was in setting up a curative hospital in the town. They offered a disused Veterinary facility as a place to live and work. This was less than ideal but a start was made with a hospital since this was the major request of the people. Slow progress was made with the assistance and co-operation of the local MP, Shri Abasahed Nimbalkar. Leaders were suspicious of the motives and feared that the Aroles would turn their popularity into political power and so threaten the existing structures.

The feudal structure of power soon became clear. In a typical village of 200 households, a couple of households are Brahmins, 50-60 % belong to the dominant caste group, 25% belong to other castes including Muslims and the remaining 15% are dalits. Sub caste groups serve the dominant caste groups being dependent on them for their livelihood. Those who have money, land and numerical strength dominate. Beyond these people are the outcastes or untouchables who are the scavengers, doing work related to

the disposal of waste and dealing with dead animals. Dalits even have hierarchies amongst themselves. Their divisions erode their power. Dalits cannot themselves draw water but must request others to do this for them. Leaders made all the decisions. The elite earned this loyalty by acting as benefactors of the people in times of difficulty—by lending money in times of need, acting as agents for legal advice, and taking sick people to hospital. Years of subordination made the people dependent, fearful and wary of strangers. It was necessary to first win the support of leaders and through them reach the people below them. Bypassing this structure was detrimental to the program. Credibility had to be established through serving the poor. The whole process was slow but necessary.

The leaders were opposed to the Aroles talking with the poor and the village people. Instead the leaders would invite us them to come when the other people were out working during the day. Community participation was hindered by the lack of real community in the village. Lines drawn by caste, economics and the need for power keep community from forming.

Areas Identified

Health Care Not a Priority of the Poor

It came as a surprise to find that health care was not a priority of the really poor. These people were preoccupied with survival. Regular employment, food and water were their main concerns. Sore eyes, scabies, diarrhea were considered part of life. Most were not interested in health clinics. The Aroles soon realized that they had to become concerned about the serious needs of food and water. Rather than concentrating on health needs they would have to address the issue of overall development.

Community Participation

Community participation is not inherent it has to be developed. Unless the poor people were involved in planning and implementation those of the elite would overshadow their needs. The constraints of limited resources would make it mandatory for village people to take responsibility for their own health.

Much of the under nutrition amongst women and children is due to chronic starvation related to poverty and the low status of women. The solution is not a medical clinic but changed attitudes toward women, children and the poor. Better agriculture and proper distribution of food as well as access to safe drinking water for the whole community would control water borne infections.

Village leadership comes from members of the dominant castes who have ruled the villages for centuries. The village council members are all from the upper castes. Local panchyat members siphon off the fruit of development leaving most of the poor destitute. Oppression continued for centuries had left the poor, low caste groups diffident and fatalistic. They were apathetic and cynical about their own improvement as well as suspicious of outsiders.

In villages people are separated by caste; the dominant caste keep away from low caste groups. Attempts had to be made to get them together. Sports for young people were one opportunity. After the game they sat around to discuss their problems. Soon these informal groups became farmer's clubs. Other opportunities came through building a community hall for forming singing groups.

Seminars on agricultural matters were needed. Experts from the agricultural university were invited to talk to village people about dry land farming and seeds. Successful local farmers shared their knowledge. Social issues such as drunkenness, child marriage, dowry, wedding and funeral costs were also discussed. Co-operative activities began; hiring out farm implements, procuring seeds and fertilizer. Caste barriers gradually disappeared. Grain banks for the season July to September were developed. Food for Work helped remove indebtedness.

Health

Village people have more interest in the health of their animals than of their people. Women and children were expendable but animals were not as they had economic value. 30% of the children in the area were severely malnourished. Community kitchens were established to cook food for these children.

Farmer's clubs begin conducting health surveys in the village. The Jamkhed health team did not secure needed information on sensitive matters of family planning,

abortions or consulting local healers. Club members began to understand the link between environment, sanitation, water pollution, insects and disease. Soak pits to absorb wastewater were built in the three villages of Ghodegaon, Bavi, and Khandvi.

Empowerment

Traditionally the poor do not question the actions of landlords, as they become empowered they expect more. It was found that drunkenness was a problem in many villages. The farmer's clubs acted to remove illegal distilleries and provided work for the people. Alcoholics were fined when they made a public nuisance. People previously acting as thieves were deterred from practicing their trade by improving their incomes. Wedding and dowries are a great cause of debt and impoverishment. Club members sought to rise the marriage age to eighteen. Donations are collected to meet the needs of newly weds. Combined wedding and community cooking is encouraged.

It was not easy to organize these clubs. Each village is different. Factions and caste groups have to be brought together. The process is long, frustrating and takes a great time. Vested interests are always a threat and strong established leadership will oppose this development. Political involvement is discouraged both within and outside the club. By 1975 there were thirty farmer's clubs in Jamkhed block. Gradually the movement spread to 110 villages. People have been used to living in encapsulated groups, in master servant relationships, where rivalry is common.

Times of Crisis: Stepping Stones to Progress

The greatest factor in improving the conditions of the poor is the involvement of the people themselves. Opportunities come in times of crisis. A drought in the early 1970s led to vast improvements in the water supply, in child health and employment. In the dynamic meeting of interests change takes place.

In the second year that the Aroles were in Jamkhed the monsoon failed. There was no rain. Teaming with Agricultural Renewal in Maharastra, Oxfam and Christian Aid well drilling began. The choice of the location of the well was critical. If in a high caste area the dalits would be denied access. The desirable location was in the Dalit area. A geologist was found who co operated and forty wells were dug in dalit areas. Water was

the resource they were most grateful for beyond all health provisions. This provision of water laid the foundation for primary health care in the village.

The next greatest need was food. Community kitchens were organized with funds from Oxfam. This program broke down caste

Food for Work and Action for Food Production were invited to provide ideas for long term development. Techniques for conserving soil and water were taught. Wells for irrigation were dug, check dams built, land leveled, approach roads and soak pits. Experience gained also benefited wages and the principle of work paid by what was accomplished. EZE builds the Jamkhed hospital. Oxfam and CASA gave food aid. Setting aside their plans plan for an integrated preventative and curative service the Aroles first responded to this need expressed by the leaders.

Workers for the Village

First years' progress: farmer's clubs and weekly clinics were started in twenty five villages. Next, an Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) was to be assigned for every five thousand people living in villages. Each ANM was to run five clinics. Recruiting suitable women from the pool of existing ANMs proved difficult. Most of them were women from poor lower caste backgrounds; the training they had received was strongly curative in orientation and linked in with hospitals. They accepted the employment offered but were not really interested in going to villages and being involved in preventative health care. Further the society did not accept them, they found great difficulty in getting accommodation. Beyond this they were often regarded as women of easy virtue and so were in danger of being sexually assaulted. A year of experience showed that this system was idealistic but impractical in the end not being received by the villagers themselves. These women could be further trained and become part of the health team visiting the village clinics or at the hospital center but not as village workers.

Talk with village leaders came up with the idea of using existing women from the village despite their lack of education. The idea was to train them and send them back. Finally nine women were found. The first challenge was caste. Prejudice was overcome slowly as the training given was interesting and example was given which finally overcame the inbuilt prejudice. The second problem was the inbuilt inferiority of women.

Gradually their self-esteem and sense of worth was built up. The staff interacted with them, shared meals and respected their viewpoints. Understanding was gained about village health ideas and practices many of which were inimical to health and survival. Teaching in basic health care was given and they were sent back to practice this in their own villages. In time they learn to dispense simple medicines.

Financing these women:. They could be paid from the center but this would make them appear as hirelings in the village. They would also then find the Aroles their masters and they their servants. A dynamic would be lost. Similarly relating in this way to the panchyat would raise problems about funds and also make for a master servant relationship or further the old bondage of dependence. Rather they were encouraged to improve their own incomes by self-help methods. Bank credit was arranged for marketing vegetables, setting up stores, raising goats and chickens. Fees were asked for services such as deliveries and drugs. Village health workers became self-employed often taking their vegetables and other wares on their rounds. This self-reliance enhanced their status in the village. They were given strong backup from the health teams on regular visits from the center. In time these women became the interface between the health professionals and the community.

Village Health Worker Training

Women are the key decision makers on matters of family health and welfare in the village. They are also the preservers of culture. Their adherence to superstitions is a big obstacle to progress in health. Poverty is also a major cause of ill health and this can be concentrated amongst women and children. In traditional societies only women can talk about pregnancy, lactation, contraception. Older women with children are considered suitable. The health care person is the bridge between the professional and the village people. She must be a person of the village, a resident with real roots in the community. Often this means that woman is illiterate but this has not proved to be an obstacle. Selection took much consultation, time and care. There were many entrenched prejudices, attitudes toward women as well as the poor image the women had of themselves and their ability.

Training illiterate women needs new methods as much of it has to be oral and by example rather than formal book learning. The time honored Indian concept of the guru with her disciple was utilized. Methods of communication other than traditional textbooks for literates had to be found and used. These included folk tales, songs, drama dialogue, and discussion. Concentration had to built up over periods of time by breaking up the teaching sessions.

Value based training was included. Universal values of integrity, honesty, concern for others, forgiving evildoers, sensitivity to others, equality and justice were all modeled and instilled. These issues were openly discussed without preaching. The practicalities were soon evident from the results of working.

The need was to begin from where the women are and then building up their knowledge. Medicine and medical practice had to be demystified and brought down to simple understanding. Cultural adoptions to the realities of village life are needed. Simple things like spoons, measuring containers had to be devised from what was available rather than bringing in more expensive materials. Basic principles of cultural change were applied by examining existing practices seeking to retain what was good and then discouraging those that were of no value or harmful to medical well being. Inviting them to practice and then testing the result of their actions examined the teaching of shamans.

Problems and Challenges

Teaching was not easy. Often there was internal opposition within the team as those with existing knowledge did not always want to share it with others feeling this caused a loss in their prestige and opportunity. Although some did not want themselves to go and live in the village they resented others being given the knowledge that their felt was their preserve. Mistrust was also evident within the village itself. It took time and many experiences to convince local people of their worth and value. It took 6-8 months for the average village worker to establish her value and worth. Usually this came about by some outstanding cases where lives were saved. Opposition also came from the males, husbands, brothers who felt themselves threatened by these newly empowered women. Some of the health workers themselves abused their privileges selling medicines or taking food supplies of community kitchens. These people had to be counseled and some

dismissed. Some village health workers aspire to move up the ladder of social prestige and status and join with other health professionals in a union or other activity but this has to be resisted and offset by keeping them in contact with the support of the women's clubs that have been formed.

Forming of Women's Clubs

Health does not exist outside of the socio-cultural and economic factors of the society. Women face many inherent disadvantages. Often the birth of a girl is not welcomed. Girls are given in marriage so leave the immediate family. They also require dowries in order to get married all of which impose burdens on the family. This can result in the girl being poorly nourished only being able like the mother to eat food left after the males are fed; schooling is limited; early marriage and then subsequent child birth make up the pattern of their lives. Women are also subject to social exploitation being beaten by husbands, dowry problems arise, women do the work but men control the money, being required to go to work in sugar mills leaving the children to fed for themselves. In addition women are often trapped in their own fatalism and superstitions. They have the most to gain but ironically are often the most opposed to change. Much opposition comes from older women, often mothers in law, who want to keep control over younger women. Caste concepts and prejudices are also held strongly by women, which prevents interaction and learning.

Farmer's clubs were in operation but there were no corresponding women's groups. Slowly women's groups began to form. At first there was much fear of retaliation or opposition from others or family members. Income generation was an urgent priority as without some economic support and independence there was little they could really do. Health was of vital importance but it could not be furthered without an economic base. The principles of what has become known as micro lending were put into practice building from a local custom called 'bhishi' where money was pooled and then allocated. By 1978 thirty-one villages had Women's groups. Gradually they began to learn more then ask for seminars and other training sessions to gain information as the farmer's clubs had done.

Empowerment

Most women feared authority, government, police or other. They were encouraged to meet officials and by going in organized groups rather than as individuals they found they could overcome their fear and gain respect. They began to approach banks and other institutions that were meant to provide help. In time they became entrepreneurs using loans to enhance their income by buying and selling.

They then moved on to work on social issues that needed attention. Knowledge gave them power to overcome cheating in various forms. Schoolteachers were required to come and attend schools and other workers required to fulfill their duties.

Achievements

The Arole's methods can be classified as similar those developed by men like Chambers and Friedman or the Aga Khan foundation. These methods require: listening to the people, working with them in empowerment, developing self-sufficiency and sustainability. Yet, the fine-tuning the Aroles have been able to achieve has given to them national and international acclaim. The government of India has awarded to them one of its highest merit awards, and the Philippines has honored them with awards as well. WHO has singled them out as an important training institute. Harvard University has established a scholarship in rural health for their medical graduates. The World Economic Forum at Davros in Switzerland has chosen Dr. Shobha Arole as a delegate to represent the interests of rural health needs. Only one other NGO in India has been similarly recognized.

Concept of Development

The Aroles from their experience knew that literacy, though desirable, often resulted in the departure of many from the village to larger centers nearby then on to Mumbai offering them a life in slum conditions with many attendant social evils. They chose rather to seek to impart skills that kept people in the village environment. In this way they were more in tune with Dr. Ariyaratne of Sarvodaya in Sri Lanka[4] than with more western orientated thinkers like Sen[5] who advocate strong programs of literacy and

primary health care as the path out of the despair of the village situation. In order to reach this desirable goal they challenged and affected their own paths of development.

Modifications to Accepted Theories

The first modification was their option for participation in the life of the village rather than taking the path of a research institution recommended by their mentors at Johns Hopkins University. In this they were no doubt influenced by their Christian upbringing. The decision was made to depart from medical orthodoxy and impart to illiterate village woman the basis of preventative health care. In this they sought to demystify the complexities of medical information and bring it down to the level of understanding that these village woman could grasp then further to apply this knowledge into their own environment in a user friendly way. It is this decision that has been the key to their ability to deliver primary health care to the village situation. On the basis of this they have developed the present training methods and systems that have proved effective and attracted the attention of WHO and other health experts.

The concentration has been on keeping the local people in their own village rather than equipping them with skills that enable them either to move to better economic positions or to migrate further on into big cities. This is a departure from the established ideas of men like Sen who postulate the importance of literacy using as an example the East Asian model which has brought better standards to the so-called Tigers of Southeast Asia and rapid progress in China compared to India which has not made this effective.

Illiterate women have been trained without first going through the method of making them literate. Their skills are of great value in the village situation but are not transferable into government paid positions or other economic opportunities.

The have sought to encourage self-sufficiency rather than taking the easier route of handouts. The village health workers were not taken into salaried positions. Rather they were empowered by encouraging them to take small loans and develop entrepreneurial business interests relevant to their own skills. In time this improved their economic status, imbued them with dignity that led in time to a position of authority and service within their own village situation.

The need for structural change was evident both at the beginning when the stress of the original sponsors was on a Curative Medical Institution. Gradually they moved this from curative to preventative. But it took a long time much patience and perseverance. The feudal caste dominated situations within the village were not confronted head on; nor were the interests of the outcaste and dalit groups championed in an adversarial manner with the higher castes. Rather opportunities were sought to bring about change exploiting crisis opportunities such as the drought and subsequent famine situation to strategically place new wells, to promote community action through food kitchens and then work parties that concentrated on improvements within the village that paid off in later years when the monsoon was more effective.

Much time was taken with patient dialogue late night sessions and allowing all to participate until consensus was reached so that action could be taken within the village itself.

The worth of their efforts and endeavor is physically clear to anyone who approaches the area and sees the transformation from the dry areas surrounding it to places where water is flowing and green crops are flourishing. The comment of a local newspaper about a similar happening near Ralegan Sindhi is appropriate. Testimony of this enterprise's value and worth is given in the *Times of India* in Pune on 4 April 2001: "Popatrao Pawa the sarpanch of the chronically drought hit Hivare Bazar village have reproduced Hazare's feat of transformation. After decades of collective effort thatched huts are giving way to concrete houses, tractors, motorcycles, television sets all symbols of rural prosperity are now visible in Hivare Bazar." Identical results can be observed around Jamkhed in those villages that have followed the guidance of the Aroles. More precise statistical data confirms the facts of improvement in people's lives

Empowering the Marginalised and Poor

Questions asked from the local villagers in a visit 2001 brought answers similar to those offered to Susan Wadley (1994: 114) in Karimpur: "'What hopes do you have for your daughter?' 'The hope I have is that she will study as much as she can/ This way her life will be good/ If she goes to school she can get a good marriage/ She'll be happy and we shall be happy too.'"

A few specific examples testify to the worth of the concepts and principles put into action.

1. Lalanbai Kadam of Pimpalgaon a village of 250 households. Lalanbai Kadam was the child of dalit or outcaste parents who lived outside the village and eked out a living as farm laborers. Married at ten she gave birth to a son, then later remarried to an older man who died leaving her with a two year old daughter. She worked for the village landlord receiving only left over food for payment. One day she found herself selected by the village Headman to go to Jamkhed to learn about health care. At first she was very afraid having no self esteem or confidence but slowly under the guidance and care of the trainers she learnt she was was a human being with great potential. She learnt that she was made in the image of God, learnt to read and write and about health in her village.

At a time of crisis when there was no other help possible the wife of the Headman called her to help her daughter in child birth where she was able to assist and bring about a normal birth. The next crisis came when a village man died of a stroke. The villages blamed this on a curse that had come about because the caste people had allowed an outcaste into their homes and so brought pollution. Her life was under threat. She withdrew her services but soon the people found their health deteriorating. They asked her back and improvement continued.

In 1972-73 amongst the one thousand people of Pimpalgoan of 40 babies born eight died of diarrhea, fever and measles. Now immunization, sterilization and other improvements are accepted as they find that following simple preventative health care deaths can be avoided. Now children grow to health, go to school and even on to college.

Not only have medical skills developed, but Lalanbai is able to lease orchards and make money selling fruit. She has built a house and planted five hundred fruit trees around it. She has also been instrumental in enabling other village women to begin income-earning activities.

2. Parubai Chande is a shepherdess from Goyankarwada, a settlement of six hundred people 35 kilometers from Jamkhed. With her three children she farmed a two-acre plot of land and herded goats and sheep searching for elusive pasture. Needing medical

attention for an injured foot she visited a sub-center at Chincoli 5 kilometers from Goyankarwada. From this contact she became a health worker similar to Lalanbai

Her defining crisis came through the need for a village well. The nearest well was 3.5 kilometers down a steep hill. Approaches by the village to government officials for help proved fruitless. Instead under Parubai's direction and encouragement they joined together and dug a new well themselves. At 20 meters water was found. From this success they collected contributions built a pipeline and installed a diesel pump to bring water up the hill.

The women decided to request the District Collector Mr. Nanasahib Patel to come from Ahemednagar to inaugurate their drinking water program. The collector was first astonished to see these illiterate women in his office and then even more to so their village and find not only the project but also a clean village with smokeless stoves and thatched roofs as well as thousands of tree sapling planted on the hill sides. In turn he recognized the settlement as an independent village enabling them to secure grants. News moved up to the Rajiv Gandhi the PM of India who then invited Parubai to visit his office in Delhi.

3. Ghodegaon Village. Shahaji Patil, a local farmer, says that twenty years ago Ghodegan was a very poor village. Monsoon rain swept away the topsoil and eroded the land. With the support of CRHP caste challenges were overcome, the land was terraced and leveled, twenty three dams and forty irrigation wells were dug, and two hundred thousands trees were planted on hillsides. Land was distributed to all.

A dalit, Angradrao Gavhale is the headman of the village. Previously he could not go near the centre of the village or approach the temple. Now our boys and girls go to school. All castes now eat together.

Social change has come with prosperity. Previously poverty and frustration lead to gambling and drinking. There were twelve illegal breweries and drunken brawls would often break out. Children were emaciated with swollen limbs and potbellies. The poor depended on magicians for medical help. The village health worker, a dalit, is now able to serve the whole village. Over seventeen years she has delivered 550 babies without the loss of a mother. Of the 250 couples in the village 150 of them practice family planning.

Guinea worm infection left scars on ankles knees and backs. Previously sickness was attributed to the curse of a goddess requiring sacrifices of goats and chickens.

The "Down Side' of the Program

As noted above it is difficult to find severe critics of this highly successful program. The activities of the Aroles have received acclaim from governments and international institutions. Two possible shortcomings can be noted.

The first relates to the impact on the villages of the surrounding area. Not all villages participate. In contrast to governments schemes that divide the area into blocks and seek to cover every portion the Aroles have sought voluntary co-operation. Where this has been forth coming they have gone to great lengths in patient sacrificial service to bring about improvements. Despite their best efforts in some places there has been determined opposition from power structures. The original attempt to work in Orangabad district is an example. In other villages there has been infighting and factionalism making development of co-operative endeavor difficult or impossible.

The town of Jamkhed itself boasts of at least forty other medical practitioners who are well patronized by the village people around. Despite their best efforts and demonstrations many are unwilling to take the long and arduous route of cleaning up their villages and their lives. They prefer to remain with the existing curative measures which may alleviate but do not effectively cure their ills.

The second area relates to critics from within the Christian community. Effort to improve health and welfare are applauded but the all-important goal of Church planting and conversion has not been a feature of the Arole's work and ministry. Their conception of what it means to be a Christian or of the role of the individual Christian in expressing their faith is not shared by all Christians particularly those of what might be termed the more evangelical sections of the Church. To these critics the primary goal of reaching the 'lost for Christ' has not been achieved.

Summary

The Aroles have provided the basic prototype model of development for the Christian and many other NGOs in India. The basic theological outlook that the Aroles have come

from influences this model. The emphasis is on the empowerment of the individual and the community recognizing the worth and value of the individual as shown by utilizing the capacities of illiterate women to provide the most basic health care needs in the village.

The application of these principles has not been easy. It has required great perseverance drawing the altruistic foundation that Christian belief has given to the Aroles.

The evident worth and value of their contribution has been acknowledged formally with awards from the Indian government and overseas institutions. But the greatest tribute to the worth of their pioneering efforts has been in the acceptance then adoption of this model by many other groups and organizations. In common with the Arole principles of empowerment this has not been a slavish copycat application but rather a careful considered adaptation to local conditions of the principles of the methods used

The Emmanuel Hospital Association

The participation of my wife, Mrs. Janette Blair, in the 150th anniversary celebrations of her Woodstock School, Mussoorie in 2004 provided a logistics base from which to observe the work of Christian NGOs in the Dehra Dun district nearby. Contact with Mr. George Prakash of SHARE, Mrs. Madhu Singh of OPEN, Emmanuel Raj of the hostel project, Drs. Ashok and Thomas of EHA in Dehra Dun, the SNEHA project of Dr. Reeta Rao and her husband Mr. Hari Rao in Dehra Dun. The work amongst Tibetan refugees in the TULSA project linked with Mrs. Esther Chakrapani and her husband; the outreach from the Herbetpur Christian Hospital of Mr. Robert amongst the handicapped all reinforced and substantiated the importance of the original work and activity of those early missionaries to Tamil Nadu. Reports of activities although largely produced for accountability and fund raising purposes collaborated the evidence offered on the ground.

The Emmanuel Hospital Association (EHA) began in the late 1960s. It was formed by bringing 13 mission hospitals into one unit. It has now grown to 19 hospitals and 26-community health and development programs. The number of staff is 1,500 with

135 doctors, 500 nursing staff and 200 project staff members. Leadership was given to Mr. Lalchunglian, a Mizo Christian who had been a member of the Indian Administrative Service (IAS). The aims are to bring about transformation in communities by programs that invest in health and wellbeing. A major focus is the empowerment of women and the health and nurture of the under fives (EHA Annual Report 2003-2004 New Delhi EHA).

My research concentrated on work originally begun as Community Health Projects linked to two Christian hospitals at Landour and Herbetpur in the Dehra Dun district. The information has been taken from reports submitted through the years 1998-2004 prepared by the staff of the organizations together with an evaluation and assessment conducted by the Emanuel Hospital Association.

Christian Development Activity in Tehri Garhwal North India

Background to People of Tehri Garhwal

Tehri Garhwal is situated in the foothills of the Himalayas about 120 miles north of the capital New Delhi. In earlier times these outer hills were separated from the fertile plains by a band of swamp known as the Terai. This was a highly malarial region that formed an effective barrier to invaders from the plain. (Guha 1989: 10) Beyond these hills are the snowy peaks of the Himalaya. The area now forms part of the state of Uttaranchal whose capital is Dehra Dun. The state consists of two former districts, Kumaon and Garhwal.

Figure 10: Dehra Dun district

Dehra Dun

Gharwal was subjugated by Ajaypal from Gujarat in the 13th century. The unification of Nepal by the Gurkha leader, Amar Thapar Singh, in 1768 was followed by the invasion of Kumaon in 1798 and Gharwal in 1804. By 1815 the Gurkhas were pushed back into Nepal by the British. Then followed what has been termed by many critical Indians as a century of exploitation by the British (Saith 1993: 14). From 1815 to 1949 the present Indian state of Uttaranchal was divided into two kingdoms, Tehri Garhwal state and the colonial territory of Kumaon. King Sudarshan Shah established his capital at Tehri town and afterwards his successors Pratap Shah, Kirti Shah and Narendra Shah established their capital at Pratap Nagar, Kirti Nagar and Narendra Nagar respectively. Their dynasty ruled over this region from 1815 to 1949. During the Quit India Movement people of this region actively participated for the independence of the country. Ultimately when the country was declared independent in 1947, the inhabitants of Tehri *riyasat* (native state) started their movement for getting them freed from the clutches of the Maharaja. Due to the movement the situation became out of his control and was difficult for him to rule over the region. Consequently the 60th king of Pawar, Vansh Manvendra Shah accepted the sovereignty of the Indian Government. Thus in 1949 Tehri *riyasat* was merged into the province of Uttar Pradesh and was given the status of a new district. Being a scattered region it posed numerous problems for expediting development. Recently on 24 February 1960 the Uttar Pradesh Government separated its one *tehsil* that was given status of a separate district named Uttarkashi.

The political structure of hill society in those two kingdoms was distinct from the rest of India in that along with the presence of communal tradition, there was an absence of sharp class division. The land was understood to belong to the community rather as a whole even though there was a caste system in place. The natural environment for the hill people consisted of a system of tillage and methods of crop rotation. The production was directed towards subsistence in which the surplus was exported to Tibet and southwards to the plains. In fact, the communities living in the hills usually had a six months stock in grain with a supplement of fish, fruit, vegetables, and animal meat (Guha 1989: 14). The hill district was made up of over 60% owner-cultivators and 80% of the total population farmed with the help of family labor. By the turn of the century, nine-tenths of the hill men cultivated with full-ownership rights. The absence of sharp inequalities in land

ownership within the body of cultivating proprietors—who formed the bulk of the population—was the basis for a sense of solidarity in the village community. This was because those who owned the land worked in community together to sustain their existence. Women not only maintained the household economy by collecting fodder fuel and food for the family they worked equally with their husbands in the fields as well as rearing cattle.

Caste restrictions have been singularly lax compared to the Plains of India. Two ancestral stocks makeup the population. The dominant caste is the Khasa who is said to have come from Central Asia between 1500–1000 BC (Berreman 1963: 17). These invaders then subjugated the existing indigenous population, known as Doms. This group forms the untouchables or Dalits who do the menial and degrading work for the Khasa people.

The religious life of these peoples follow the Hindu pantheon but it is the folk religion associated with ancestor spirits, gods and demons that are the dominant features of their lives. The need to control the supernatural is widely recognized with rituals and ceremonies. Shamans are active in seeking out influences that have produced these undesirable results.

The lives of this stable society was disrupted by the arrival of the British with their commercial interests. The expansion and development of the Indian railways in the 1850-1860s saw a huge demand for railway sleepers which could provided from the stands of *sal,* teak, and *deodar* in these hills (Guha 1989: 37). The stable ecological system that preserved the forests was interrupted. Previously the forest provided a means of livelihood and grazing for cattle. This was now lost or brought into competition with commercial interests, which sought to manage the forests for exploitation. A whole way of life was destroyed. In more recent history this situation has given rise to what has been called the Chipko or tree huggers agitation where women hugged the trees preventing commercial interests from cutting them down (Guha 1989: 159).

The Challenges for People of the Tehri Gharwal

Although caste differences are present with the Khasa as the upper caste group and the Doms as the subjugated lower class people this is not the major problem facing these

people. The situation in Tehri Gharwal illustrates very strongly the predicament mentioned earlier regarding the effects of modern development on peoples who have previously enjoyed traditional rights of access to forests and other areas from which they drew their subsistence living. Under pressure from these forces they are being forced to adjust their traditional ways of living to another invading modern world. The result has been to force the males to seek work in other places (Guha 1989: 146) leaving the women behind to undertake responsibility for tilling feeds and raising the family.

Reference will be made later to the impact of the Jamkhed project on the work in this area. Jamkhed is a drought prone area where very survival was the original issue leading to the Aroles finding that the people initially were not concerned primarily with their health but rather with physical survival. In contrast the Tehri Gharwal is a more favorably endowed area with adequate rainfall.

Areas of Activity

The projects investigated cover the inner hill areas of Dehra Dun district, *viz.* the Jaunpur block of Tehri Garhwal consisting of small-scattered hill villages situated at 6,500 feet above sea level. The project is now reaching out to 83 villages with a population of 21,000. The average village size is 252 members. The main occupation is farming and tending cattle; crops of rice are grown on the valley floor that can often be washed away in monsoon floods. Terraced cultivation is practiced on the hillsides to grow corn, pulses, millet, wheat and potatoes. The languages spoken are Jaunpuri and Gharwali. The younger generation speaks Hindi through the influence of schools. The population is made up of Brahmin, Rajput, Takurs and scheduled castes. Census figures show the population to be mostly Hindu, with small groups of Muslims, Christians and others. Due to the paucity of economically useful resources there is a steady migration of males to work in the army and mainland towns such as Delhi and Lucknow. More than 50% of the households have 3 or more children. 49.7 % females are married before the age of 18. The literacy rate among women has risen from 27% in 1998 to 40% today.

Vision for the Ministry

Doctors from the Landour Community Hospital began the project. A ministry started in 1931 and then further developed when a building was erected in 1938. Hospital staff saw

many patients from the surrounding areas with complaints that could be prevented by the application of elementary community health concepts. Clinics were held in a village called Bhawan in 1986 by Drs. Olsen and Ted Lankester to bring preventative health care to these needy areas. The original initiative has now given rise to a series of projects in the area. Under the auspices of the Emmanuel Hospital Association (EHA) two projects in the Landour area were established, Bhawan Community Health Project (CHP) began in 1986, the Share CHP began in 1992. A similar project is working out from Herbetpur Christian Hospital in the Chakrata district (a work begun by a Dr. Geoffrey Lehman and his wife Monica in 1936). There is also another project originally in a Tibetan village, Thusar, in Manduwala near Dehra Dun. Three other projects under individual auspices have also taken root based on the inspiration given by the two Landour doctors. OPEN begun in 1986, by Ms. Phillip Singh, following the death of her husband, who had worked with Dr. Lankester in the CPH. This project continues similar CHP work in the district of Uttarkashi one of the remoter inner towns of the Tehri Garhwal. Then a project SNEHA in a slum area of Dehra Dun bringing health care and education to a community of 10,000 rag pickers of that city. Dr. Rita Rao and her husband Hari were active in Landour Hospital until they moved down to Dehra Dun in response to the greater need there. In Herbetpur, Mr. Robert has responded to the handicap his son has suffered by beginning Anugraha (in Hindi " Grace") as an outreach to similar people with handicaps in that area.

In the early days much help and inspiration was taken from the Jamkhed project in Maharastra. Dr. Raj Arole the leader of the Jamkhed project was for a period the chairman of EHA. Shoba, the daughter of the Aroles was a student in Woodstock School in Mussoorie making her parents' frequent visitors. Many of the people now leading the present projects have been to the training courses in Jamkhed and gained much inspiration from them. Mrs. Phillip Singh, Dr. Rita Rao, Dr. Jameela record their appreciation of the training of the CHVs. Mr. S P Samuel of the Sharp Memorial Blind School was impressed with the empowerment of these village women who had transcended caste even though they may not be so accepted in the village itself.

Most of the comments pertinent to the Jamkhed project would be duplicated in the Tehri Garwhal area and encountered by those who worked there.

Provision of the Needed Personnel

The early inspiration received from overseas missionaries has now been continued under the Emmanuel Hospital Association. Key personnel in these projects have come from a number of sources. The empowered Dalit Christians from various parts of India and the tribal groups of northeastern India. An example can be seen from an examination of the doctors present in the EHA system. The column marked others includes Christian doctors from the other parts of India all basically from Dalit related communities in northern India (14), some of these are of South Indian origin but now living in North India; Andhra and Maharastra (11) and Orissa (11).

Figure 11: Origin of EHA Doctors
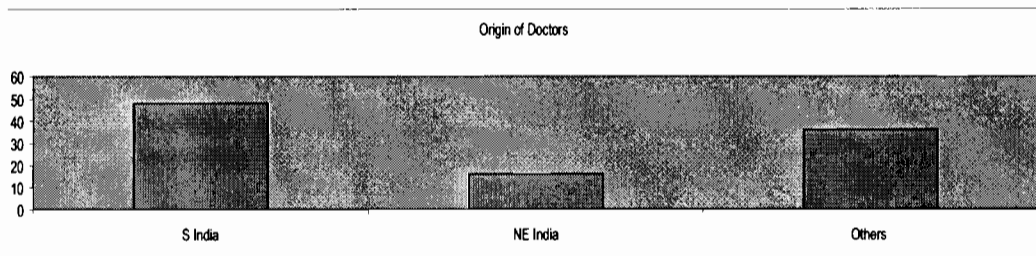
Examples of these types of people are afforded by Dr. Raju Abraham, a Malayalee from the St Thomas church in Kerala who migrated to the United Kingdom where he became a respected neurologist but has now returned to serve in the Kachhwa Hospital in a rural area outside Varanasi.

Dr. Jameela George comes from the Tamil community in South India. Her husband George Prakash is also from the same community people in Bangalore. After a period of service with the Indian Evangelical Mission they became convinced that their ministry laid not so much in the Church-planting stream but in a more holistic approach fostered by the EHA. A similar person is found in Mr. Emmanual Raj who has founded an orphanage style ministry in Dehra Dun that serves large numbers in a hostel ministry giving them education and training to begin a better life.

Mr. Johns K Johns another person of Malayalee origin serves in training programs with EHA in Dehra Dun. Having begun his ministry in Robertsganj in northern Uttar Pradesh he then came to Tushar in the Dehra Dun district.

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The Call of God

Christian biographies are replete with accounts of people who received convictions that God had called them into ministry and service. This is a foundation from which many of them went on to heroic endeavors. The earlier accounts have mentioned men like William Carey in Bengal and the early workers in Tamil Nadu followed by many others.

The personnel associated with projects today exhibit the same characteristics.

Mrs. Esther Chakrapani tells of being a successful teacher in her home area of Maharastra. Yet she had this nagging sense that God had his hand upon her and wanted her in another location. She had background and training in Social Service so eventually offered her services to EHA beginning in Raxaul in Northern Bihar. Her sense of calling had with it a vision of a place of green valleys and hills. This she has realized in the Tushar project near Dehra Dun.

Mrs. Phillip Singh, a Christian from the Dehra Dun district who married a man of Tibetan background, gives a remarkable testimony. Following the traumatic death of her husband from malaria in 1986 she reacted by withdrawing and spending time in meditation and prayer seeking to resolve a growing sense that God had set her apart for a ministry to the under privileged in her area. A teacher by profession, she had been working with Dr. Ted Lankester in his Rural Health work. Now she made the decision to continue and expand the work her husband had begun in local villages and slums. OPEN was developed and has grown into a comprehensive rural health development project.

The history of Dr. Rao is in a similar vein. Coming from a Bengali background she experienced the same calling to begin working in the Raxaul Hospital linked to EHA. There she married Hari Rao. In response to growing pressures to educate their children they in time took over the Landour Community Hospital of EHA. The largely curative ministry of this hospital did not satisfy their sense of calling so finding great need in Dehra Dun they stepped out and launched the SNEHA project undergoing considerable privation and challenge in its initial phases.

The Christian Institutional Network

The examples given by the early Christian missionary pioneers have been shown to inspire many to come from South India and serve similar underprivileged communities in

northern India. Mentors like Raj and Mabel Arole have also been noted. The inspiration given by these 'hero figures' the ethos under which they have served and operated has penetrated deep into the psyche of many of their beneficiaries.

Examples of this type of inspiration come from workers who have been brought up in institutions established to assist and educate the children of leprosy patients. One such institution is the Bogpur Home in the Dehra Dun area. In this category come Anthony and Madhu Joseph who serve in an outlying village of Tehri Gahrwal living amongst the people there. And Mr. Bright Luke and his wife Pushpa Luke all of whom have been brought up in the Bogpur Home and are now willing and able to serve in remote locations amongst the people. A third person is Mr. Robert Kumar linked to the Herbetpur Christian Hospital. Following the birth of a handicapped boy he has launched an initiative Anugraha (Grace) that reaches out to similar families giving them support and help.

Growth

The original initiatives of the EHA in 1986 have been followed up and developed as follows:

1. The establishment of a traditional curative institution in rented premises was begun in 1931 to be followed by a building for a hospital in 1938 at Landour Cantonment in Mussoorie. This curative institution continues its ministry until the present day.

2. In 1986 it was realized that there could be a substantial improvement in the welfare of the people if basic community health practices were followed. This led to a team going out on a regular basis into the community with weekly clinics to promote female and child welfare.

3. The establishment of Committees in the villages made up of local people who would then appoint volunteer community health workers (CHW) who would supervise and engage in more consistent medical support, encouraging good practices and sending the more serious cases for further medical attention.

4. The 1986 CHP project has now been widened further into the area of development seeking to treat the causes of most of these ailments through encouraging more

comprehensive community health projects tackling poor hygiene and lack of clean water in many villages.

5. Once basic health and hygiene were at least made aware of, the realization has come that development is needed and possible in order to improve the lot of the villager. Initially heavy inputs were made from the projects in the form of paying workers and providing capital grants. This however did not lead to real in depth improvement as the initiative was coming from the outside and so stopped when these inputs ceased. Attempts are now being made to encourage the villagers to either elect or appoint their own representatives who in turn will work with the village councils to assess what the village needs then find out what resources are within the village and what resources can be obtained from outside in order to bring about village improvement.

6. Economic uplift is now aimed for with self-help groups collecting money and resources within the village then beginning to gain credibility with government, banks and lending institutions to make investment and begin some form of simple businesses utilizing the resources from within the village both in material and people inputs.

7. The shift is being made from controlling the people from above with prescribed activities decided by the project to encourage local decision-making and responsibility empowering the villager to plan and then execute his own programs. Resources now are not so much money and paid personnel rather it is education and understanding of how the economic social and political system can be utilized to further benefit the people.

Details of One Program

The different programs carried out in number of projects follow similar lines. An example is given from the two projects in Mussoorie. Similar details can be gleaned from projects TUSHAR, began in 1986 as an outreach from Landour Community Hospital, covering 37 villages with a population of 20,000 people. The project is at Manduwala, a Tibetan settlement in the Dehra Dun Valley. Most are subsistence farmers of Hindu and Muslim backgrounds who are faced with the challenges of oppression, ignorance and poverty.

OPEN Organization for Prosperity, Education and Nurture is the headed by Mrs. Phillip Singh who began her ministry sharing in EHA projects in Landour. Following the death of her husband in 1985 she began OPEN on her own initiative. The institution works in the Raipur Block of Dehra Dun district a hill area with many slum areas populated by migrants seeking work in Dehra Dun. Another area is the more inaccessible Jaunpur and Narendra Nagar districts.

SNEHA is a project begun by a Dr. Rao and her husband Hari among 10,000 slum dwellers, who survive by rag picking and garbage sorting, living on the banks of a river in Dehra Dun. An effective health clinic has been established then a school for children. One of the interesting observations made in this project is that although the slum dwellers are poor giving things to them free only debases the value of the service. The perception of these very hard working and marginal people is that free means of no value. By charging 50% of the cost of the medicines given acceptance was gained. Similarly free schooling meant poor attendance and low numbers. Charging reasonable fees resulted in consistent attendance and increase in numbers. It is important to understand the culture of the people rather than follow your own ideology.

Herbetpur Community Health and Development program is very similar to Share in its outworking having the same origins and inspirations. A new initiative has been taken by going to nearby Saharanpur on the plains and beginning a TB outreach amongst the mostly Muslim communities located there. The reason for this development being the high number of TB patients coming to the Herbetpur hospital from this area who were initially treated but have given up on the medicines and so become resistant.

Basic Approach and Procedure

The present projects all take their inspiration and direction from the Jamkhed model based on empowering local people. The development workers meet with village people and form committees from amongst them. Now that more responsible and active *panchyats* (local village level elected government bodies) are coming into being direct co-operation is sought with these community institutions. These committees then carry out a survey of the village determining the number of people and the skills available within the village. Decisions are then made on what are the development priorities of the

village as seen by the people themselves. A beginning is made with encouraging the committee to carry out simple improvement tasks like cleaning up the village to improve hygiene. This builds confidence as well as encourages co-operation and working together.

Community Health Volunteers (CHVs) are selected and trained then set about the basic responsibilities common to health programs: immunization, and care of pregnant mothers. The villagers are encouraged to take responsibility for hygiene as a basic health need. Secure and protected water supplies are also developed

In future more attention will be paid to working through the official government networks like the panchyat, encouraging them to take responsibility for the welfare of the village. Further educating panchyat members in their opportunities and responsibilities. In the past many panchyat leaders have taken advantage of the funds and facilities offered either to benefit themselves or in the worst instances even appropriated the funds for themselves. Increasing literacy and education is improving the understanding as well as the empowerment of members to insist on the fulfillment of the programs offered by the government and aid agencies. Initiatives are being taken with education aimed at the needs of youth in the areas of self-awareness, life goal setting, vocation, family, marriage, sex education and HIV/Aids. This program is a series of 13 lessons entitled *Barthe Kadam* (Growing and Developing). The two projects Bhawan and Share serve different villages in the area in essentially the same manner.

Bhawan and Share Projects

Abli Village: This project was begun in 1992 with 7 villages and 10 Community Health Volunteers (CHV). In 2004, 16 Community Health Volunteers served 20 villages. Luke and Lilly Bright appointed by Bhawan to take the overall responsibility.

Bheem Village area: This project is covering 22 villages with 20 CHVs. The project is under the overall charge of Anthony and Madhu Joseph. The area has proved to be responsive. The unresponsive villages are put down to their low literacy rates.

Gaid: This is a backward area, so much so that in some villages the men conduct deliveries by pressing on abdomen of pregnant women.

Sirwar: This village suffered a flood 1998, a common challenge in this area, now the area is slowly rehabilitating.

Share Projects

Kandikhai: Kandikhai consists of 8 villages with 1,400 people. Eye clinics have been held, 2 goats given, 140 kg of potato seeds and 20 kg of pea seeds distributed, a water storage tank built in Bhatoli village and a crèche started in Sainji village.

Parogi: Parogi is a successful, well-established, older center. Many distant villages have had their children immunized; health teaching has been undertaken in primary schools.

Jakhdhar: 16 villages are covered by this project, reaching 3,486 people. Health workers are based in Surech and Nirmala Kumar. Weekly patient clinics are held with support from Landour Community Hospital. Eye camps have been held; health teaching begun in primary schools; midday meals are being provided for school children; a reading room provided, typing and knitting classes held.

Srikot: This is an area of 16 villages serving a population of 2,386. The area is backward and distant. The village head or *pradhan* is now interested in more work being done.

Achievements

Health Care

Considerable progress has been made from the original clinics started in 1986, which took curative, and some preventative support to the village. Over a period of time locally trained CHVs were installed in many villages who gave basic health care and organized the villagers so that the arrival of teams from the base hospital made the clinics much more effective.

Through the 10-20 years of consistent effort confidence has been built up in the worth and value of the guidance being given. This has enabled educational programs to be developed which have drawn attention to the basic causes of much of the health problems which are linked to poor hygiene, lack of adequate waste disposal and unsafe and polluted drinking water supplies.

Selecting 50 peer monitors, who were given training over a 3-month period, has provided education. Dramas are used to teach about scabies and diarrhea. In all 3036 students have been reached and intra school quiz programs utilized to increase interest and participation. Peer monitors institute checks on a weekly basis in such elementary areas as nails, hair, footwear and teeth awarding marks and stars for performance measurement.

Steps have been taken to encourage the village people through education and provision of some limited resources to built toilets for sewage disposal, a program that has gained much acceptance with the limited provision of toilet seats and some cement the remainder being provided by the villagers themselves. Improved water supplies have also been developed in Khaskoti, Basangaon, Katur, Gharada, Dhuink, and Andi villages during 2003; a number of villages with sealed tanks, taps, and separate troughs for watering animals. In other villages there have been cleanup programs that have improved local hygiene through better garbage disposal.

Education

One successful program mentioned above *Bharte Kadam* (progressive steps). In this program local young people are trained as peer animators over a 3-day period using the *Bharte Kadam* material. This focuses on HIV/Aids awareness and family values to prepare youth to face future challenges. In the year 2004, 23 groups have been formed covering 338 members. A goal of having 40% of those registered reach 60% achievement was met by 158 learners succeeded to this level out of the 259 total. These programs have opportunity to go into schools and educate teenage youth into their potential and prospects for the future. Literacy programs using local village volunteers have assisted married women to become functionally literate with the improvement this brings to their self-esteem as well as opening them up to wider possibilities. Out of the above training 8 literacy groups were established.

An example of results from the program comes from Laxmipur where 16 girls were in the program. Their former practice at the time of menstruation was to use old cotton from used mattresses or ashes as pad. They learnt about the potential for infection from such practices and now are convinced that they should invest some of their hard

earned money from working in the fields to purchase low cost hygienic pads for this purpose.

Her sister prevented Saajiya from attending the classes in law who wished her to work in the house. The project members sought her out and persuaded her to allow Saajiya to go. On hearing of what she had learnt the sister in law gave her support saying she wished that in her time she had been able to learn such useful things.

Ignorance and superstition are wide spread. Murshida, a Muslim girl, of Jeevangarh was forbidden by her father to share in the literacy program as he said it was of the devil. He threatened to break her legs if she persisted. But with perseverance he has finally been won over.

Younger and more educated members are being elected to panchyats in the village. Programs are being developed to inform these panchyat members about their responsibilities, the working of the panchyat and what can be accomplished through this body. These programs are developed with support from EHA and the Health and Populations Foundation of India. The Tushar project reports the development of an information seminar covering the areas of Village Management Committee, structure, membership, qualifications, rules and regulations, roles and responsibilities and plan of action. Panchyats in 20 villages have participated; members are encouraged to attend and develop their capacity and ability to serve the people better.

Yusuf Ali, a Muslim panchyat head in a Hindu village, wanted to know what kind of payoff he and other leaders would get from Tushar. However after it was explained that the program was one of training in leadership and empowerment he agreed to come and since then has been a responsible advocate for village improvement.

Empowerment

The need to move from providing resources to empowering the local people is now recognized as the first priority. An example is the Tushar project where earlier 70% of the inputs came from the project and only 30% from the local people. The objective is to move toward 10% from the project and 90% from the local population. The report of 2004 is stating that a level of 50% participation has been reached.

Women have been a special concern in the projects. Self help groups have been formed, chiefly amongst women, encouraging them to begin savings even with small amounts of money. In the Tushar project there are presently (2004) 678 women organized into 43 self-help groups. For the year the total savings was Rs. 395,000. 60% of the groups are acting independently and with limited supervision, an increase of 11% over the previous year. 6 self-help groups have closed. A few of these groups have been linked up with the National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development (NABARD). Loan recovery is high and the advantages of co-operation together are being developed. Some groups have developed special funds to donate to others in special need.

An example is the case of Sheetal, an orphan girl living with grandparents. On her marriage the local SHG provided Rs. 600 to purchase a tin trunk in which her wedding presents could be stored.

In a village Ramsawala a number of women have purchased utensils, musical instruments and carpets that are rented out for wedding parties.

The Bhawan and Share projects have met with some success but report that the self support emphasis has been eroded by well meaning NGOs and government organizations which have sought to encourage the savings habit by offering bonus and matching amounts. What began as a self-help program has been to some extent commercialized. This has defeated the original purpose of using this means of saving money as an empowerment process. Local empowerment could lead to better decision-making and utilization of resources from within the village.

Efforts are now being made to develop programs for Micro Enterprises and small business management. An experiment was conducted in the area of mushroom cultivation. Other areas suggested are floriculture, bee keeping and composting. The mushroom growing experiment required an investment of Rs. 8,000 to produce 117 kg of mushrooms.

A woman Rajeshwari of village Khadar who began provides an example of empowerment 14 years ago as a CHV bringing herself up to become the best CHV in 2001. In 1998 she worked to develop a SHP in her village. In time the members began a dairy, and practiced composting in the villages around. The projects have been so

successful that many teams have come to visit her village to learn from her experience and gain with her training.

Roopa Devi now a SHG leader in her village Dhakrani began life with the unfortunate handicap of having been raped, then married off to a bigamist who disowned her. Finally she joined the SHG took a small loan, began a shop and so paid off her loan being able to support her parents and small daughter. Her ambition is to educate the daughter and see her train as a nurse.

The resistance encountered in Jagdhar and Srikot villages can assess the achievements of the programs. A decision has been made to withdraw the project and move on to needier areas. The response from one *pradhan* or leader has been "We will see to it that you cannot simply go off." The desire to have the village take responsibility for its own welfare combined with pressure from funding agencies to train and then move on has brought about this situation. The proposal is meeting with strong resistance from the leadership and people of the villages concerned. They have become accustomed to the weekly clinics and the other benefits in education as well as limited capital inputs. While the project people have assessed that there is trained leadership able to continue development in the village the villagers are less willing to take responsibility and lose the support and sponsorship that has been offered to them.   HVs have been paid only 80-100 Rs. a month, a sum the village should be able to meet and pay for their services. Many of them seeing the value of what has been offered are willing to continue even without financial remuneration. The project is planning to withdraw as their initial targets of from 70% to 80% immunization has been achieved, leadership has been developed, there are more needy areas.

Failures

The leadership is very much aware that they have not reached all their ideals. In reality they are seeking to change the worldview of these people from one that they have embraced for centuries to a more progressive model based on the Christian value systems from which the project leadership have come. A value system based on the concepts detailed under of the Reformation noted earlier. The ideal situation from a Christian viewpoint is to begin with a willingness to make a decisive change such as conversion to

the Christian faith. A radical change like this opens people up to the potential of greater change and acceptance of a new worldview.

However, even though not ideal from a Christian view point it has been possible to make real progress by role modeling the Christian world view and encouraging people to follow these principles short of full acceptance of the total message.

In the Bhawan and Share projects the most notable failure has been the inability to develop the self-help groups to the point where they moved beyond the concept of gaining capital for consumption or investment to a working together in planning and investment for greater and wider welfare than immediate gain for oneself. In part this is due to the individualistic nature of the present worldview and the effect of caste that segments society into small groupings intent on furthering their own interests. To go beyond this point to community action requires a major threat such as the degradation of the environment brought about by deforestation that led to the Chipko movement that has been described earlier.

Dependency

The age-old patronage system, which has served these people for centuries keeping them at a subsistence level, is difficult to break. When you have little stepping out is a risk-taking venture, better and easier to stay with the old. Once confidence in the Development workers is established it is possible to make inputs. This is the first step forward.. For the people to move on to taking responsibility for their own health care and development is a work still in progress. As was found at ACTS in Bangalore the best method may well be the long term one of working with the children and bringing education to them in the expectancy that they will see things differently and become aware of the advantages of co operation rather than individualism.

Lessons Learnt

The success of these projects can be attributed to three major areas: personnel, organization, and resource mobilization.

Personnel

The recruitment of the right kind of person is crucial to the success of any project. For projects of the kind described in Tehri Garhwal more than training is required. The situation and conditions demand an element of altruistic dimension.

The leadership in the EHA projects is coming from the empowered Dalit and Tribal communities. These are those who have not merely 'made a decision for Christ', but followed up with discipline and hard work transforming their lives and developing a new worldview based on Christian principles. A lead given by Bishop Azariah whose vision extended to reaching out beyond the physical confines of the community in Tamil Nadu to other parts of India and even beyond the shores of India itself (Manickam 2003: 40).

Christian institutions have provided the needed motivated people, where people have been mentored and inspired. Such an institution within the Dehra Dun area is the Bhojpur Orphanage, which has taken in the children of leprosy patients and nurtured them. Amongst the present personnel are four people who have this background. It is true that there may well be an incentive in finding employment as noted by Fisher (1998: 7).

The experience of many of these evangelistically orientated workers from South India is that there is no real interest in a message that has heavenly value but no real earthly ministry. Men like Emmanuel Raj of Rajpur found that only when he began a ministry amongst children did he gain credibility and acceptance. The result is the Bal Vikas Kendra, a residential ministry to children giving education and training to enable them to make a start in life. Although to date the Share project has shown no demonstrable Christian conversions it has gained much credibility amongst the people by dedicated service. The Gnanakan brothers in Bangalore similarly have found that there was little interest in the villages around Bangalore in their Gospel message. The response was that we have greater needs in education, medical care and concern. Until these are met we have no interest in your other Gospels.

Organization

Care has been taken to follow sound organizational principles as detailed below.

Plan of Operation

As noted above the basic community health understanding was drawn from the role model established by the Aroles in Jamkhed. Encouraging community co-operation has proved to be a challenging often uphill task given the caste orientation of the past that has encouraged individual action and advantage or at the most the advantage of one community over others. Some encouraging results have been obtained which are incentives to continue along with careful evaluation at each step.

The role of women in development process has been recognized. The Self Help projects are centered on women. Women by these means have been set free from the ills of illiteracy, male domination and exploitation. Medical support in pre natal, antenatal and delivery of children by the provision of clinics has been implemented.

Cultural customs need challenging in certain areas. The demands of religious professionals led to the original major change in participation in 1500 BC when the rapaciousness of the religious establishment brought about the revolt expressed in Buddhism and other reform movements of that time. The training schemes for young people are indirectly helping to erode the effects of some of the economically and socially debilitating traditions of the culture. But even more to awaken the youth to the challenges of the new dynamics of modern culture emerging in the areas of sex, substance abuse and AIDS.

Data Collection, Goal Setting, Accountability, and Evaluation

The keeping of careful statistics follows up the basic community health model so that 'audits' are made and accountability measured. The data given above has been taken from annual reports and evaluations made in the project and by EHA at regular intervals. Inputs of this kind have come through the professionalism afforded from the doctors of the Emmanuel Health Association. On the basis of these reports further decisions are made and plans and goals set for the period ahead. Donor groups have continued their support based on the reports of progress received.

Personnel and Staffing Policies

EHA has developed policies for the basics of salary, holidays, provident fund and training. Grace Academy in Dehra Dun and Woodstock School in Landour have assisted with scholarships for the education of children. Regular devotions are held in each project. Local people are encouraged to participate and ask for prayer when in need

Training

Workers are regularly sent out to training programs. These have come through the EFICOR organization in development activities and through EHA in areas of medicine. These training sessions are held in other locations so take the form of R and R (rest and relaxation) giving needed breaks from routine.

Resource Mobilization

A third important factor in achieving success is the ability to mobilize resources to give support to the program.

Christian Institutional Networks

The Christian medical colleges at Vellore and Ludhiana along with their supporting agencies have supplied many doctors and para-medical workers into the system. A major source of dedicated support personnel has been the orphanage home for the children of leprosy patients at Bhogpur.

Government of India Opportunities

Programs from Government of India sources are being utilised. Contact being made with the Himalayan Institute Hospital Trust, Population Foundation of India, and the Uttaranchal Hospital Association. Self-help projects are linked to government funding as well as Banks and other institutions.

Funding

An example is the funding situation of Bhawan and Share. As the graph clearly shows it is the external funding from EHA and Tear fund that sustain this project. The other sources are incidental.

Figure 12: Bhawan Finances
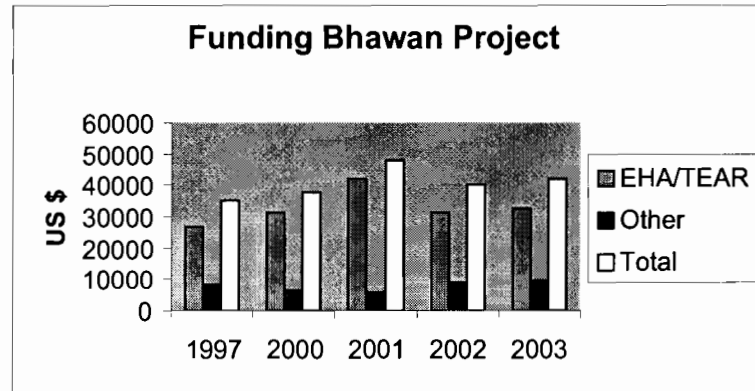
Summary

The situation among the Dalits in Tamil Nadu and the tribal Malto and Kukna peoples differ from this Dehra Dun example in one major important area from the point of view of Christian response. In the two former areas of Tamil Nadu and the tribals there was a mass movement of these underprivileged people with the adoption of the Christian faith. This was a change dynamic, which opened up their lives to breaking from old traditional ways to accept new thought patterns. People who face uncertainty and poverty populate the Gharwal areas of Dehra Dun but none are as desperate as the other situations. Caste is also not as dominant a factor in these hill areas.

The good results shown to the development programs of EHA in these areas demonstrate that even when not accompanied by conversion the basic dynamics of the program operate. Encouraging people to realize their own self worth, recognizing that they have been endowed with skills and abilities; giving training and developing investment rather than consumption habits all have worth and merit. Rebuilding relationships of trust and mutual support improve community relations and economic wellbeing. The worth of the Jamkhed model has been demonstrated equally in Christian and non-Christian settings.

The challenges appear more when the EHA practitioners want to move on and ask these people to support their own programs. The old cultural habits of dependency and patronage then exert themselves. There is less willingness to change and adopt new life patterns. These dynamics have been facilitated in the other areas where by becoming

Christians the people have entered into a change pattern whose effects carry over into other areas of their lives.

CHAPTER 5
EXAMPLES OF
SUCCESSFUL MISSIONS IN INDIA

Summary of Findings
and Some Preliminary Conclusions

The introduction shows that Christian missions operated in India for a long period without much significant result particularly amongst the desirable higher caste groups. When results came they were largely confined to the less privileged social groups within the society. What began in the early 20th century has increased significantly in post Independence India through the efforts and instrumentality of Indian indigenous outreach Churches and mission groups.

These responsive groups are the dalit peoples who have been marginalized within Indian society for centuries. As noted early the marginalization may have begun from the time of the Aryan invasions when the Mohenjadaro peoples were pushed south leading to the displacement of existing peoples to the less productive areas of the country. Many of these conquered peoples were also relegated to lower status and required to do the less desirable chores of the society. In time due to the development of the caste system these peoples found themselves locked into immobility and degradation. The imposition on these peoples of becoming outside of the caste structure effectively prevented any real social change or mobility.

The difference in producing results has come by moving from a narrowly evangelistic mandate, which stressed conversion and the planting of Churches to a more holistic emphasis, which took into account the human needs within the groups contacted. These needs were related to human wellbeing, education, medical challenges and economic and social development. The missions came bringing with them a Reformation ideology whilst theological in content nevertheless produced a significant social element. The result of these activities has been empowerment in the social sphere.

The original mission in Tamil Nadu brought about an empowerment amongst the under privileged people of Tamil Nadu. Today, these groups are moving on and out into other areas of India with a similar empowerment strategy. This activity is producing social transformation and progress. The present day mission is not only following the original ideological concepts but has further added into the mix sound organizational policies which enable the groups to recruit, motivate and retain people of the present generation.

In what ways do these missions differ from those preceding them, and do the successful missions share their common features? The answers to these questions should provide insights that identify the factors making for success or failure of the mission.

In reviewing the common features of effective Christian missions it is important to note that order of discussion does not imply that one feature is more significant than another. We are dealing with situations in which many factors interact.

The most striking features shared by all the examples studied include the following:

Effective Leadership

The Christian model based on the hero figure of Jesus Christ has provided strong motivation and inspiration for a series of charismatic leaders. The Indian Evangelical Mission and Friends Mission Prayer Band are of this character.

Leadership usually of a charismatic kind has been able to inspire the needed altruistic impulse within the mission but of itself has not proved to be sufficient to sustain the mission and ensure its continuity and success.

The altruistic desire to improve living conditions for people requires a definite ideological approach. The relevant ideological content, exemplified in the research, by the work and activity of the Aroles in Jamkhed is found to be not just a proven theory but to have a theological basis-giving rise to this ideology. The Reformation theology stressed the intrinsic value of each individual (he or she is made in the image of God); that each person has been equipped by God with gifts and abilities to produce results (the Calvinistic election or calling concept); that hard work and thrift are both qualities

blessed by God. This in turn led to diligence and hard work important factors in progress. Further, benevolence as seen in the nature and character of God brought some restraint on indulgence and luxury leading to investment for further productivity rather than the consumption expenditure characteristic of the past. These types of principles are also evident in the micro lending strategies developed by Muhmud Yunis and the Grameen Bank that have been widely adopted to benefit by all development agencies.

Similar observations made by Max Weber were published in his work '*The Protestant Work Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism.* "The new religious experiences created a powerful motivation that affected every detail of life, changing habits of work, social relationships and even sexual behavior. In this way, the public and private aspects of life were affected by this religious conception. (Weber 1958: 183)." In this important work he determined that the success of the capitalism as manifested by certain Protestant sects in the 1800s was due to underlying conceptions, which came out of their theological upbringing. Among these was the concept of *Calling*. The Industrialists and Owners of the enterprises saw calling to mean that they had a right to acquire wealth as something given by God interpreted this idea. For the worker it meant that he or she was required to give their very best work because this was something God had called them to. In turn these concepts were seen to be the outworking in the commercial sphere of concepts relating to election as outlined by Calvin. "A specifically bourgeois vocational ethic has grown up. With consciousness of standing in the fullness of God's grace, (he, the employer) could follow his pecuniary interests and feel that he was fulfilling a duty in doing so. In addition the power of religious asceticism placed at his disposal sober conscientious and unusually industrious workmen who clung to their work as a life purpose willed by God. It gave the comforting assurance that the unequal distribution of wealth was a special dispensation of Divine providence" (Whimster 2004: 30).

In time these early ideological underpinnings were developed into secularized concepts because the results of their application had significant economic benefits and advantages. What began as a sense of doing God's will merged into the general cultural setting to produce desirable tangible benefits for the total society.

Charisma launches projects, but only sustained by sound organizational management can sustain them. Max Weber understood this principle. Weber's ideas on

Charisma are also mirrored in the research for this thesis. Weber defines charisma as "resting on devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him." This is the type of leadership often displayed in the early beginnings of NGOs. It is also noted that charismatic authority because it lacks an institutional foundation can be unstable and volatile. In the circumstnaces of the NGOs researched in this thesis the importance of building on this initial altruistic type leadership has been emphasized. Without taking care to build organization and structure with the NGO the original vision can founder as well as its direction be lost.

Effective Organization

Neither inspirational nor rational management can be effective if they are not operating fin the context of an organizational structure that makes the desired events happen. Beginning from this ideological foundation, it has been important for these altruistically motivated Christian groups to go on and develop and embrace sound organizational methods which have brought stability and continuity in their staffing policies and practices.

Demonstration Effects

We have noted that the application of these Reformation based principles has proved to be effective in reaching out to these marginalized Dalit peoples. The question can be asked if there is an application beyond this to a more general sphere of development groups that have no Christian theological/ideological roots.

An answer to this question can be found by quoting Weber. Weber noted that the original Reformation principles when applied in the society began to produce desirable results. When it was found that these ideas worked – prosperity and gain followed them they began to be widely adopted. From this has arisen the argument of utility. Utility says that such principles are adopted not because of any basic theological background but because they actually work producing desirable results. From a Christian point of view Psalms substantiates this: "Whatsoever he doeth shall prosper" (NIV 1977: Psalms 1:6).

Living in the way God made you and acting according to his design and principles will bring prosperity.

A similar result has followed the teachings of the Aroles who have seen students sent to them by World Bank, the Indian government and many NGO organizations. Success has followed the application of these teachings even when no acknowledgment is given to their theological foundations. The Christian is grateful to see that ideas originating within a Christian theological context have gained acceptance as the principles on which to bring about positive action.

Comparison with Programs Undertaken by Other Faiths

Christian organizations have found the greatest motivation comes from dedicated individuals who retain a very strong religious evangelistic motivation as their source of inspiration, perseverance and steadfastness. Such persons have a strong commitment to the great commission given by Jesus (NIV 1977: Matthew 28:19), which encourages his followers to go into the entire world and preach the good news of the gospel. The primary thrust of these organizations is Church-planting beginning with conversion to the Christian faith. Opponents of such conversion strategies regard them as reprehensible. The more idealistic opponents wanted people to be motivated by pure altruism unalloyed with this religious desire and fervor. Research indicates that such people who are willing to undergo the privations and hardships involved in effective development work are found in these kinds of organizations that lend a spiritual component. This factor is not confined to Christian groups alone. The Ramakhrishan Mission, a Hindu organization in India, and the Sarvodya Shamardhana Mission, a Buddhist organization in Sri Lanka, follow similar altruistic principles in order to sustain the vitality of their members. Examples from the latter two groups are given below.

Ramakrishna Mission (RKM)

The RKM is an Indian Hindu organization doing substantial social work. The source of this strength lies in the cadres of dedicated personnel who devote themselves to this activity. Research into the RKM shows that its founder Vivekanda began with the desire to spread the truth of Vedanta to the Indian masses. The Swami began to travel and was shocked by the condition of ordinary Indians. In contrast to the plight of the poor, he saw the indulgence of the rich. "In some other parts of India he came in contact with extreme social oppression. He found poverty, squalor, loss of mental vigor and hope for the future. In short he found the glorious India of yore fallen and prostrate" (Gambhirananada 1983: 55). Reaching Cape Comorin at the southernmost tip of India, in 1894, he struggled with this challenge of how the spirituality of the East could be wedded to the organizational ability of the West in order to raise the masses. Guru Devi said: "An empty stomach is no good for religion. Go from village to village disseminating education and seeking to better the condition of all—can't that bring faith and good in time? We have to give back to the nation and raise the masses. The force to raise them must come from inside from Orthodox Hindu thought" (Gambhirananada 1983: 58). The desire of Swami Vivekananda was for the middle classes and the rich to help the poor, but few took any notice. He saw the need for educating the masses as a means of uplifting them. An ardent nationalist, he wanted the Indian to stay Indian, but embrace the best that the West had to offer. He wanted the technology of the West, while retaining the spirit and qualities of India.

He went to the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago, in 1893. His visit and acceptance, on this world stage, lifted up the level of appreciation for Indian thought among the Indians in India. Swami Ji's emphasis was on the neglect of the masses, women and against-caste bondage. Gradually, it dawned on Vivekananda that he could get the help he needed by appealing to the West and adopting their organizational abilities. He envisaged a process of give and take, through which India would disseminate spirituality and get, in exchange, Western financial help, mental vigor, materialistic science and the power of organization. "The first thing we need is men, then we need funds" (Gambhirananada 1983: 58). On his return in 1897, he landed at Colombo and began talking about the reconstruction of national life through education on

a religious basis. He exhorted one and all to learn from the West how to order the material side of the nation. In India he preached that the first work to be done was that the wonderful truths confined in the Upanishads, Puranas and scriptures must be brought out and broadcast all over the land. Although the poor are illiterate, they are not uneducated—much wisdom and experience lies within them. He argued that there was a need to incorporate this wisdom into society and utilize it for the betterment of all.

In 1898, the Calcutta based group shifted across the Ganga River to Belur, where they built a temple and headquarters. The plot was secured for 39,000 rupees, with a donation from a group of American devotees. In 1909, the RKM was registered as a *Math* (temple) foundation, receiving subscriptions and donations from friends and devotees, sales of publications and donations from the general public.

Development of the Ramakrishna Mission

As mentioned above, the Swami realized that the success of the West was linked to its ability to organize successful institutions that enshrined ideals and principles and put these into practice. He already had before him a monastic concept. The *sangha* was a form established long ago by the Buddha. A more recent model emerged from the Christian Jesuit Belgian Fathers, who had established themselves at Jopa near Calcutta. Many of the practices followed by the RKM have strong similarities with the Jesuits, such as fasting and periods of silence, a dedicated celibate monastic order and a rigorous selection process followed by disciplined training. Building on this foundation, he developed the RKM with a cadre of dedicated followers. The future of the work is ensured through maintaining a high standard of recruitment to attract only quality persons

Sarvodaya Sharmadhana Mission

The Sarvodya group begun by Dr. Ariaratane in Sri Lanka produces dedicated cadres of workers who go to the villages of Sri Lanka and become involved in significant social activity. Their origins lie in similar religious motivations. So much so that at a crucial period in their history foreign funding agencies declined their support because of the perceived religious overtones in their activities.

The Sarvodaya Sharmadhana Movement (SSM) emerged from a series of political and religious developments. In one sense, it was part of the reactionary response of the Sinhala Buddhist sector of Sri Lankan society to the system left over by the British. "That Sarvodaya is rooted in the Protestant Buddhism of Dharmpala is recognized by its founder who dedicated a pamphlet written in 1963 to Dharmpala" (Gombrich 1988: 243). SSM has cultural and religious influences within it, which draw upon the Buddhist background of the nation, as well as a nationalistic factor in response to the passing of the British and the colonialist era.

Another important set of ideas, which influenced the Sarvodaya movement and its charismatic founder, Dr. Ariyaratane, are those developed by Gandhi in India. Gandhi was able to tap into latent concepts within the Indian psyche. The themes he emphasized, *ahmisa* (non-violence) and *swadeshi* (locally produced products), resonated with the Indian in a way that other things did not (Gangrade 1992: 11). As they relate to the village situation, these ideological concepts are more important than the political ideas of Gandhi, for Dr. Ariyaratne. Gandhi's idea of a self-sufficient village economy, radiating out in circles toward others of similar conviction, remains an abiding force within the Sarvodaya movement to this day.

Figure 13: Formation of the SSM
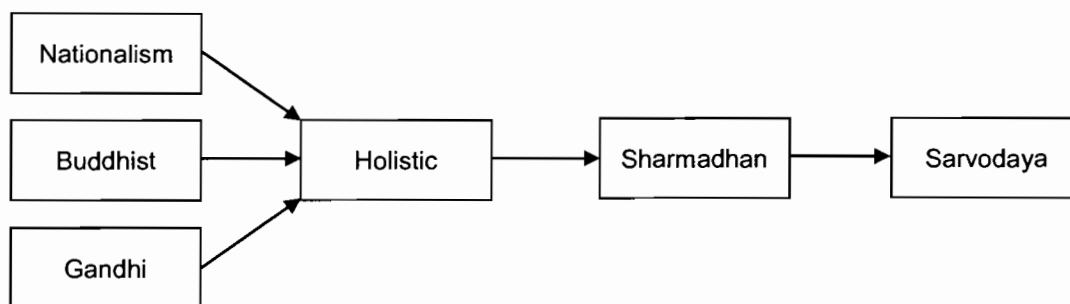
The movement has gone through three major stages. In the first stage (1978-1986), there was strong emphasis on voluntarism. Groups of students and others were motivated to go out to the village, perform *sharmdhana* and, by their example, to further stimulate and motivate the people of the village to do great things for themselves. Emphasis was also

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placed on finding people in the village, which would devote themselves to the cause of self-improvement and uplift.

International development agencies arrived, in the period 1987-1995. They recognized the good things that Sarvodaya was doing, and offered funding to expand the operation into more villages. A crisis arose when the donor groups became critical of the ideological emphasis of the movement. Alongside this, there was opposition within Sri Lanka from prominent political figures, who were distrustful of the influence that Sarvodaya had in many village situations. They responded with forms of harassment, such as government inquiries into the use of foreign funds (Perera 1992: 15).

The 1995-1998 program sets-out new ideals, and a vision is put forth:

That is the creation of a no poverty no affluence society based on the Gandhian values of truth, non-violence, and self-sacrifice rooted in indigenous cultural and religious traditions and governed by the ideals of participatory democracy. The decentralization of power and resources, upholding of human rights, satisfaction of basic human needs, the protection and nurturance of a healthy environment, and tolerance of cultural, religious and linguistic differences. (Lanka Jatika Sarvodya 1997: 1)

Sarvodaya sees as its mission, the personal social awakening of all, beginning with individual work at the community level. The mission is achieved through the sharing of labor and other voluntarily gifted resources in order to achieve the total fulfillment of the individual, family, community and national and global societies. Total fulfillment has six major dimensions: spiritual, moral, cultural, social, economic and political; there should be balanced progress in all these simultaneously (Lanka Jatika Sarvodya 1997).

Sarvodaya philosophy has been that development is essentially an educational process. What is most important is to bring about a change in people, their beliefs and attitudes. A change in value system and greater competence and initiative leads to improvements in the people's lives (Lanka Jatika Sarvodya 1997: 11).

In methodology, Sarvodaya now follows a normal pattern of working with people at the local level, which is basically an empowerment model. Discussion with SSM members, in March 2001, revealed the stages of action. They begin with holding a Shramadhana camp, during which leaders are identified in the village; and then they are

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trained and developed into a youth and peace brigade. Along with the village people, local needs and requirements are discussed and their local resources identified. Suitable programs may be the building of a road, the planting of trees, the construction of a dam or well. Action is taken to organize within the village women, youth and elders. Following periods of training and activity, the objective is to register these groups with the government as recognized independent non-profit organizations. Support and help is given to learn how to save money in their own bank, then to begin normal economic activity with loans from banks and government institutions. Sarvodya has its own micro-banking system under SEEDs, with a repayment ratio of 99%.

The objective is to meet the basic need of empowerment in all its aspects, economic, social, cultural, spiritual and political. In the words of Gombrich, *Gramodaya* or village awakening goes through several identifiable stages: psychological, social infrastructure, physical infrastructure and technological (Gombrich 1988: 247). The psychological stage is an awakening to opportunity. This may take the form of leading by example, going to the village or location with a Sharmardhana-style operation, where a group of people come in to do something worthwhile that has been agreed upon with local people. These groups often include foreign volunteers, from countries like Japan and the United States. Groups as large as 400 to 500 people take part. Instruction is given regarding the strengths found amongst the local people. People are encouraged to realize that they share much as humans, and have dignity and value. While these good qualities in people are reinforced, it is also recognized that there are also bad qualities that have to be suppressed or overcome. Following a pattern endorsed by Confucius in China and along the Ghandian pattern or ideal, the self-empowerment of the individual is followed-up by the empowerment of the family, then the village and, finally, as the movement spreads out in concentric circles, the whole nation. As the local people begin to realize they can do things themselves, they are encouraged to get together and form a local committee. In the Sarvodaya version, each major grouping in the location (for example, women, young people, adults) are encouraged to select representatives and take charge of their part of the program. Another all-embracing group, the overall Council, is formed with representatives from these different emphasis groups. Ideally, the group produced continually comes forward with ideas and moves on to implementation in a non-stop

process, rather than as a special event. To encourage self-sufficiency, these groups are assisted with government registration as independent units. Institutionalism is encouraged with a president and official membership. This grouping concept draws on strong Buddhist traditions. Piboolsravut (1999: 42), drawing on Thai Buddhism, states: "In Buddhism individuals as members of the society, have duties and responsibilities to fulfill, depending on their positions. Associations amongst people are divided into six groups: parents and children, teachers and students, wife and husband, friends and companions, workers and employers, ascetics or monks and lay people."

In the SSM model, each day begins with a period of meditation at 5:30 am, when the group sits together and spends some time in religious thought, then discuss and share together what they will do. Alongside the local organization at the village level, Sarvodaya has developed its own support institutions that can provide backup for these local enterprises. The organization has a very extensive program covering most of the major areas undertaken by development groups. There is considerable sophistication within its operations with training given at different levels to insure effective implementation. Equipment and facilities are provided to assist in passing-on knowledge.

Motivation to participate in the programs was described in more utilitarian rather than altruistic terms. Potential leaders are often found amongst youth. These young people see participation as an opportunity to learn employment skills, to gain access to resources (such as financial loans) as well as the possibility of foreign training and travel. A program coordinator, Lalith Jayrathana, was originally motivated by the inspiration received by meeting with Dr. Ariyaratane. The Buddhist faith puts great emphasis on the value of good deeds, under the influence of *mitta* or love for people. Religious influence is very important as an ideological starter but he sees that, although this was a starter, it is not enough to sustain interest over the long-term. Along with Joe Fernandez of Bangalore, he sees the need for further training and constant updating. When asked about the viability and sustainability of the program, the fact that 300 villages have moved to self-sufficiency was cited, stating that the leadership in these villages would keep the program going, even if the founder and his inspiration were no longer present.

Conclusion

As mentioned earlier these two groups the RKM and SSM exhibit the same basic characteristics and dynamics as many Christian NGO groups. First there has been an ideological review and adjustment that has enabled the groups to encompass within their faith background a new more holistic approach to their activities. The altruistic impulse has then been nurtured by various forms of spiritual exercises which allow them to bring an emphasis on this world to what had previously been a transcendental approach. Once this ideal situation has been reached they have then adopted the basic developmental approach which emphasizes the worth of the individual and then goes on to encourage him or her to use their abilities to improve their situation. Accepting a utilitarian approach they will then encourage other proven strategies such as micro lending.

Leadership and Organization in Effective Missions

The review to date has shown the origin of Christian mission in India and the ideology that drove this endeavor. There is also a practical dimension of how this ideology is implemented on the ground. Successful projects in the world of today are seen to have a number of aspects including the provision of Personnel, Organization and Mobilizing Resources.

Personnel

Reading literature about projects can be a sobering activity. "The cost of the sumptuary habits of the Third World bourgeois - the great ruling clans as well as their conjoiners is immense. It can be measured, in part, in terms of capital flight, the removal of capital from one country to a safe haven and luxury bolthole in Florida, Switzerland, Southern France. At one point in the 1980s, for instance Latin American and Caribbean citizens owned assets in the United States estimated at $200 billion - only slightly less than the $208 billion in loans that US banks had made to Latin American nations. The IMF reported that Africa lost about $30 billion to capital flight between 1974 and 1985. In another estimate, the figure for the years 1972-1982 alone was well over $100 billion. As Volkar Kohler, a former West German secretary for development, once confessed "We have to work with elites who have no interest in seeing the poorer classes in their

societies advance" (quoted in Lairson and Skidmore 1993). Khan's comment after his survey of projects in Pakistan is another reminder of the importance of finding the right people. Khan points out that the training given to many Pakistani field officers is inadequate. Many of them accepted their openings as there was no alternative desired employment available. The combination of low motivation along with inadequate training has prevented many projects from making any impact. The success of the Aga Khan projects has been seen through the careful training that was given to the field officers.

Finding personnel with this altruistic vision is the first challenge. The recruitment of the right kind of person is crucial to the success of any project. The importance of having highly committed leadership with altruistic potential is further highlighted by Joe Alyosius of MYRADA who states that unless a group has 20% of its top leadership with this type of commitment it will not succeed. Just as important is the nurture of the altruistic dynamic that encourages and preserves the original desire. The Christian understands his altruistic desire to be related to creation where God made man in his own image (Gen 1:26). The concept of image can be understood as linked to the attributes of God—the capacity of love and concern as revealed in the Bible.

Altruistic capacity is nurtured by developing a system of continually reading the Bible and spending time in prayer, meditation and other devotional activities. This is practiced on an individual daily basis often termed the 'quiet time' as well as in community with others of like mind on a regular basis such as the weekly Church service or home bible study group. 'Empathy and sympathy as human qualities are not ubiquitously stressed outside of the great religious traditions. In these great traditions, teachers and thinkers preach the functionality of altruism. They see it as a necessary part of the good life or as a requisite for salvation' (Cohen, in Wispe 1978: 95). Before the individual the exemplary hero figure Jesus Christ is continually presented (NIV 1977: Hebrews 12:2) as well as other Biblical examples. Historical figures like Francis of Assissi and in the modern era Mother Theresa and other are upheld as paragons to be emulated.

In the past these institutions were Western missions. Indian missions have now replaced these. In 1997 the Indian Missions Association had one hundred affiliates

(Rajendran 1997: 55). These agencies recruit, train and encourage their workers. Beyond the immediate peer group in the mission is a further supportive group who are encouraged to pray for spiritual resource as well as provide needed financial backing for the enterprise. This peer group acknowledges the worth of the individual's ministry giving needed psychological and spiritual endorsement. This brings to the person involved a sense of legitimacy as well as a peer group that acknowledges the worth of what is being done.

Similar activities are undertaken by the RKM with their cadre of recruited trained and dedicated monks who in turn exhort the faithful regularly. Dr. Aryaratne in Sri Lanka requires all his followers to gather early morning for meditation before beginning work. The other activities such as the Shamardhana work parties are all linked to strong Buddhist religious roots.[5]

Below the top leadership it remains necessary to continue to find people of worth and commitment that can sustain the challenges of continually giving out and sharing with others. The initial success of any project or program normally lies from the inspiration provided by a charismatic leader who sees the vision and then is able to inspire others to join him or her in its execution through the institution that has been established to carry on the original vision in practical ways.

Recruitment

As will be noted later under cultural factors it is very important to gain the confidence and trust of the people. It is known that Indians have deep-rooted suspicions of anyone who claims an altruistic disinterest (Varma 2004: 37). Gaining acceptance amongst these depressed class peoples has come only by identifying with them and affirming their own sense of worth by embracing aspects of their culture. This degree of identification is very demanding and costly. In some successful Christian outreach this has only been possible when individuals are seen to be willing to die in the village location if that is required. Where can you recruit volunteers of this calibre?

Organization

Altruism of itself can launch a project through those committed individuals that appear throughout history. This discussion to date has noted the early Christian missionaries who have been followed later by equally dedicated Indians. But to maintain this momentum organization is required. There must be a development concept to work through as a plan of action, personnel must be held accountable by some system they understand and are willing to implement; people have to be supported and looked after. The missionaries in Tamil Nadu followed up the initial responses from their converts with solid instruction in what the Christian life and living was all about. The launch of these projects is due initially to the inspiration provided from dedicated personnel. But the success is due to acting on sound organizational principles.

Plan of Operation

The area of organization of development activity is the best-documented part of the literature. Great attention has been given to finding the right model. The history of trial, error, failure and success is covered well by standard works, such as Todaro (1980), *International Development*; Brohman (1994), *Popular Development*; and Cairnross (1984), *Factors in Economic Development*. In these works, a history of development operation and theory is given, often beginning with Rostow (1960) and his well-known stages of development theory, where a pattern based on Western experience is projected into the developing world. Various modifications of this theory and others are thoroughly discussed. Other literature deals with methodologies such as (Schumacher 1973) and Chambers (1984), Friedman (1992), Khandler (1996), Mason (1997), Sen (2000), Edwards and Hulme (1992), Fisher (1998), and Khan (1992). These works grapple with the challenge of bringing development closer, to where people truly seek to engage themselves in the process. Other literature investigates the implications of NGOs becoming agents of governments as they seek to utilize government-offered funds in their objectives which, in turn, brings them into conflict with the established governance systems operating in the developing world (see Van Rooy 1998, and Korten 1990, 2000, 2001). Yet other books link development with the changing politics of our world (Boulding 1990, Deacon 1997, Fowler 2000, Fox and Brown 1998, Gibbs 2000,

Middleton 2001, Pirrot, Husson and Grunwald 1999, Willets 1996, and Zaidi 1999). A new and developing area addresses questions relating to globalization, as well as links with other international organizations like the World Bank and United Nations (Anheier 2001, Baliol 1999, Courchene 2002, and Lindberg and Bryant 2001).

From all this material each project must find a model that they can implement to bring about development in their particular project or area. Observation on the ground shows that a model embodying the following characteristics has been chosen by present day working projects. The actual development of the model utilized in the projects studied will be given later when the Comprehensive Rural Development Project of Dr. Aroles in Maharastra will be examined.

In summary though, the operating model begins with encouraging people to affirm their identity and sense of their own worth and value. A process, which as was noted above, a Christian understands as being based in a theological background coming down from the Reformation emphasis of Luther. This is followed by bringing people together to assess their own available resources then decisions based on evaluations of local conditions as to what the major needs are and how they might be met. These steps normally lead to some modest community activities that demonstrate the ability of the community to help it; forms of community health care are developed and educational programs undertaken to inform people of how they might better themselves. A mobilization of resources is undertaken giving rise to micro lending and entrepreneurial encouragement to move toward self-sufficiency. In recent times other educational programs have been begun amongst the Youth and the panchyat leadership to further widen their horizons and assist them toward self-realization and development.

The Incarnational Concept

The challenge of identifying with people, to the point that they will then trust you and so accept the ideas that you are bringing to them comes to Christians through the concept of Incarnation. This concept is founded on the example of Jesus who was born into this world in human form and so identified himself with the Jewish nation. (NIV 1977: John 1:14). Describing this process to the Philippians Paul says that he forsook all, that he had emptied himself and then submitted himself even to death, and not just death but an

ignominious criminal type death by being crucified (NIV 1977: Philippians 2:6-11). Drawing on this example Christian workers are inspired to similarly submit themselves in order to effectively minister to people.

Cultural Factors

Awareness of the strong part played by culture in gaining acceptance for new ideas can explain reasons for the inability of people to accept new ideas brought by outsiders. Culture can be defined as "The tradition of a particular human group, a way of living learned from and shared with the members of the group' (Malefijt 1968: 3). In cultural terms religion produces an ordered system of meanings, values and beliefs by which an individual defines his world. Deculturization is a very destructive and has led to the disintegration of many indigenous peoples around the world including some of the peoples of Canada. If new ideas are to be successfully embraced by a group of people they often have to be integrated into their existing belief structures. The first step toward this process is to affirm people's integrity, worth and value. In this process it is important to understand where the existing ideas and concepts about the supernatural are and where they come from. The temptation of Christians, as well as other development practitioners, is to sweep away the forms of the old culture and seek to replace them with new proven concepts that bring about social and possibly also cultural change. These tendencies have to be strongly resisted. It is important to affirm the positive aspects of the existing culture and so support the identity of the people ministered to.

Important cultural identities are found in language, customs, myths and rituals that are the basics of identity. Only when these values are included and affirmed is it possible to gain the confidence of the people and then move to the next step of introducing new ideas which will assist them to deal with the external world around them.

The Supernatural

An important cultural factor in the groups studied relates to the basic religious belief systems of the people. For tribal peoples this belief system has been defined as animism. Edward Tylor first introduced the term animism in the late nineteenth century based upon

the Latin word anima for soul. Tylor argued that writers in his day failed to recognize "anything short of the organized and established theology of the higher races as being religion at all" (Tylor 1891, vol. 2: 4). Hayward has further defined animism as; "Animism is a belief in multiple spirit beings and souls that inhabit the universe, whose existence is found in people or in nature. As most generally conceptualized such spirits are semi-autonomous beings that represent distinct spheres of influence over nature (such as trees, water, animals, weather, etc.); or locations (such as mountains, depressions, forest glens, etc.); or human beings (that is by causing sickness, inducing possession behavior, evil behavior, or by becoming familial, helping entities, etc.) (Hayward 1997). This concept of animism can be further understood as a power factor. Tribal people require evidence that the new ideas being brought by development workers have potency as great or greater than those of the spirit powers that presently dominated their worldview.

The supernatural world is the domain of spirits which control the lives of humans in many and varied forms. There are ancestor spirits belonging to deceased members of the community, some humans possess *mana,* a type of spiritual force that impacts others. More important are the many spirits that reside in the environment in trees, rocks, the elements all of which control and influence life (Malefijt 1968:146-51).

Incoming practitioners must have some answer to these questions as they go beyond intellectual understanding to power factors that control and dominate lives. Christians have needed to demonstrate that the power of the Gospel they are bringing is able to meet these demands in the areas of sickness and health as well as power and domination. This reality is further amplified particularly with relation to the Malto people in the case studies described later.

Religious Practitioners

Animistic societies have specialists who act as intermediaries with the supernatural powers, who can use magic and other means to influence and control them, These people are variously described as shaman, witch doctors or priests. Many Christians treat such persons negatively as their systems and concepts appear to be in direct opposition to those of the Gospel. However, in seeking to affirm as much as possible in a community's

culture it is wiser to seek to discern the meaningful. The shaman has an understanding of the interrelationship between health and society that is important. Malefijt (1968: 245) states that such persons have real skills in relating to people of greater importance than the trances dreams and other manifestations associated with them. It is from people of this caliber that the foundations of much of the modern scientific world have in fact evolved. Some shamans know herbal cures that have potency and should be acknowledged.

Intervention is particularly important in matters of health as well as general well being. Often these cures include a significant psychological and spiritual dimension that can be absent from the secularized medicine practiced by non-animists. This absence limits acceptance by animistic people who are accustomed to see healing in a wider sphere than the germ culture of the West.

Myths and Legends

People find identity in their history that is often embodied in myths followed by rituals linked to these. It is important to seek to find these origins and then provide an answer that discerns a new future for these realities. Malinowski defined myth as—a resurrection of primeval reality. Told in satisfaction of deep religious wants, moral cravings, and social submissions. Myth codifies belief; safeguards and enforces morality; it vouches for the efficiency of ritual and contacts practical rules for guidance.

One of the most important areas of myth recognition relates to the origin of the tribe or group. Often the origin of a people is related to what is termed the *otiose* god (Malefijt 1968: 152). This is a god who is considered omnipotent and omniscient (characteristics of the Christian concept of God) but who is not directly concerned with a human welfare or who is so distant and powerful that he is beyond human worship. Many societies prefer to deal with the local spirits who directly impact their destiny. Particularly in the area of translation of the Bible identifying this concept of God with the Christian understanding has proved a useful bridge (Sanneh 2003: 106) A precedent is given in the Bible where Paul in Athens recognizes an unknown God (Acts 17:23).

Language

For most people identity is linked in with language. The willingness to learn the language is a big step towards acceptance. Further translating an important document like a Bible into their own language affirms the fact that the Christian God is ready and willing to hear them in their own tongue. In the old tradition the Brahmins severely restricted access to learning preserving this for them. Encouraging people not only to have a written tradition but then doing it in their own language rather than mysterious sacred forms has been a great affirmation of peoples. Not only an affirmation, but also the empowerment that results from having made a dictionary and grammar brings about literacy that leads on to social transformation (Sanneh 2003: 99).

Following through on the necessity to identify with the people importance is given to accepting then adopting their cultural forms such as music and dance into the liturgies and rituals of the emerging Church. This further reinforces the depth of acceptance and the legitimacy of their heritage and background as being acceptable to faith in Jesus Christ.

Financial Accountability

The concept of financial accountability is well established, all governments requiring business people to submit to an annual audit proving that their finances conform to established laws and norms. It is important to extend this auditing concept on into program accountability. This is done by careful data collection providing times, locations, quantities and other measures of the day's activities that can be presented in reports and form a trail of evidence that what has said to be done has actually happened. Regular reports, meetings and presentations to the various levels of authority are required to ensure that the persons involved remain faithful to their commitments.

The data gives a base from which goals can be set for further achievement. In turn the data provides accountability for the use of resources such as personnel, time and funding. At the end of each goal-setting period evaluations can be taken of the progress made aiding accountability. Evaluation teams can consist of insiders but should include some outside people as well to ensure objectivity and openness. In turn the donor groups

can take account of what has happened gain confidence in the operation and encourage further support and participation from their contact network. A point made by an Indian research organization is that Christian mission has been astute in taking account of new computer database potential to map India into the areas where response is greater. The 'people group' concept of seeing people not as a homogenous mass but as groups of people with known and definable cultures has proved a very useful means of finding where people are whom they are and how they might be assisted.

Personnel and Staffing Policies

Just as conversion without instruction often leads to breakdown and set back so recruiting highly motivated people and then not looking after them will also result in failures. The necessity of providing the Indian Missionary Association, which has developed handbooks, has emphasized adequate backup for staff conducted seminars as well as producing a regular monthly magazine emphasizing these areas. The areas highlighted by the Director of the Indian Missions Association, Dr. K. Rajendran are pastoral care, health, education for children, retirement and looking after aged parents, housing (Rajendran 1998: 110-16).

The motivation of the staff must be nurtured and kept at a high level. In Christian organizations this is done by regular devotions in which the ideals of the Bible are kept before people. Prayers are offered to the Almighty Lord for His guidance protection and provision. Community is fostered in sharing with one another. If possible suitable respected leaders and speakers should be brought in for mentoring and hero figure examples to emulate. In most organizations periodic staff retreats are held to facilitate inspiration, encourage community and set goals and objectives.

Paying at least living wage salaries is an imperative. Dedication and devotion are hard to sustain when obligations cannot be met. Too high salaries can attract those motivated for advantage but too low can produce sub standard workers, high turn over and other undesirables. Staff benefits must be adequate to provide for the basics of modern middle class living such as education of children, provident fund provisions and health care. If possible it is desirable to have opportunities for onward mobility.

Training

To feel secure when new responsibilities are given, staff needs training and upgrading. This is also a reality in the new globalized world that constant upgrades are needed to remain in step with the present. Regular training sessions give staff a sense of security as well as an assurance of their continued worth and value. Often these training sessions, which are held in other locations, take the form of R and R (rest and relaxation) giving needed breaks from routine.

Resource Mobilization

A third important factor in achieving success is the ability to mobilize resources to give support to the program.

Christian Institutional Networks

The Christian mission in India has built up a considerable infrastructure of significant institutions in the areas of help and support for the underprivileged. The list given by Rajendra (1997: 234) includes many activities beyond evangelism. Support for the blind, handicapped, orphans, hospitals, schools, and training centers. All of these are potential sources of recruits and other needed resources. Increasingly Christian groups are networking to provide and maximize resources. The EHA hospital authorities request Christian evangelistic workers to identify needy people such as those with sight defects in order to provide support to eye camps. Specialist medical people can be found within India as well as the potential for volunteer foreign doctors who provide specialized assistance.

Education of the children of staff members is a very important area. Those working in remote areas are much more willing when their children can go into suitable boarding schools. Many Christian schools are providing subsidized and scholarship openings for the children of dedicated workers. Hebron School at Ootacamund is one. At the local level in Dehra Dun the Grace Academy is offering services of this kind.

In time assistance to families with aged parents may well become an important support area if their children are to continue on in this type of service and ministry.

Another area of importance is dedicated Christian laypeople that will give support and assistance in areas like Legal Aid. The various government regulations relative to

religious freedom need to be known. Leaders need guidance on what they can and cannot do and what the consequences of actions like baptisms may be. Christian work can be controversial and at times lead to conflict. Assistance is needed to know when there is a government law that protects people and then in other cases the right kind of counsel and guidance into what should be done to meet needs.

Another area is engineering services relative to the erection of buildings. Culturally sensitive means and methods need also exploring. Horticulture, animal husbandry, drought provision, water management, tube well drilling all is important areas for information and resources.

Literacy is another important area particularly amongst adult women. Information in this area leads to considerable empowerment.

General Issues in Humanitarian Project Development

Issues Involved in Humanitarian Development Activity

The ideal has been established that no one needs to live in abject poverty (Ebrahim 2003: 34). The big challenge is to go from this ideal to happenings on the ground. There are resources in terms of people and money available; development theory has reached a viable stage with the knowledge of how this can be done. Khan (1998: 245) points up to the successful Aga Khan model that has produced real results in areas like Gilgit in Northern Pakistan. Lindberg and Bryant (2001: 65) speak of their diagnosis of the causes of poverty. The causes are basically known and viable ways to meet them have been found.

Research into what is actually happening has provided many reasons for failure. Khan (1998) and Krishna (1997) give valuable insights into the dilemma. These studies reveal a number of challenges:

1. Imposed Concepts: Top Down Thinking

This challenge was mentioned above in the theories of Rostow. Rostow was one of the early pioneers in Development Economics. He drew parallels from the success of the Marshal Plan in Europe and then sought to transpose this on other developing countries. His critics regard this as an anti communist manifesto (Iriye 2002: 80) but it did begin a

debate that continues to this day. Rostow (1960), an economist, did not fully take into account the sociological dynamics, assuming a homogeneity that was not present in developing countries. In time, it was realized, that the cultural backgrounds of Europeans worked in their favor whereas that of other peoples did not, because this dynamic was missing. Similar top down theories, which bring a prescribed course of action into the local situation, soon produce little result (Khan 1998: 244). Even much vaunted proven ideas of empowerment require months and even years of patient endeavor before they finally take root among the people they are intended to benefit (Robinson 1998: 73) Finding the kind of field workers who with patience and understanding can sustain the course is a challenge difficult to meet. It may take up to ten years to bring about these desired changes. This is evident from the testimony of fieldworkers of the Ramakhrishna Mission in Narendrapur near Calcutta, India. This factor is emphasized by many examples amongst them the Gal Oya irrigation project in Sri Lanka (Krishna 1997: 170); the Grameen Bank project in Bangladesh detailed by the founder Muhammad Yunus (Krishna 1997: 13-15): Akhter Hameed Khan's account of the Orangi Sanitation Project in Karachi, Pakistan (Krishna 1997: 26); the Amul Dairy milk project in Gujrat, India, pioneered by V. Kurien; and the BRAC project in Bangladesh that empowered local people and the field officers who worked with them.

Successful projects begin with listening to local people (Uphoff 1998: 19). Not only local people but if the poor are to be really helped some way must be found to incorporate them into the decision making process. Local elites often capture the decision making process in their favor leaving out the needs of the poorest of the poor (Krishna 1997: 169). Methods must be devised to include the more vulnerable marginal groups particularly women if there is to be real progress and social change (Chambers 1984: 19, Ebrahim 2000: 24)

Each community does not start from zero but has a history of its own which must be traced, taken account of and built into any development effort if it is to succeed (Myers 1999). Myers of World Vision says that a Christian would be expected to have a very prescriptive viewpoint. However, he seeks to convince his readers that all peoples have a 'history' that must be recognized and connected with if success in leading them on further is to be achieved. Any who venture into development must come with the kind of

humility, which is prepared to recognize where the people are really at, and to patiently work with them until they are able to link in their heritage with the new ideas presented. Anything less is seen as arrogance treated with distrust and ultimately rejected. An example is defining poverty as a lack, a deficit. The solution then is to provide the missing things and people will no longer be poor." If poverty is the absence of things, then the solution is to provide them. This often leads to 'Santa Claus' bringing good things. The poor are seen as passive recipients, incomplete human beings who we make complete with our largess. This attitude demeans and devalues the poor" (Myers 1999: 63).

2. Structure

Part of the history of each society is the infrastructure that has been built up from the past, which presently controls the way that the society performs. The structure is linked to positions of power held by the different members. Most patterns of inequality arise because of skewed situations where different groups hold power to the disadvantage of others. Dividing up the spoils or sharing out is seen by many as a real loss of power with its subsequent economic and social benefits (Khan 1998: 244). Karimpur illustrates this dynamic in the words of Mohan an elderly Brahmin "Moreover in former times these people were poor and weak. So they were happy with what we gave to them. They were satisfied. Now the government has moved these people forward and we have been pulled back. Now they have no need of us. This is because their seats (in schools and government jobs) have been reserved. Because of Jagjivan Ram (a leader of the untouchables) they got their seats reserved" (Wadley 1994: 221).

In the cases described by Khan this structure in Pakistani villages is of a feudal nature. The landlord, the religious leaders and the bureaucracy hold all the power and siphon off most of the benefits from any inputs even when these are ostensibly designed to help the underprivileged. These structures have been built up over centuries to such an extent so that much of their value systems have been internalized and entrenched (Chambers 1984: 18). This is particularly true of the Indian caste system where a social organizational pattern has been imbued with religious validity making its hold very strong and even legitimate to those who are in authority (Samuel 2003). This is illustrated

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further by Wadley (1994: 114) in asking questions in a village Karimpur in Uttar Pradesh in India, "Why do you think you have sorrow? (Answer) In my life it has been written in my fate that I will have sorrow. Bhagvan must have written that I should do labor, beg, struggle."

When these inequalities are addressed and changed real progress can be made to alleviate the worst of the distress. To achieve development, rather than relief, structural change is a must. Some system must be devised which empowers the local people. Change has been brought about in many places. In the Gal Oya project in Sri Lanka (mentioned above) the actual farmers were consulted and brought into associations so as to overcome the lethargy of the previous system. The co-operation that was achieved amazed the development experts leading to a sharing of water resources even when it disadvantaged the previously privileged (Krishna 1997: 173). Akhtar Khan at Orangi in Karachi was faced with local politicians and others who benefited from any resources allocated to the area. He had to find ways to build a new structure empowering the local people to manage their own resources before success was gained. The Grameen bank story owes much to the ability to rebuild community by forming small groups of people responsible to one another.

Another important socioeconomic factor is a culture of patronage and dependency that is entrenched on both sides. Those in power expect to have the right to dispense patronage on their own terms. Many of the poor are ready to accept this situation rather than begin the long struggle to change a system, which for centuries has at least provided survival (Samuel 2003). The BRAC group in Bangladesh has met this challenge by training officers than allowing them to make mistakes counting them in as learning experiences (Krishna 1997: 55).

A major challenge in all development effort is how to deliver to the real designated recipients the benefits to be gained. As Smillie (1991: 16) notes, "Overly regulated economies encourage corruption. The export of capital by individuals and corporations known as 'capital flight' is serious drain on the resources of many Third World countries. It is estimated to equal half all the money borrowed by Mexico, Argentina and Venezuela between 1975 and 1990 was invested abroad. In the Philippines it may have been as much as the equivalent of 80% of the national debt between 1962

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and 1986." Blair (quoted in Lewis and Wallace 2000: 115) adds, "The concept of disinterested service that does not bring monetary rewards is often absent from the cultures of many societies. Politicians are in politics in part for personal gain or at least gain for their sub-group within the society. The drain from the top mentioned above is bad enough but the real impact of the lack of integrity is felt at the local level when funds that are allocated by governments or given by organizations are severely diminished by siphoning off at all levels, political parties, panchyats (local councils) and corrupt officials, so that an amount which may be as little as 10% of the original, actually reaches the intended recipients. One of the things that local elites can agree upon is that they need not allocate resources to the poor." As Khan (1998: 262) remarks, "At the operational level the rural people have identified two major problems with the delivery of public sector services and the construction of infrastructure. First the blatant leakage of public sector resources through pervasive rent seeking (including theft and graft) by politicians and public officials rob the intended beneficiaries of the net benefits expected from projects and schemes. It is well known to even the most naïve that only a small part of the allocated resources ever reach their actual users. In the extreme case 'ghost' schemes, projects and services…do not exist."

3. Human Resources

Khan (1998: 253) points out that the training given to many Pakistani field officers is inadequate. "Most support officers have inappropriate educational backgrounds having been attracted to this work because of their lack of job prospects in the fields of their specialization. The NGOs seem to be functioning as employment exchanges for the educated unemployed youth." Many of them accepted these openings as there was no alternative desired employment available. The combination of low motivation along with inadequate training has prevented many projects from making any impact. The BRAC organization in Bangladesh notes that half of their recruits leave within the first year for easier jobs (Krishna 1997: 55). An experience noted in the Orangi project in Karachi, and at Gal Oya in Sri Lanka. The success of the Aga Khan projects has been seen through the careful training that was given to the field officers. Often these motivational aspects are mentioned in the literature but not well covered. Ajibolosoo and Ezeala-Harrison (1994: 31) observe, "Being a qualitative and dynamic variable the human factor is not easily

quantifiable. Consequently it is hardly ever given adequate treatment by development economics when they analyze factors that impact the rate of growth." Referring to attempts to research such material in NGOs, there are often and only occasionally one-sentence references to the subject. Some examples follow: "Criticized or pressed to account for what they do, agencies tend to respond defensively" (Sogge, Bickart, and Saxby 1996); "The fundamental trait of effective NGO leaders is their adherence to moral principle" (Fowler 1997: 750); "We developed a healthy respect for the seriousness with which our colleagues have embarked on their transformation efforts…faith and hope are not bad things" (Lindenberg and Bryant 2001: 243, 246); and effective NGOs are "Motivated by moral, philosophical, religious or political values" (Cernea 1988: 11).

The need for altruism and people who are motivated altruistically is acknowledged, but the arguments move back to matters of program and policy without developing an evaluation or analysis of how such desirable traits can be found or nurtured. This fact is an acute one, which lies at the heart of an NGO's effectiveness.

Ajibolosoo and Ezeala-Harrison(1994: 26) highlight this in a series of books based on his research in his home country of Ghana, and other parts of West Africa. He defines one of the key variables in development as the human factor (HF): "The human factor refers to a spectrum of personality characteristics and other dimensions of human performance that enable social, economic and political institutions to function and remain functional over time."

These features bear strong resemblance to the ideals upheld by altruists. Without due attention to the HF, much development, planning and activity suffers major failures (Ajibolosoo and Ezeala-Harrison 1994: 26). Ajibolosoo and Ezeala-Harrison (1994: 31)go on further to note that most Western democracies have been formed based on Judeo-Christian principles, and that the success of their development can be traced in part to their "evangelical adherence to the principles of protestant ethics." Their contention is that a serious error is made by continuously focusing attention on inanimate objects instead of the HF. Rather, they states that the "HF is the foundation and pillar of all progress in society" (1994: 64).

4. Accountability

One of the major concerns about the work of modern NGOs is the challenge of accountability. When these groups represented the work of dedicated altruistic idealists with great zeal, but not a lot of financial resources, there was less concern. But today with large NGOs having budgets that the government of the country envies much more accountability is demanded. "The number (of NGOs) in the north have grown from 1,600 in 1980 to 2,970 in 1993 total spending risen from US $2.8 billon to $5.7 billion" (Edwards and Hulme 1995: 10) Accountability means different things to different groups. Edwards and Hulme (1995: 9) note, "Crucially NGOs have multiple accountabilities – downwards to their partners, beneficiaries and staff and supporter and upwards toward their trustees, donors and host governments."

At the basic level the first accountability should be to the recipients of the aid. Often as noted above 'top down' strategies have been applied where the provider makes the program decisions. These decisions are not arbitrary and often represent a very real need on the part of the recipient. The challenge remains that unless the individual recipient takes ownership the result is much rusting or breaking down of machinery and plans. Some NGOs are focused in only one area, unable to meet the flexible demands necessary for success. This challenge was met by the RKM in a forestry project (Ramakhrishna Mission Lokasiksha Parishad 2000: 3). The RKM defined the problem as being too narrow in its focus; merely planting trees was not the only need of these forest peoples. A full-scale community development process was required to integrate the needs of the people with the resources, which would include forestry management. In the first phase of the project, 1991-1994, it was evident that more input was needed; so, in the second phase, 1996-1999, emphasis was put on human resource development (Ramakhrishna Mission Lokasiksha Parishad 2000: 3) "It was firmly believed that only a stable capable and confident human group could manage their own resources" (Ramakhrishna Mission Lokasiksha Parishad 2000: 2). The basic RKM model of developing local youth clubs, then gathering them into clusters was adopted. "Self help is the best help, self reliance is the best way to gain self confidence" (Ramakhrishna Mission Lokasiksha Parishad 2000: 3).

The members of the NGO have joined the organization with some altruistic motivation behind their actions. Cernea (1988: 11) mentions, "Motivated by moral, philosophical, religious or political values, such skilled professionals either form relatively small but specialized NGOs." As Sogge, Bickart, and Saxby (1996: 199) comment, "Agency uneasiness stems in part from a sense that the ownership structure is weak. Their roots amongst defenders, members and allies are shallow. Funding agencies bestride the ring with freer and more practiced whip hands. They choose the acts, select and drill the performing beasts and orchestrate the perilous stunts of stunts of structural adjustment that put the lives of millions on the high wire. To the agencies of the other NGO performers fall tasks of holding battered safety nets."

Their motivations are altruistic, requiring that the NGO remain faithful to its original intents and motivations. When funding requires following the directives of donors whose objectives differ from that of the NGO considerable unease can be the result. The accountability demands, of particularly government funding agencies, require considerable reporting and accounting which taxes resources and increases overheads. These issues are illustrated by a crisis in the Sarvodaya of Sri Lanka, a crisis occurred due to the clash between these needed professionals and the others who were often volunteers carrying out the actual work on the ground.

The donors also have differing reasons for putting their resources into aid projects. An example is the motivation of fear noted above. The donor in these circumstances is interested in an indirect fall out effect e.g. the lessening of economic migrants, the suppression of terrorism in impoverished countries, the establishment of an economic and political system that will facilitate trade. All of these are macro realities but the input of NGOs is often at the micro level taking real time before the overall effect brings about the macro change that is desired. Christian NGOs face a dimension of this kind as for most donors of the evangelical Christian type; the real objective is conversion and the planting of Churches. Social service effort can be made as part of this goal but the worth of the ministry will be judged mostly by the number of converts made and churches founded.

The concepts of many private donors are often quite naïve. They either expect instant results or they are surprised that their patronage and goodwill is met by hostility.

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The most recent example is the invasion of Iraq that was sold to the United States public as a type of liberation. Only to find that the Iraqi people do not all share this conviction and want the United States out of the country.

Recipient country governments need the aid desperately. When they find that the methods used in the giving of this aid lead to the empowerment of people that in turn changes the structures of society there is less acceptance. "If the organizations overt or covert goal is empowerment – making those with little power more powerful then transparency on this issue will make it easier for vested interests to thwart the goal" (Sogge, Bickart, and Saxby 1996: 12).

Government of India Opportunities

India has passed many laws and also made provisions to meet many needs. Often these resources lie dormant due to under utilization. There are more plans than there are outlets for them. Information about these provisions needs wider circulation.

Funding

Often money is seen to be the answer needed for many situations. Foreign donors are sometimes frustrated by this approach, which sees finance as the answer to all ills. However, money is required as it is often beyond the resources of the local situation to provide. Investment of considerable resources is needed to bring many of these communities above subsistence level into the world of globalization and other challenges.

Fund raising is an art in itself. Local donors need to be mobilized. It is to the credit of Bishop Azariah and others like him that the Christians of southern India have shown real responsibility in this area. Groups like Friends Mission Prayer Band have relied largely on internal Indian resources to meet their financial needs.

However, it remains true that the foreign donor remains the major source of income for most NGOs in the Christian sector in India. Without this help and assistance little beyond very modest levels could be done.

On NGOs

Some concluding comments on NGOs both Christian and other can be made. Korten (1990) offers valuable contributions in his concept of 'generations'. As he notes most strategies move through three stages contributing to the alleviation of human distress. Like the motif termed 'charity' in the document, they eventually reach the challenge that to produce the needed change required in society more than alleviation is required. Structural change has to take place. For many Christian NGOs this has proved to be a major hurdle. The Christian expression of altruism has produced within the person transformational change. But to go further structural change is required. As Korten points out this requires advocacy that exceeds what many donors regard as the contributions of altruism. Political involvement is required. Some insights into these challenges are given below.

Korten (1990) notes that there is a steady progression in NGO activity and development through distinct phases: First-generation NGO strategies that focus primarily on relief and welfare; second-generation strategies, concentrating on self-reliant development, often small scale community projects; third generation strategies lead on to sustainable development; and fourth generation emphases an approach to organization, producing people and social development movements. These are similar to concepts expressed in civil society. These groupings are driven more by ideas than money. While not remaining rigid in their application, in fact, all NGOs become involved continually in each of these development stages. In their ideals and vision, a pattern of this kind is clearly discernible in most NGOs.

First Generation Strategies: Relief and Welfare

"Religious altruism, as noted above, normally begins as charity. Compassion for the relief of the sick, poor, elderly and handicapped has always been at the root of the charitable ethic. The deepest and most profound roots of charitable work are grounded in the capacity of humans to feel a need for others" (Smillie 2000: 27). Korten notes that the relief of distress in the Western world has a long history with religious groups in the forefront. In 1647, the Irish Protestants sent food to the United States; in 1793, the United States sent food to Central America. In the period of World War 1, American charities

are said to have given 250 million dollars a year. "It was implicitly thought that given a little assistance people can get on their own feet" (Korten 1990: 115). The objective of charitable activity is to alleviate immediate distress rather than change the structures of society that produced the challenges that are being met.

As was mentioned earlier, until the period when the modern economy began to develop in Europe, society was seen to be largely static; usable resources were limited, leading to an acceptance of a hierarchical social structure. A pattern, such as that described in the Old Testament, sees all in possession of allocations of the land need to sustain life. Ideal institutions, such as the Year of Jubilee (NIV 1977: Leviticus 25:8-13), would redistribute the land back to its original owners. The Prophets, Amos and Hosea, called out for justice for equitable treatment of the under-privileged rather than a change in the social structure. The Islamic concept of *zakat* and other institutions are aimed at alleviating the needs of those, who are less privileged, leaving the structure of society largely unchanged.

Until the advent of the modern concept of development, this position and understanding lay unchallenged. The most society could do was to alleviate the greater distress of the under-privileged, ensuring that they had the basic means of survival. Even more modern altruism begins at this level. For many donors, this is what altruism is all about. An altruism that would go on to suggest basic change in the structures of society is a 'hard' expression, which is threatening and unwanted. Better to remain with the conventional forms of charity and alleviate the suffering of those in distress. "As a general rule donors are more interested in supporting NGOs in relief and welfare than in efforts aimed at structural change" (Korten 1990: 122).

Myers (1999: 65) states that, in the early days of development thinking, poverty was defined as a deficit, a lack. Poor people do not have enough to eat, suitable housing, clean water, or ownership of land. Such analyses lead on to the assumption that, when the missing things are provided, the poor will no longer be poor. Implementing such remedies produces the classic critiques of seeing the poor as passive recipients of largesse, of having no real dignity of their own and of making the donors messianic in believing that they alone have the answers to human need.

Once the NGO becomes involved with people, perceptions begin to change. The ideal emerges, of using the disaster and the resources that have come as a result of it, to do much more; of raising the level of these people, from the often abject poverty in which they find themselves, to a better level of living. Charity then moves on to forms of aid and assistance that serve to improve the quality of life in the community. People must also be moved from a circumstantial dependence, brought on by the disaster, to providing for them again. The natural tragedy must not be compounded by a welfare mentality that would make them dependent on donations and assistance. Nor must the aid take the form of displacing the normal means of provision for them. For example, sending in large amounts of free food must not displace the normal market mechanisms that enable local people to benefit and to sell in this situation.

Second and Third Generation NGOs

In second and third generation NGO activity, the focus moves from alleviating immediate distress to a study of the causes of poverty. In the first stages of this development, the earlier emphasis on charity is displaced by a desire to bring about reform—seeking to improve the lot of the poor by bringing in better standards and values. Smillie (1995: 28) notes that, in the Quaker tradition of social reform and poorhouse activities, such results were prominent. The desire to bring about moral reform has been a strong organizational motivator, but this approach has strong detractors. The 'Do Gooders' and 'Bleeding Hearts' are mistrusted and often regarded as naïve and hypocritical.

The challenge of this type of involvement lies in the fact that all such attempts tend to be patronizing, and are characterized by, the attitude that 'we know better than you'. They represent top-down strategies that can produce dependence with a donor/recipient relationship that does not produce self-reliance or long-term change. One result is that, when the resources brought by the donor disappear, then everything stops. In some situations, the people are worse off than they were before; taken away from their traditional self-reliance, they become dependent on outside help that is not sustainable.

Myers (1999: 86) defines poverty as being fundamentally relational: "Poverty is the result of relationships that do not work, that are not just, that are not for life, that are not harmonious or enjoyable. Poverty is the absence of shalom in all its meanings."

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Physical poverty is rooted in a culture of poverty a set of ideas held corporately that produces certain behavior that in turn yields poverty. The problem is rooted in cultural values that retard and resist development, thus trapping people in destitution (Miller 2001: 63). Myers (1999) states that at the center of poverty is the idea of the poor not knowing who they are or the reason for which they have been created. With marred identities and distorted vocations, the poor cannot play their proper relational role in the world. The key idea producing change and progress is empowerment. First is the empowerment of the person himself. The poorest people need a new sense of dignity, an awareness of the wrongs being done to them, and encouragement to work for their rights themselves (Sugden 1997: 157).

However once this idea is embraced, the society moves on beyond a simple charity concept. People now see that each individual has the potential for growth and development, which comes about by utilizing his inner resources. The human is no longer at the behest of the structures of society in which he or she lives, nor held captive to the forces of nature around. A new meaning to the ancient concept of stewardship emerges where the human is to 'take dominion', to become the *khalifa* of which Islam speaks. The newly empowered person is now able to take his or her place in society and begin to utilize the resources and abilities that are his or her right.

Often though, power is much more sophisticated; it takes many forms. It may be in the possession of land or capital to which access is denied to others, either by ownership or control of leasing rights

NGOs that really seek to improve the lot of the poor find themselves supporting the view that empowerment is a necessity. A World Vision director, Jayakumar Christian, also has ideas about poverty that he terms disempowerment. The poor are trapped into interacting systems that have personal, social, spiritual/religious and cultural dimensions.

Once income-generating projects are initiated and other forms of self-help developed, the poverty of these people is seen to have other causes. These causes are not just their low-levels of education or poor nutrition, but also the embedded power structures. These structures began as necessities, but often have been consolidated into ways of maintaining the income levels of one group to the disadvantage of others. The

present situation embodies a power structure keeping in place some who are able to take advantage of the situation and better themselves. But at times this is linked in with practices that prevent others from improving themselves. The available resources of the society are controlled or monopolized by those in power.

The external causes of poverty are seen to be present in power structures held by those whom Jayakumar Christian terms the 'non-poor'. In the terminology of Sen (2000: xii), these are the people who are bound by 'unfreedoms'—who lack the power of choice that would set them free. Defined as the controlling group, the 'non-poor' is immediately above and around the poor. At the micro-level the non-poor are the local police, landowners, religious and business leaders, who are linked to higher levels in the society and country. In the terminology adopted by Christian, these people play 'God' in the lives of the poor, using religious systems, mass media, the law, government policies and other means to first internalize then keep the poor subservient to their interests (Christian 1994: 178).

Chambers (1984: 103) sees the poor as living in a 'cluster of disadvantage', in a 'poverty trap'. The household is poor, physically weak, isolated, vulnerable and powerless. An advocate of 'alternative development', Friedman describes poverty by focusing on powerlessness as lack of access to social power. The household is a social unit, embedded within four overlapping domains of social practice: the state, political community, civil society and corporate economy (Friedman 1992: 26-31). This dimension of understanding lifts the concepts beyond lack of things or lack of knowledge. Poverty is a state of disempowerment from access to the political system, the civil economy and the global international economy.

To remedy this disadvantage steps must be taken to empower people—meaning that they can utilize the resources that are available to them to improve their living standards and realize their own potential. In these circumstances, the poor can only improve their situation by becoming empowered to change the structures that prevail. This empowerment can be as simple as being able to understand and read labels and measurements so that, if you pay for one kilogram, you actually get one kilogram. Such empowerment can make a significant difference as knowledge increases.

Empowerment begins with the individual realizing his or her own worth and value as a human, breaking out of mindsets and cultural value systems that have held human potential, bound and tied, within each person.

Once having moved along the path of self-empowerment through experiencing human potential, the newly awakened person finds that the crippling effects of disempowerment are not confined to his or her inner self. This requires the individual and the group within the society to begin a struggle. The struggle involves challenging the external forces, which bind the society to a cycle of poverty. While relationships are broken and a network of interlocking forces continue to work towards keeping him or her disadvantaged, the whole society is affected and a new dimension of empowerment continues to open-up.

This new dimension has many facets. Illustrations of action taken to overcome some of the external structural factors are: the formation of capital to release people from the bondage of usurious money-lending systems; the redistribution of land to the whole society's outlook and mindset needs to be transformed. From this, come Korten's fourth generation strategies, which center on the concept of justice.

Fourth Generation NGOs

Korten sees that all action at the local level, while good, requires much repetitive effort. "The critical deficiency of third generation strategies is that they require countless replications in many communities all hostile to the effort" (Korten 1990: 123). The need is to institute a change of attitude that facilitates rather than inhibits a change to take place. In Korten's understanding, what is needed is a global development movement that is driven by a vision of a better world. These movements are linked much more to social energy rather than money. An example he gives is that of Dr. James Yen and the literary movement that he mobilized in China in the 1920 and 1930s. This movement involved several hundred thousand volunteers teaching an estimated five million illiterate workers (Korten 1990: 123). Activity of this kind is very challenging: "Serious development assistance to the poor demands attention to political and economic empowerment. Dealing with this reality infringes on established interests, creates political resistance and is likely to be offensive to the donors" (Korten 1990: 135). The groups that discern the

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source of under-development to be largely the unjust structures of society go on to challenge these institutions. Their objective is to motivate the society to work toward major change at all levels.

In India one of the strong exponents of this approach is the Jesuit order of the Roman Catholic Church. Operating under a secularized format of the Indian Social Institute, they remain very active in mobilizing a wide range of the society in agitating for popular justice Chakkanat (1999: 234), who sees the Church involved in this form of activity, provides an example of this form of activity: "The Church will function—only if the Church allows itself to function in collaboration with other agencies. In a private non political way, running institutions and works parallel to the government or by initiating public action that galvanizes the population and puts pressure on the government."

From the concept of those embracing justice, poverty and under-development, these challenges are viewed as related to the structures of society. Societies given to selfishness, and the seeming lack of resources to benefit all, find themselves divided into power groups that segment off whole areas of potential toward their own selfish interests. Often this has meant that those who are less privileged have been oppressed so that the power group can enjoy higher living standards. Once the under-privileged realizes this is the case, they want to begin to change the structures of society for their betterment.

Empowerment can advance a group, which has almost nothing or that is on the bare level of subsistence, up to a certain level. At this new level they begin to come up against barriers imposed by the better off. Once empowered, a form of equal opportunity emerges, where those who have had little now have the tools with which to enjoy more; but other interests bar the roads of opportunity to them.

There now has to be a redistribution of the resources, a sharing-out of what is there or the realization that, by contribution and usage of talents, there will be more for all to share. However, often before this can happen, there will be a measure of loss to the privileged. It can also happen that the privileged are rentiers, a parasitic group, who live off the work and toil of others. For all to benefit, these drones must also begin to work. Often this is an unpalatable option that is strongly opposed. The idea that 'there is enough for all is a strong concept, but one that is not accepted in practice by most. It seems that

there is not enough and the important thing is at least to retain what you have, and then to add to it if at all possible.

Effective Secular NGOs: Conclusions

The congruence between Korten's work on the evolution of NGOs and the historical development of effective missions in India (both Christian and non-Christian) shows a broad pattern of parallel evolution at work. The operationally, case studies reported in this thesis therefore have considerable generality; the factors identified apply over a wide range of organizations established with benevolent intent. Is the Christian mission a prototype of the modern NGO? The question is intriguing, but the answer beyond the scope of the present thesis.

Conclusions

The thesis has followed the development of selected Christian Missions in India with the intent of determining the factors that produced results in the areas of social development. Then to seek to determine if these are Christian mission specific or do they have a wider application to other groups religious and secular. In pursuit of this aim a short relevant history of India was given followed by a history of mission involvement within India. The evidence shows that success both in the Church planting area and in development came not from the majority Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim communities but from the marginalized dalit and tribal peoples. Reasons for this were sought and found in the linkages to the altruistic response of the leadership of these missions. For Christians this is connected to the example of the person of Jesus Christ and his followers in the Church. Beginning from this, often charismatically inspired, base it is necessary to nurture the altruistic spirit through regular devotions, inspirational and training sessions. To sustain the challenging grind presented by bringing about change it is also necessary to develop sound institutional and organizational structures that enable people to function effectively.

The case studies examples show that the initial experience of these methods began in Tamil Nadu where a group of dalit people were revitalized and brought into the main stream of Indian life. It is from these people, who themselves have experienced the worth

and value of this new message, that the recruits, the drive and the resources have come. Reaching out to other disadvantaged people they have gone to many parts of India

Altruism, structure and organization will develop an NGO but it remains necessary to find an effective method, which will bring about needed transformation in the lives of the people being reached out to. For Christians this has come from drawing on their theological roots. The particular theological expression pertinent to Development has proved to be that theological outlook which arose at the time of the Reformation and was propagated by Luther and Calvin it consists of first affirming that man is made in the image of God giving to him or her intrinsic worth. A Christian further emphasizes this point of basic human value by emphasizing that Jesus Christ gave His life for each person. Second, awakening the person to the fact that they have been given a Calling, a gifting an enabling, the utilization of which will bring about their progress and development. Added into this moral standards and values based on the Bible are enjoined so that the person is honest, hard working, reliable, co operating and working with others in the Community. Philanthropy, sharing of wealth and emphasizing habits of investment rather than consumption are encouraged. Micro lending is often an important training and resource area.

Similar observations made by Max Weber were published in his work '*The Protestant Work Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism.* In this important work he determined that the success of the capitalism, as manifested by certain Protestant sects in the 1800s, was due to underlying conceptions which came out of their theological upbringing "The new religious experiences created a powerful motivation that affected every detail of life, changing habits of work, social relationships and even sexual behavior. In this way, the public and private aspects of life were affected by this religious conception (Weber, 1930: 183).

Among these was the concept of Calling. Calling to the Industrialists and Owners of the enterprises meant that they had a right to acquire wealth as something given by God. For the worker it meant that he or she was required to give their very best work because this was something God had called them to. In turn these concepts were seen to be the outworking in the commercial sphere of concepts relating to election as outlined by Calvin. "A specifically bourgeois vocational ethic has grown up. With consciousness of standing in the fullness of God's grace, (he, the employer) could follow his pecuniary

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interests and feel that he was fulfilling a duty in doing so. In addition the power of religious asceticism placed at his disposal sober conscientious and unusually industrious workmen who clung to their work as a life purpose willed by God. It gave the comforting assurance that the unequal distribution of wealth was a special dispensation of Divine providence" (Whimster 2004: 30) In time these early ideological underpinnings were developed into secularized concepts because the results of their application had significant economic benefits and advantages. What began as a sense of doing God's will merged into the general cultural setting to produce desirable tangible benefits for the total society.

Further research into the work of two religious groups, the RKM of Hindu origin and the SSM of Buddhist connections, shows that non-Christian groups to good effect can also adopt these same principles. In all these cases there are common features, notably the reference to inspirational figures from the past, informing charismatic leaders of the present. But in all cases inspiration is clearly not enough, it is the combination of inspiration with rational and ethical behavior, which is the engine of radical social transformation. This is due to the fact that there is universal truth in these principles, a common chord in the teachings of the Christian, Hindu and Buddhist faiths. From a religious point of view, the principles emanate from a Creator God who made humans in a certain way. Aligning life with this pattern enhances opportunity.

Why was the Christian message acceptable to the marginalized but not welcomed to the same degree by the main stream? Change normally requires crisis conditions, in order to motivate people to adopt another way of life. The dalits in their depressed and deprived state illustrate this dynamic. Even so it requires an identification or incarnational approach together with sensitivity to the cultural nuances of each people. This willingness to honor their heritage and history leads to acceptance of first the practitioner and then to the ideas that he or she brings.

The thesis then discusses the work of secular NGOs. The immense variety of NGO's makes generalization perilous but commentators such as Korten (1990) describe stages of in the development of successful NGOs that bear a striking similarity to the

processes at work in the religious missions studied in this thesis. This leads in turn to consideration of a common theme motivating both religious and non-religious organizations directed toward positive social change: Altruism. A discussion on Altruism is included in Appendix I of this thesis.

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APPENDIX:
REFLECTIONS ON ALTRUISM

The concept of altruism in its expression by Christians is seen to be human trait present in all, Christian and non Christian alike. In the Christian understanding of the subject this arises from the origins of altruism, which Christian believe to be related to the creation of human kind as an act of the divine. Following this expression the steps required to nurture sustain and develop altruism have been shown. The following gives more detail on how this has taken place and the implications it has for Christians. To bring about desired development there has to be a driving motive. For Christians this has been the desire to spread the evangel. One of the major characteristics has been the transcendental emphasis of eternal life. Christians have found that the route they have followed in the NGOs studied has also produced significant development results. Insights into this process are given in the material following.

It is an observed human phenomenon that human beings are known for their willingness to go out of their way to help others. Wispe (1978: xiii) notes in his preface, "What is there about the human predicament that we are constrained…to attend to the suffering and safety of our fellows?" This fact is not just a theoretical ideal as many testify. "The lessons of the past few decades have been on the whole encouraging. They show that thousands of individuals are ready to give their time, effort and in some cases their lives working for NGOs to secure a better environment, to promote human rights, to bring relief to refugees and countless other essential tasks" (Willets 1996: 272). The usage of the term 'altruism' for this recognized human activator of altruistic activity is necessary for survival. Cohen summarizes it very succinctly: "Without it we would become consistent, more integrated, more predictable—and probably extinct" (Cohen, in Wispe 1978: 98).

Altruism is a wide subject with an extensive literature. Western thinking has drawn inspiration from the Greeks, but they are said to have had little interest in altruism. "The thought of whole hearted giving without correspondent personal gain would have

puzzled a Greek" (Palmer 1919: 2). Continuing this line of thought, Hobbes (1588-1679), in his *Leviathan,* maintains that altruism is strictly impossible. The selfishness of humankind may lead to a trade-off resulting in social compacts in order to maintain survival, but the resultant activity is not disinterested—genuine altruism is inoperative (Palmer 1919: 4). However more recent thought has given credence to the concept of altruism, recognizing it as a reality in human experience.

Whence came altruism?

The Origin of Altruism

There is much discussion about the form that altruism takes and how it develops, but the literature is much less precise and definitive about the origin of altruism—where it originally came from and how it first happened. Those who have followed a genetic path in their research provide an example of this. They are faced with the fact that altruism appears to be a strange trait. People selected are ones that are desirable for the species, but altruistic genes are disadvantageous since those who practice altruism can end up sacrificing their very lives. Yet, it is widely recognized that some form of helping behavior is absolutely necessary for human society. Altruism is seen as a human activity, more evident than that seen in animals (Wispe 1978: 311). The statement is made, "Now since man evolved from non human progenitors, either altruism appeared suddenly or it evolved. The latter is the only scientifically acceptable alternative, so the question is how altruistic forms of behavior evolved" (Wispe 1978: 309).

It is a mistake to believe that a science consists in nothing but conclusively proved propositions, and it is unjust to demand that it should. It is a demand only made by those who feel a craving for authority in some form and a need to replace the religious catechism by something else, even if it be a scientific one. Science in its catechism has but few apodictic precepts; it consists mainly of statements which it has developed to varying degrees of probability. The capacity to be content with these approximations to certainty and the ability to carry on constructive work despite the lack of final confirmation are actually a mark of the scientific habit of mind. – Freud (www.webspace.ship.edu/cgboer/freud.html). The result is that altruism, as

practiced, is well researched, but the origin of this behavior, and how it began, is left unanswered.

From a religious viewpoint, the answer to this question is often outside the interest and the framework of thinking of many anthropologists and sociologists. As a Religion the phenomenon is studied in great detail, but the question of whether it embodies absolute truth is left unanswered. Crapo (1990) quotes Tyler (1870) as stating, "Early humans created the idea of the soul to account for such phenomena [the areas of the soul embraced by religious people]."

Later researchers have broadened the discussion by saying, "the question of whether people are responding to a true supernatural realm is itself, not accessible to anthropological study" (Crapo 1990: 233). It is not the purpose of this thesis to argue for or against the view of the religiously committed (i.e., the believers), but merely to say that, for those who are of such convictions, the supernatural is a reality. Monk (1998: 3) explains the nature of religion amongst believers in these terms: "We define religion as any person's reliance on a pivotal value in which that person finds essential wholeness as an individual, as a person in community. For that person, all other values are subordinate to this central value. The pivotal value is authentic to that person, though it may not be meaningful to others."

This point is also made by Sorokim, who discusses this talking of the 'superconscious'—a state which he defines as "the fourth and highest stratum of man's personality"; stratum that are frequently designated as the 'divine in man', 'the manifestation of the Godhead' and so on (Sorokin 1948: 203). Swami Vivekananda enjoins, "But when a man goes into Samadhi (the superconscious union with the Absolute) if he goes into it a fool, he comes out of it a sage" (Vivekananda 1930: 77). The concept that there is a state of consciousness linked to the ultimate is present in all religions. To quote Sorokin again, "Their intuitive system of ultimate value and their conception of man as end value, as a son of God, as a divine soul, as a bearer of the Absolute, these institutions are essentially valid and supremely edifying" (Sorokin 1948: 156). "It is true that many scientists, philosophers and psychologists do not admit to this 'mind' stuff, and most flatly deny the superconscious" (Sorokin 1948: 205). This may be

one of the divides between those who are viewing reality from a religious point of view and those who adopt what they term a more 'scientific' approach to the subject.

The discussion in this paper follows the thinking of religious orientated NGOs, the members of which have as their worldview a sense of the divine and the concept of God in their outlook and thinking. To people of this disposition, altruism has a definite origin in the relationship of the human to the divine.

From a Christian standpoint, the Bible states that "The Lord God formed the man from the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living being" (NIV 1977: Genesis 2:7). Taking this viewpoint does not in itself affirm or negate an evolutionary view of the way humankind has developed. Religious people also have genes; they exhibit a psychology, and so react and develop as other humans do, but there remains the significance of a stance adopted, which factors a divine intervention into their understanding. With this acceptance comes the idea expressed in the Westminster Shorter Catechism, "Man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy him forever" (Westminster 1978: Question 1)—a responsibility of the creature to be obedient to and follow the injunctions of his creator—the concept that there is a sovereign who has placed humans on the earth and requires of them accountability. Islam and Christianity share this same foundation. To them, God has made a revelation to recognized Prophets giving rise to a common sense of the transcendental in relationships between God, man and his creation. Arising from different foundational concepts of the Ultimate, Hindu and Buddhist thought may not have the same definitive concept of 'the image of God in man,' yet retain sufficient similarities to show that a Hindu or Buddhist does believe that his altruism arises from the transcendent relationship.

Understandings of Altruism

Having made this caveat, we now return to the discussion of the understandings reached about altruism. Philosophical, and other academic pursuits, seek to find a reason for altruism, looking for its sources in genetics (Wilson, in Wispe 1978), culture (Cohen, in Wispe 1978), psychology (Eisenberg 1986), or perception (Monroe 1998). Short summaries of a few of these understandings ensue.

Altruism Linked to Genetics

Selective breeding linked to the evolutionary concept of the survival of the fittest appears to indicate that those who express altruistic qualities would be eliminated because, being a form of self-destructive behavior on behalf of others, their actions are disadvantageous (Wilson, in Wispe 1978: 11). This objection is met by considering, not isolated individuals, but larger groups, such as kinship groupings. Wilson (in Wispe 1978: 27) states: "One or more of these blood relatives cooperate or bestow altruistic favors in a way that increases the average genetic fitness of the members of the network as a whole, even when this behaviour reduces the individual fitness of certain members of the group. The essential condition is that individuals behave in a way that benefits the others." This type of behavior is found almost exclusively in humans, although some weaker forms are seen in the higher apes.

Altruism as Learned Behavior

Freud (1930: 122) puts the case for learned behavior in the struggle of mankind to civilize: "But man's natural aggressive instinct, the hostility of each against all and of all against each, opposes this program of civilization....The struggle between Eros and Death...is what all life essentially consists of, and the evolution of civilization may therefore be simply described as the struggle for life of the human species."

A need is seen to work against this ingrained human tendency for self-serving (Cohen, in Wispe 1978: 86). Man operates at the motivational sense, from the point of view of self-interest; cultural indoctrination acts to counter this genetic characteristic (Campbell, in Wispe 1978: 55). On the other hand, Plato, Aristotle, Marx and Hegel offer a much more affirmative view of humanity, seeing potential for altruistic growth. The prevailing view, however, is that stated by Masters (in Wispe 1978: 60). Altruism can only be explained as the result of social custom or convention—and, thus, is essentially learned. In Cohen's view (Cohen, in Wispe 1978: 89), the necessary learning takes place within families via a social control, which is produced through triggering guilt feelings in the individual and functions to control the, otherwise, negative traits. Rather than feelings of empathy and sympathy, this conditioning lies at the root of the altruistic impulse. In the more highly developed religious traditions, such as Buddhism, religious training and

sanctions are brought to bear in order to develop a conditioning that leads to altruistic activity. In Cohen's thinking, altruism is not something inherent in the individual, rather, it is a learned activity related to the need for survival. Cohen (in Wispe 1978: 96) argues, "Giving, obligatory sharing, and other forms of exchanges are universal in human experience. They provide expression and identity to individuals and maintain cohesion and boundaries in social groupings. They also provide means to gain prestige, increase status and to shame or humiliate one's enemies." This concept is further reinforced, for example, by research on different tribal groups in Africa, where the dynamic within the society is not directed to the individual, but to the wider group, family or tribe. In these situations, only actions that benefit the larger group are important. Individual acts towards a person are discounted. In these cases, altruism has a very different form to that practiced by the followers of major religions.

Altruism and Behavior

In order to forgo reward or to suffer punishment on behalf of another, there must be some enlargement of affect, an intensification of feeling for another person or cause. That amplification of feeling, often called empathy or sympathy, is frequently considered the basis for altruistic acts (Rosehan, in Wispe 1978: 103). In this view, altruism arises from the desire for rewards, or the avoidance of pain. First, the likelihood of altruistic behavior is enhanced when the person is experiencing positive effect. Second, altruism must satisfy standards of behaviour that an individual has internalized and may, thus, lead to covert self-reinforcement. Third, cognitive processes may facilitate the performance of altruistic behavior (Rosehan, in Wispe 1978: 110).

Altruism as Forms of Aggression

Anna Freud (Ekstein, in Wispe 1978: 67) claims that much generosity could frequently be understood as offering of treats in order to avoid tricks; so much altruism could be considered as avoidance of, or masking of, aggression. "Even on a large scale, however, many areas of charity, rather than being expressions of genuine love—turn out to be condescending pity, secret hostility, tragic guilt, or self advertisement" (Ekstein, in Wispe 1978: 168).

Much genuine concern for the under-privileged, a deep commitment to their welfare, a true love for them and wishes to be helpful, have often led to a philosophy in which the end justifies the means. Object love for the under-privileged may easily be transformed into indiscriminate and ideological hatred for the oppressor. What was originally altruism may find expression in violent destructive action (Hacker 1971).

Altruism as Perspective

Monroe rejects all these narrowly defined concepts, opting for an overall inclusive presentation. "Perspective incorporates our world views and identities. Our behavior exists in a context of relationships that allows for cultural influences through socialization and the development of values that define us" (Monroe 1996: 14). In seeking a source for this, Monroe comes closer to a religious viewpoint, being willing to concede that altruism is a trait that could come from an inner source. "The prime force behind ethical acts is not conscious choice but rather deep seated, intuitions, predispositions, and habitual patterns of behavior related to central identity" (Monroe 1996: 218).

Altruism and Utility

In the literature, the concept that altruism is essentially a form of utility has strong support. It has already been noted that the Greeks, Hobbes and others, sharing a pessimistic view of humanity, concluded that humankind was interested only in it own preservation, making altruistic ideals remote if not unrealistic and impossible. A strong advocate of this position in the economic sphere is Powelson (1998), in *The Moral Economy*, where he argues that there is no such thing as altruism. The opportunity for altruistic expression begins, not as an innate impulse, but rather as a form of utility; utility expressed as a necessary action to be taken in order to enable society to move on, or to remove a hindrance. Weber's ideas linking the origin of modern capitalism to reforms in religions have been challenged by a later group of utilitarian economists. These economists do not see the origins of modern capitalism in religious teachings or modifications thereof. Rather, to them it is the favorable juxtaposition of forces that brought about the needed equilibrium and balance of power to reach a take-off point (Powelson 1998: 18). These considerations were capital asset formation opportunity for

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new development through the voyages of discovery and technology and organizational ability. The problem of concepts, like the Protestant work ethic, can be observed in the dynamism of the Asian economic tigers. Here are successful economic societies that have no Protestant heritage, but have produced vibrant economies. Landers' (1998: 477) examination shows that the same basic elements of hard work, thrift and determination, combined with the willingness to learn and innovate, have produced the Asian miracle.

The value of these different theoretical approaches to altruism is that, while there are differences as to the origin of altruism, when it comes to the actual expressions of the altruistic person, much more agreement can be found. A concept of 'hard' and 'soft' altruism will be developed later. Here, under soft altruism, many of the observations made in the literature have real relevance.

A Religious View of Altruism

We resume the argument, then, from the previous discussion on the origins of altruism. It has been stated that, to the religious person, altruism is linked to the concept of the divine, the ultimate reality. The concept of the deity is described as being altruistic. To the Christian, the supreme altruistic act was the sacrifice made by Jesus on behalf of mankind (NIV 1977: Romans 5:7). The Muslim attributes similar basic altruistic ideals to the personage of Allah, who is said to have 99 names—many of which embrace strongly altruistic concepts. The Hindu and Buddhist, by requiring of their followers acceptance of paths involving the enshrining of altruistic acts, also indicate that the Ultimate is linked-in with altruism as one of its main characteristics.

In turn, this concept of the divine being altruistic brings into the equation the religious quest to find, in Christian terms ('the forgiveness of sins') and in Hindu terms (*moksha* or release from *samsara,* the cycle of birth and rebirth, or the attainment of *nirvana*), the answer to the sufferings and tribulations experienced on earth. This concept has been expressed in a more secular form by Freud (1930), as noted earlier, where he is talking of the basic human experience as an endeavor to see civilization triumph over savagery. Altruism, in the religious sense, is definitely linked-in with the attainment of salvation, in whatever form that may take. As Freud enjoins, this will prove to be a struggle. The religious ideological stance is to respond to the divine and adopt an

altruistic way of life. To attain this, in practice, requires struggle and discipline. St. Paul is under no illusions as he describes the struggle of the old against the new (NIV 1977: Romans 7, 12:2). The Muslim is required to make daily decisions to come under the control of the will of Allah. The Hindu follows his chosen path to overcome the ignorance holding him back, and so attain release. In similar fashion, the Buddhist seeks to follow the Eightfold Path, bring his life under discipline and so realize the Buddhahood that is inherent within him—the restoration of that 'image' with which he has been endowed.

We return then to the topic of what is a religious understanding of altruism. Starting with the Christian understanding of man as made in the image of God, Genesis 1:26 (NIV 1977) states, "let us make man in our image, in our likeness." The meaning of the 'image of God' has been variously interpreted. Wolff (1974: 159) says it implies a special relationship between man and God; man has about him a 'spiritual quality', a transcendence, which links him with the divine in a way that the other living beings of creation do not have; man is given responsible tasks (NIV 1977: Genesis 1:15-17) and powers of decision (NIV 1977: Genesis 1:18-23). Referring on to Psalm 8, man is seen as "crowned with glory and honor." Man is a steward, a viceroy, to look after and develop the creation God has made. In the pattern of the relational God (expressed in Christian thought as the trinity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit), man is to live in love toward his fellow humans or, as expressed in the words of the commandment, to "Love the Lord your God with all your heart, soul and mind and your neighbor as yourself" (NIV 1977: Leviticus 19:34). The New International Version Study Bible (NIV 1977: 6, footnote 4) remarks that every human being is worthy of respect as each human is made in the image of God. Image includes such characteristics as righteousness and holiness, knowledge and understanding (NIV 1977: Ephesians 4:24; NIV 1977: Colossians 3:10). He was endowed with will to rebel against God. This brought about a separation from God, and the marring of the image. Man is fallen, but not totally depraved. He retains a God likeness because of being made in His image. The New Testament elaborates on this meaning by requiring of man the responsibility to know and understand God. St. Paul (NIV 1977: Romans 1:19) states, "since what may be known about God is plain to them because God has made it plain to them." The sin of Adam has brought judgment, but has

not obliterated the spirituality of man. The spiritual qualities of the Creator God remain, as do the responsibilities. Man retains a capacity to love others and to serve them. Man does have a capacity for goodness, for responding to human need, for showing love and concern toward his fellow beings.

The concept of doing good works is said by St. Paul to be part of the new man (NIV 1977: Corinthians 5:17), who has been made in Christ Jesus, "For we are God's workmanship created in Christ Jesus to do good works, which God prepared in advance for us to do" (NIV 1977: Ephesians 2:10). In this sense, the new man is a restored man akin to that man, who was originally made in the image of God. Doing good works is not for merit, but is an expression of the nature of God that is intrinsic in the human.

Islamic thought is close to that of the Christian. Both systems come from a monotheistic concept of the deity. Central to the ideas of Islam is *tawhid,* or the absolute Unity of God. God has revealed Himself as one, and humans are to accept and honor this principle. In practice, the follower of Islam, a Muslim, is the one who submits his life to the will of the Supreme *Allah*, in three obligatory ways: the recital of the Creed, the saying of ritual prayers and the keeping of the month of fasting, *Ramadan.* Adding into this are two further requirements that are binding on those qualified to fulfill them: the giving of tithes, *zakat*, (Koran 1988: Suras 2:110, 2:271, 9:60, 9:111, 92:18-21) and the making of the pilgrimage, *Haj*. For the purpose of this discussion, the concept of *zakat* will prove to be germinal. Islam sees man as a creation of Allah (Koran 1988: Sura 2:35), Ansari (1977: vii), basing his thinking on the Koranic Sura 7:172, says, "Thus because this event (creation) relates to the transcendental world and conditions of transcendental existence, the transcendental or spiritual nature and the real human personality is established." From this basic premise, Ansari (1977: x) goes on to draw the conclusion that moral activity is grounded in the very foundation of spiritual personality, which is spiritual and transcendental in reach and scope. Man has been endowed with the qualities that enable him to fulfill and follow the will of Allah. The responsibility of man is to recognize this reality and then submit his life to the will of Allah: "He knows that as man he stands alone between heaven and earth with none but his axiological vision to show the road, his will to commit energies to the task and his

conscience to guard against pitfalls. His prerogative is to lead the life of cosmic danger for no God is there to do the job for him" (Al Faruqi 1998: 15).

The will of Allah has a strong social content. Islam defines religion as the very business of life—which it declares as innocent, good and desirable, in itself, because it is the creation, the gift of God. Islam wants humans to pursue what is of nature to enjoy— to do all these things, but do them righteously, without lying, cheating, stealing. Islam calls man the *Khalifah,* because to do all things well is to fulfill the will of God. The social order is necessary if that purpose is to be realized at all. The social order, and its felicity, is the ultimate goal of Islam in space-time (Al Faruqi 1998: 85). To fulfill this ideal is something Allah requires of man. Failure to enter into this contract will bring the judgment of Allah. However this is not just a personal matter, rather, in the Islamic concept, the personal is of less importance than the communal. It is enjoined, not just on the individual, but also on the whole community, to embrace the will of Allah and work for the betterment of others. "The social order is the heart of Islam and stands prior to the personal. But it regards them all as empty unless their cultivators effectively increase the good and benefit of others in society" (Al Faruqi 1998: 86). The major difference between an Islamic social system and that practiced by most Western societies is that, unlike the secular visions of the West, Islam embraces a strong theistic view, where the will of Allah is paramount and rules. The social system of Islam is diametrically contrary to modern secularism. Allah is seen as the controlling force, and man is to be subject to His Will (Al Faruqi 1998: 90-91).

In an interview with Ishtiaq Danish of the Hamdarad University in New Delhi in March 1999, he stated that the Islamic concept of welfare is termed *falah* or *rifah,* in Persian. This has a dual concept in the Arabic, meaning success in earthly life but, also, linked to success in the like hereafter—a balanced approach between the material and the spiritual. The concept can be illustrated by the emphasis placed on prayers or *salah,* that is, toward God and then *zakat,* that is, toward man. *Zakat* is not charity but, rather, an expression of responsibility toward Allah. Justice is also important because of its effect on the wellbeing of society. The Muslim has a strong motivation to do things for others because there is a very strong community concept, unlike the individualism dominant in the West. This in turn develops a strong social aspect, as all are seen as human, deserving

to be looked after and served. Another Islamic expression of altruism is seen in the concept of w*aqf*, or religious endowment, a form of the trust concept.

Hinduism has another foundation coming from a monistic worldview. Hindu thought is very eclectic. The statement that 'all roads lead to one goal' enables Hindu ideas to absorb and embrace most other religious thought systems in some form. The Hindu scripture, the *Upanishads*, portrays God, not as a theistic creator, but the absolute, the deepest self, the ultimate reality, or what some writers now call the 'ground of all being'. The true monist has direct access to the Absolute through the discipline of *yoga*. In Hindu thought, there is only one eternal principle in the cosmos and, thus, denies a Creator separate from his creation. It therefore requires no outside power to intervene in it (Brow 1966: 33). The challenge that humans face is that they are out of touch with the ultimate reality, through their inability to realize their oneness. Salvation comes through the awareness that there is no duality and that, in reality, God and the human are part of the one great ultimate consciousness.

Hindu thought can also embrace many different sets of ideas. This presentation is confined to the ideas and concepts accepted by the Ramakhrishna Mission, the chosen group amongst Hindu NGOs that is being studied here as archetypal. Swami Bhaskrananda states that Hinduism has no founder. It is a collection of the super-sensuous truths discovered by ancient Indian sages (Bhaskranada 1994: 4). By reinterpretation, they have made earlier scriptural texts relevant to changed times and people.

In his presentation, Bhaskrananda speaks of humans understanding that God created the world. Within this process, humankind was produced through the agency of a created being, *Hiranyagarbha*. While having no direct parallels with Christian concepts, there is sufficient similarity to suggest that man has 'Divinity'. This is further seen from the Hindu ideal of salvation, *moksha,* which is to lose the sense of 'otherness' and be again enveloped or merged into the Divine. The true meaning of life is found in undergoing disciplines that will enable the human to realize this desirable Oneness. These disciplines are described as the paths of devotion, knowledge and works.

The Hindu 'image of God' concept is expressed as the Brahman, the monistic concept that humankind is part of the whole, part of the great universal Brahman but out of harmony with that reality. Whatever the interpretation given to these religious concepts from the point of view of this discussion, the altruistic concept is seen by the Hindu mind as that divine sense, a divine spark. This sense of the divine is fostered and encouraged until the person becomes absorbed again in the divine.

Swami Vivekananda, the founder of the Ramakhrishna Mission, emphasizes the concept of the divinity that is within man. "Each soul is potentially divine. The goal is to manifest this Divinity within by controlling nature. Do this by work, worship, psychic control or philosophy and be free. Religion is the manifestation of the divinity within man" (Vivekananda 1993: 79). "The ultimate goal of all mankind is but one—reunion with God or with the divinity which is every man's true nature" (Vivekananda 1993: 82).

Various methods are used to reach this end. The Swami talks of the different established paths to reach this ideal state of oneness with the divine. The path of knowledge, or *Jnana,* will release man from the delusion that he is under. The concept of sin as understood by Christians is present in *vedanta.* The Christian emphasizes the weakness of humankind. Vedanta would place emphasis on the positive and so see man released from this bondage. The monistic understanding will take us on to realize that we are, in reality, one with the infinite. *Raja Yoga* will take the individual to a control of himself by discovering the inner recesses within that keep the soul in bondage. *Bhakti* or devotion is considered by the Swami to be an easier path, more attainable by the normal human. By love, by devotion, it is possible to release the God, who is within. However, the major new concept, both the Swami and his mentor Sri Ramakhrishna introduced, is the idea that the ideal should be realized by serving other humans, particularly the poor and oppressed. Worship and work for the human are perceived as recognizing the highest being in whom the Brahman can be seen.

The Buddha discerned that the basic challenge facing humankind came from suffering or *dukka* (Piboolsravut 1997: 15). This suffering was produced because humans have cravings or desires. Liberation comes from being free from this desire. These lusts and desires produce the undesirable *karma* due to cause and effect which, in turn, chains humans to *samsara,* the endless cycle of birth and rebirth, returning humans to this earth.

"The Buddha discovered the law of *karma* which explains the causal relationships amongst conditions at the time of his enlightenment. The law of Karma constitutes the Buddhist idea of the round of rebirth, denoted as the cycle of existence (*samsara*)" (Piboolsravut 1997: 19). When desire is extinguished, the human becomes free of this world and experiences the merging again into the Ultimate—this is Nirvana. To reach this desirable state, the Buddha laid-out a life of discipline, known as the Eight Fold Path, based on the Four Noble Truths. Like the 'image of God in man' concept, the Buddhist thought of altruism comes from the realization that, within man, there is a quality that can be developed, disciplined and enabled, until the ultimate reality is realized and found. In Buddhism, the true state of the mind is said to be clear and luminous [Pali text translation A.I.5 (9-10)]. This quality of mind is characterized as having discernment. Discernment gives rise to compassion, which is marked by generosity and loving-kindness (Piboolsravut 1997: 22). Each human has the capacity to find this inner being within him or herself, and so through a process of self-realization, reach the desired end of losing desire and attaining transcendence to Nirvana. However defined, there resides within each human a quality enabling that person to make the effort to improve and develop him or herself.

Religious expressions of altruism are related to those qualities that recognize need in others, and then respond to that need even when there is no immediate expectation of gain or return to the giver.

Altruism then exists in all these major religious groupings. The origin of this altruism is related to the concepts of transcendence that are common to those who share religious beliefs.

Religious Altruism and its Outworkings

Having established the origin of the religious concept of altruism as transcendental, the discussion moves on to how this is expressed and links with the more secular understandings of altruism.

It has already been noted that whilst the ideal is to realize the Kingdom of God, which is within you (NIV 1977: Luke 17: 21), the actual practical realization of this ideal is a great challenge involving much struggle. The Christian is not required to have totally

selfless and uninterested motivation. Rather, he or she is encouraged to "lay not up treasure on earth but in heaven where rust and moth does not corrupt" (NIV 1977: Matthew 6:19). There is a judgment seat at which the works of men are to be judged and measured, and rewards given out.

Islam also does not see it necessary to have total non-selfish expressions of altruism. The community is so important that sharing and service within the community is regarded as part of the human. Without this expression, the individual is not totally human and denies his own modicum of existence. As eternal salvation is linked to the concept that the baby is born innocent but with the capacity to make choices, the doing of good works is an important choice—a choice that then brings merit with important consequences for future eternal welfare.

This is the altruistic ideal espoused by all of religious faith, although the attainment of this ideal requires much support and activity. While having its own distinctive sources, the outworking of religious altruism bears strong parallels with that of the secular. The differences lie more in the sources and motivations than in the details of what actually happens.

It is worth noting also that the Absolute, the pure form of altruism held up as an ideal, is not normally present in most of humanity. Spiro (1970) in relation to Buddhism is quite candid, "So few ever reach this desired goal that those who attain are said to have reached Buddhahood and are then revered as a type of demi God." From a Christian point of view, it could be said that the Bible does not put forward a totally disinterested pure form of altruism. In speaking of the motivation of Jesus Christ, The New Testament does not make him totally altruistic in this pure sense. Jesus is described as a person who, "for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God" (NIV 1977: Hebrews 12:2). This is clearly not a disinterested altruistic stance.

Hindu and Buddhist thought come closer to the absolute ideal of totally disinterested service. Hindu belief requires that *karma marga* or selfless service is a necessary condition for the attainment of *moksha* or release. In other words, only work that hasn't any component of taint of self or selfish desire can be of worth and value

toward the attainment of the Hindu ideal. Ramakhrishna followers embody a less demanding, but more realistic form of altruism and have modified this absolute form of altruism: "It may be argued that even when a person works for the sake of God, the desire for his own spiritual progress actually motivates his action. But according to Karma Yoga the desire for one's own spiritual progress is not considered selfishness; it is considered 'enlightened' selfishness. It is not harmful" (Bhaskrananda 1994: 133). The absolute 'ideal' form of altruism as commonly perceived is more an ideological stance than one attainable in reality or even supported by religious texts.

Wilson (1978: 155) provides further caution in the adaptation of an absolute form of altruism when he states: "To understand this strange selectivity and resolve the puzzle of human altruism we must distinguish two basic forms of cooperative behavior. The altruistic impulse can be irrational and unilaterally directed at others. The bestower expresses no desire for equal return. This is 'hard core' altruism. A set of responses that is relatively unaffected by social reward or punishment." Wilson sees this form of altruism as almost dangerous and, to that extent, undesirable. The absolute altruist can easily become a fanatic, wanting to impose his or her will on others. The idea that one has been inspired by God or commanded by God can give rise to all kinds of authoritarian behavior. For many, a concept like *jihad* brings with it threatening nuances. Religious leaders often express this type of behavior leading to strong authoritarian statements such as the saying of Jesus, "Those who believe in him are not condemned but those who do not believe are condemned already because they have not believed in the name of the Son of God" (NIV 1977: John 3:18); or the strong statement of Paul in the book of Acts (AV 1945: Acts 4:12), "Neither is there salvation in any other for there is no other name given under heaven whereby we must be saved." For thinkers like Wilson, this burning zeal to propagate is threatening and self-defeating, leading to stagnation in society.

This challenge coming out of what appears to be well-meaning motivation has significant implications as was noted when discussing altruism as aggression. Hacker (1971) warns, "Much genuine concern for the under privileged, a deep commitment to their welfare, a true love for them and wish to be helpful, often has led to a philosophy in which the end justifies the means. Object love for the underprivileged may easily be

transformed into indiscriminate and ideological hatred for the oppressor. What was originally altruism may find expression in violent destruction action. " Krebs (in Wispe 1978: 168) provides an additional warning: "Christian and other religious ideas…although originally based on a capacity to love…may easily lead to inquisition and religious persecution, to racism as patriotism, or dictatorship thinly disguised as liberation of a suppressed class of people." The 9-11 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington DC provide an outstanding example of this phenomenon. The followers of Bin Laden believed they were acting to purify their faith and, in that sense, took part in a legitimate *jihad* to protect the future of their own people in the light of threats from the West.

Another concept pertinent to this discussion is self-worth, the need to 'love' ourselves, which modifies the absolute altruistic ideal. Myers (1999: 411), commenting on the thinking of Maslow and Rogers says, "We ultimately experience a quest for self actualization the process of fulfilling one's potential; of becoming the self one is capable of becoming." The idea is that normality is linked to an understanding of your own self-worth. Myers (1999: 83) goes on to say that: "Children who have formed a positive self image tend to be more confident, independent, optimistic assertive and sociable." Until we can 'love ourselves', we have no self-worth or identity from which to reach-out to others. A major problem for many people is their lack of self-worth and value. Until this challenge is met and solved, there is no progress onward.

In Christianity, this is a strong concept. The second half of the great commandment says "Love your neighbor as yourself" (NIV 1977: Leviticus 19:18). To Jesus, love could only be expressed toward others to the degree that it was also love of one's own self. If the love of self is lost, then there is no capacity to love the neighbor. Therefore, secondary motivations are necessary and adjunct requirements for altruism to flourish.

Conclusion

The value of retaining this absolute concept of altruism lies in the holding up of an ideal—even though one may not be capable of realizing that ideal. There are a few saintly figures in each generation, who remain as ideals for the community to look up to—the abiding figures of the religious founders—the Buddha, Jesus Christ, the prophet Mohammed. Added to these come others revered as saints: St. Francis of Assissi, to the environmentalists and, in the immediate past generation, Mahatma Gandhi and, more recently, Mother Theresa. Society would surely be impoverished if we were not able to look up to these people as exemplary. This concept will be further amplified in the section about hero figures.

In contrast to this absolute form of altruism, Wilson (1978: 155) talks of soft altruism that, although of lesser purity in reality, is of greater value in society. "'Soft core' altruism is ultimately selfish. The altruist expects reciprocation for himself or his closest relatives. His good behavior is calculating. His maneuvers orchestrated by the sanctions and demands of society." Soft altruism is considered next.

Developing, Nurturing and Preserving Altruism

There is the concept that religious altruism is of transcendental origin; that it is common to all faiths; that there is an ideal or absolute form held up as the model for all to follow. To move on, beyond the basic concepts of altruism intrinsic to humanity, requires further stimulus and motivation.

Nurturing Religious Altruism

It was noted earlier that altruism can be understood as a product of culture (the view of Cohen and Masters)—a learned behavior or the result of behavioral stimuli (the view of Skinner)—patterns enjoined and then reinforced until they become internalized as the mores of the culture. Cohen, Masters, and Skinner see the sources of these patterns as lying within the psychological drives and behavioral patterns present in society. The different dynamics of each society's situation accounts for the diversity in the expressions of altruism. A religious view of altruism follows this same pattern, the only divergence being the original source. While not denying the dynamics of psychological drives and

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behavioral patterns as valid, the religious altruist would point rather to an inner innate urge (which has been termed 'the image of God in man' or the divine essence), which is then reinforced and brought to the area of activity by divine injunctions and the inspiration afforded by exemplary religious hero figures. The force of the need to share in demonstrating the Kingdom of God, for the Christian, and the importance of right actions and thoughts as a means of finally reaching to the ideal of *nirvana*, for the Buddhist, are seen as strong motivating forces in the lives of the believers.

The Hindu expression of altruism is represented in this thesis by considering the Ramakhrishna Movement in India. Seeing the great need of the poor in India, Swami Vivekananda, was moved to motivate his followers by drawing on their religious tradition. Reference was made to the fact that the highest expression of the Brahman was seen in humans; serving humankind was the greatest expression of humanity, and thus the most meritorious and worthwhile.

A similar exhortation to goodness and altruistic endeavor is present in Islam. The Koran states that to overlook the needy is to deny the essence of the faith: "Hast thou observed him who belieth religion? That is he who repelleth the orphan, and urgeth not the feeding of the needy" (Koran 1977: Sura 107:1-3); and "And feed with food the needy wretch; the orphan and the prisoner, for love of him" (Koran 1977: Sura 76:8). A tradition ascribed to Hazrat Abu Hurairah states: "One who helps a fellow Muslim in removing his difficulty in this world, Allah will remove the former's distress on the Day of Judgment. He who helps to remove the hardship of another, will have his difficulties removed by Allah in this world and the Hereafter." Beyond the obligatory giving to Allah in the form of *zakat*, provision is also made for voluntary giving known as *sadaqat*. The Koran enjoins the generous giving to meet those in need (Koran 1977: Sura 27:26).

Further reinforcement comes from the examples set by outstanding leaders within the faith. All faiths have charismatic leaders, who have been outstanding examples of how the faithful are to go about living their lives.

Beginning with the Old Testament, Christian thought is mainly concerned with the Jewish people and their welfare, however, there are accounts given which show that the divine purpose extended out beyond the covenant people to the world beyond. A

captive of the Assyrians, the little servant girl extends her benevolence to her master, Naaman, encouraging him to avail himself of the services of the Hebrew prophet, Elisha, and be healed of his leprosy (NIV 1977: 2 Kings 5). In another instance during the same period, Elisha brings the Shunammite's son back to life as an expression of his appreciation for her hospitality. In a more theological setting, the prophet Jonah is dispatched to Nineveh, the capital of the oppressor Assyria, in order to exhort them to repentance and faith. The prophet does not appreciate this act of the grace of Jehovah. He would much rather see the wrath of God fall on them. The discipline of Jonah indicates that the Hebrew were to have a vision for more than the immediate clan people.

Jesus gave a much greater impetus to this concept of meeting the need of your neighbor, and the accounts of the gospels are replete with the alleviation of suffering in all its forms. The ministry of Jesus extended from giving help to those whom he discerned as being oppressed by evil spirits, to those who were afflicted by what appeared to be incurable diseases like leprosy, to the wider range of human complaints of the lame, halt and blind. Jesus regarded even death as curable, showing that it was part of the curse put on Adam and, therefore, not an event that was linked to the original creative power of God.

In His ministry throughout the gospels, Jesus not only extends the ministry of healing and help to the covenant people but, also, continually amazes them by extending this beneficence beyond the clan group to the outsider. Not only in his teaching, as indicated by the parable of the Good Samaritan, but in his practice, he reaches out to others in gestures, which show that the plan of God extends to the despised outsiders, the Gentiles, as well as to the people of the clan group Israel. Examples are the Roman Centurion (NIV 1977: Luke 7) and the Syrophoenician woman (NIV 1977: Mark 7:24-30). His Apostles, who take the message of the Gospel out to the surrounding nations and, in the process, engage in acts of mercy and healing, reinforce Jesus' example further.

All of these examples provide motivation through hero figures, which become role models for the followers. All great altruistic people in the Christian tradition follow the example set by Jesus and that of the greater of his followers. In his own day, the Apostle Paul encouraged his followers in this way. "Join with others in following my

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example brothers and take note of those who live according to the pattern that I gave you" (NIV 1977: Philippians 3:17).

Islamic teaching rests on the divine revelation as given in the Koran and the Hadith or traditions, which are the attested sayings of the Prophet and his immediate followers. The Hadith interprets the faith for the Muslim; giving him prescribed ways of acting that have been laid down by the hero figure example of the prophet. Within the different traditions of Islam, such as the Sufi, paths or *tariqa* are developed following different guides similar to the guru concept within Hinduism.

The Hindu principle of finding a guru or guide can also be invoked here. Although the primary goal is *moksha* or spiritual deliverance, selflessness is an important aid to that goal, so the guru guides his disciple into selfless actions that enable him or her to attain to the final goal of transcendence.

The Mahayana Buddhist tradition has strong examples of the hero figure in the Bhodasatavas: those who have attained to Nirvana but have restrained themselves and returned to a spiritual, rather than social, path, but the principle remains of the hero figure, who gives him or herself to be a helpmeet for others who seek to find that way.

Altruism, then, begins with the 'hard' form, providing the ideal that all look up to. In reality, this form is exhibited by the outstanding leaders of the faiths, and a few rare persons who attain to this expression of altruism. Such persons are rare enough to be revered as 'saints'—those who have attained to the highest expressions of the faith. These are the people who have been able to respond to the divine injunctions present within their faiths, and act upon them leaving behind an example that others can follow. All faiths require this form of renewal in order to retain the needed revitalization of standards and values for the faith to continue to prosper and grow.

In conclusion, the beginnings of altruism can be considered as religious ideals expressed by a few exemplary figures in history. But as noted by Wilson (1978: 155), there is also another more common form of altruism that he terms 'soft' altruism, which if not realizing the totally idealistic form, nevertheless, has great utility in meeting needs within humanity. For the religious person, this altruism is nurtured and fostered by

following the exhortation of religious texts and the example of great religious leaders. We now consider the forms that this soft altruism has taken.

Developing Religious Altruism

Historically, religious altruism has developed and progressed during the period in which humans have existed. There have been dominant factors that have furthered its development, both within the internal environment and then in response to stimuli from outside. Major internal stimulants are transferring resources or charity and the desire to expand the faith.

Altruism Expressed Through the Transfer of Resources: Charity

The exhortations of the divine injunctions inherent in all religious systems are sufficient to produce forms of the transfer of resources, or charity, and heroic efforts to provide for the needs of the less fortunate.

There is also a less religious and more secular view of these developments. Historically, an important development in thinking came about in what Anderson has described as the Axial Age, 700-200 BC. The reason for this is attributed to an economic factor when an agricultural surplus enabled humankind to move from subsistence to building up civilizations. Accompanying this was a shift of power, from the local ruler and priests to the market place. As Anderson (2000: xii) notes, "Prophets and reformers arose who insisted that the virtue of compassion was crucial to the spiritual life: an ability to see sacredness in every single human being, and a willingness to take practical care of the more vulnerable members of society."

As mentioned earlier this gave rise to the dominant religious groups of Buddhism and Hinduism in India, Confucianism and Taoism in China, and the Hebrew prophets in Israel. All of them sought to awaken people to their own personal need, and to make an impact on the environment around them. The Gautama, who later became the Buddha, ventured forth from the shelter and comfort of an insulated and secluded life within a palace to find a world of suffering and despair outside. The answer he brought to this, detailed in the research of many scholars, indicates that this challenge could be met by spiritual transcendental concepts.

Islamic contributions to altruism, expressed as charity, have come through *zakat, sadaqat, ushr* and *waqf.* All of these encourage human contribution to the needs of others. *Zakat* is a type of tax collected from those qualified as being able to give from their resources for the betterment of others. The tax, 2.5% on all uninvested wealth, is collected and put in a public treasury, then distributed to those in need (Rahman 1977: 314). A similar requirement, called *ushr,* is one-twentieth of agricultural produce on irrigated land and one-tenth on rain-fed land (Rahman 1966: 316). The Koranic injunction is strong enough for governments in Islamic countries to require their citizens to contribute to this social need. The money is collected as taxes that are paid to the government. Among the Ismailies, the *zakat* is paid to the recognized Imam—a considerable resource that the recent Aga Khan's have used to great advantage. Provision is also made in Islam for charitable giving, called w*aqf* (Koran 1977: Sura 73:20). The Arabic term refers to 'arresting' or setting aside money. Wealthy individuals have set up these trusts that have maintained mosques, hospitals, pilgrim centers and other worthy social causes. Education has also been heavily endowed, as it has in the past often remained in the private domain.

Another important but much misunderstood Islamic resource is the concept of *jihad* or holy war (Koran 1977: Sura 35:6, 22:78). In its purest form, *jihad* is a war against the inner self, against the tendencies that move a person away from God (Rahman 1966: 121). In this sense it is "exertion in the way of God." However in its more modern usage, it is identified with the spirit of revitalization. This is the spirit that carries the fight against the enemies of Islam, even a literal violent fight—the enemies who would turn the people away from Allah.

Altruism as an Adjunct to the Expansion or Consolidation of the Faith

An example of how altruism has been furthered by the expansion and consolidation of the faith is seen in the outreach from Europe by Catholic missionaries, initially in the period 1500 to 1800 and, then later, by Protestants who were spurred forward through William Carey going to India in 1793 (Neill 1972: 29-53).

During the period 1500 to 1960, European altruistic opportunities often came as adjuncts to the expansion of the faith. The Western world, spurred on to greater endeavor

in their colonialist expansion, opened a door for Christian altruistic endeavor. Missionaries obeyed the command of Jesus to go out into the world and make disciples. They followed the traders into the newly opened up lands, seeking to reach people with the pure message of the good news, which normally required taking a holistic approach. This approach requires taking in the whole person, not merely his or her spiritual needs. At times, human need has been so dominant that this must first be met. Not until that time was there an ear for the good news of spiritual salvation.

It was not possible to think beyond the immediate borders to lands afar, until there was a period of relative calm in Europe, which arose from 1500 to 1750. The influences that furnish the needed stimulus are many and varied. La Tourette (1965: 159-200) summarizes them well. The result of all this opportunity was the domination of the globe by European peoples to a degree never before seen. This challenge presented the Christian Church with a great opportunity.

To go beyond your own borders and seek to meet the needs of those far away requires an economic base. Expansion is only possible if there are resources to sustain it. Missions can only be mounted if there is some way to finance them. The wandering mendicant monks undertook the earliest forms of mission. These monks paid the price of great personal privation in order to do good. The Celtic and Roman Catholic Monks are in this grouping. These people through the Middle Ages built a chain of monasteries that reached out beyond their borders to those in need. In addition they provided way stations for the mendicants to gain the minimum of shelter and fellowship required to undertake the mission.

Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal (1394-1460), included in his voyages of discovery an element of spreading the Christian faith (La Tourette 1965: 163). It is the social arm, upon which we shall follow through on here, rather than the evangelistic. The ruling and reigning powers of the day were not so much interested in the spiritual welfare, but had great interest in trade and civilization that would enable them to bring under control wider kingdoms. The state found an ally in these ardent evangelists; they were used as civilizing agents to bring under control the wild natives in distant kingdoms. Thus began a symbiotic relationship of value to both sides, but with some spin-offs that were not ideal. The original settlers in South America enslaved the local Indians or

imported African slaves. It was the responsibility of the missionaries not only to evangelize but, also, to ameliorate the lot of these unfortunate people taking up their cause.

The Protestant altruistic stimulus afforded by imperialism came later than the Catholic. This was linked in with the Age of Discovery, which began first with the Spanish and Portuguese (Catholic powers) and later moved on to the Dutch and British who were more Protestant. Another factor was economic. With their strong orders linked to poverty and celibacy, the Catholics were able to promote mission with low overheads, the cost being borne chiefly by the dedicated fathers and nuns, who often went out to far lands devoting their lives and interest in those distant places, never to return.

Protestants were able to marry and bring up families. These families entailed costs of nurture and education, unknown to the celibate communal living priests and nuns of the Roman Catholic orders. The entry point for Protestants required a bigger investment and, hence, forced the take off point to come later when the commercial middle classes generated sufficient resources.

When contacted, the 'heathen were found to be in a poor state, economically and socially, compared to the standards accepted by Europe. The more evangelistically minded missionaries attributed this economic backwardness to 'sin' and worship of other Gods. To many, the causes lay in the neglect of economic fundamentals like education, hygiene and social support systems. There was interest in promoting education and medicine to improve the welfare of the people. For some, this became the main interest and gave rise to the 'social gospel', which saw the ministry and mission of the Church to be largely a civilizing activity.

Viewed as altruistic by its Christian sponsors, this activity was treated with great cynicism by many ardent nationalists. The well-meaning missionaries were seen as tools in the hands of the imperialists to further their aims of subjugating and oppressing those colonized. "The services were incidental. They were the means. The objectives were to convert the natives to Christianity" (Shourie 1998: 7). Viewed from an altruistic viewpoint, it can be cogently presented that many of the individuals involved in this missionary enterprise gave of their best and served the people with great dedication. The

challenge of outreach opened opportunities for them to express their altruistic motivations.

In the Islamic tradition, an example of this type of activity mixed with political objectives can be seen in Egypt, where the Muslim Brotherhood was active in social endeavor. Anderson (2000: 222) notes that Hassan al Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, in 1945, began a social welfare program in the poorer districts of Cairo and founded clinics and hospitals in rural areas. This program was so successful that the political authorities of Nasser suppressed it in 1949 because it was seen as a threat to their position. The motivation for the welfare program can be regarded as having political roots, but the actual work of the individuals within expressed altruistic sentiments and concepts.

Obtaining Salvation by Good Works

For some, only absolute or hard altruism is valid. To be truly altruistic there must be no thought of reward or return, either in this world or the next. To insist on this narrow focus leaves a lot of worthy endeavor unrecognized—for many religious-minded people, the motivation that doing good works contributes toward salvation or a better life in the next world, is a strong incentive to be involved.

As noted above, Christians must recognize the image of God in their being, and so, find motivation from within to do good works with no thought of return. However it is true that for many Christians, their concept of salvation by grace is clouded with other ideas—ideas also espoused by Islam, where the good and bad that they have done will factor into the consideration that God gives to them at the great Judgment Day.

The Muslim concept sees good works and altruistic endeavor as a requirement on man if he is to fulfill the will of Allah (Koran 1977: Sura 92: 18-21). Failure to do this will result in eternal loss. In that sense, all good works have about them a sense of insurance against the actions of the Almighty at a future date.

The Hindu is not doing good works to appease or please a future judge but, rather, as a means of soul purification. The good works enable him to rise out of the bondage of ignorance, which he finds himself in, toward a greater spiritual end. The good works have

another cosmic dimension built into them. These actions and activities enable the human to transcend the mundane and reach out to the Divine.

The Buddhist has a similar concept, except that it is less theistically orientated. The inner being is purified and cleansed by these actions. A state of desirelessness is reached when the soul is freed from the bondage of suffering.

Take-Off Points

The discussion of the development of religious altruism has to this point concentrated on internal factors. Motivations that are pressed on the personage from religious teachings, the example of hero figures, then the outgrowth of applying religious teaching in areas of charity, the expansion of the faith and obtaining salvation through good works. There are also other factors present, and these are external within the environment that the human finds him or herself in. At different times in history, responses to human need have been varied. These responses are conditioned by the prevailing outside environment, relating to the concepts that are present and to the degree of economic and social development that has been present at that particular period in time. Such external happenings can be considered as take off points when favorable circumstances converge to make extension to reach other peoples more possible. In the Western world, such an extension was the Age of Discovery that took place when the technology of navigation corresponded with an internal industrialization that made exports and enhanced trade possible and desirable. A significant take off point for the non-Western world has been the impact of western mission activity on non-Christian faiths. These areas will now be explored to discover how they have enhanced religious altruism.

Beyond Charity to Development and Empowerment

For many centuries, as previously mentioned, altruistic endeavor was largely limited to charity. The poor were to be alleviated and their desperate strait improved by sharing out the good things that others had. Society was largely accepted as stratified and static. The Hindu world accepted the caste system, while the Christian and Muslim worlds accepted a class-orientated society.

A significant change within this thinking began in Europe. The outcome of these changes led to the concepts underlying capitalism and, from them also, the foundational ideas that have gone on to produce the empowerment principles that underlie progressive development theories—the concept that a society can move out of poverty and then on to long-term sustainable growth is a relatively new idea. In the West, as noted earlier and up until a period around 1750, the society was basically a stable system for most of the populous. There was a small economic surplus controlled by the elites. This surplus was used for consumption expenditures, such as going to war to grab loot and gain glory with prestige rather than investing the surplus for future growth.

The new factor that emerged in Europe during the period following 1750 had to do with cultural change produced from a new economic reality, the use of industrial technology. "Until the West produced a wholly new kind of civilization (based on technology) all cultures depended on surplus agricultural produce. No culture before our own could afford the constant innovation we take for granted in the West" (Anderson 2000: 33).

For theorists like Weber, this change took place through the new thinking that emerged from the Reformation in religious circles, and the Enlightenment in the intellectual arena. This was the period when the European society freed itself from the shackles of the medieval era dominated by a nexus between Church and State. This was a major change in concepts that produced, in turn, cultural change.

The Making of New Goal Posts: The Civilization Agenda

Smillie (2000) discerns a step-by-step process in what begins as altruistic endeavor. It starts with community-based voluntarism. Following this, a high degree of personal involvement for the delivery of humanistic service, is institutionalism. Institutionalism grows out of the greater needs and concentration of people. This compliments services provided by governments. The volunteer ethic remains, but may not be dominant, and then comes professionalism and, finally, the welfare state. Society decrees that all members will be provided with the basics. Collective action is the most appropriate to deal with strangers in need (Smillie 2000: 34).

In the Elizabethan era, there was the Poor Law that registered concern of society for those at the margin, a form of the transfer of resources previously discussed. Later in the early 19th century, the abolition of slavery in 1829 was considered a major milestone, followed by the American Civil War, which fought over the same type of issue. After World War I, the Red Cross was founded and, in 1945, the United Nations began with a charter based on much loftier concepts.

A further development has taken place since the formation of the League of Nations in 1917. The League may have been a failure in itself, but it paved the way for the institution of the United Nations following the Second World War in 1945. A new agenda has been written and new goalposts established, which have raised the threshold for all societies in their altruistic efforts.

In the field of economics and social development it was no longer considered impossible that the whole world could be fed and clothed. Charity was not a handing-out of a few scraps to the poor, keeping them at the bread line. Instead, the facts of economics indicated another scenario. Not just the alleviation of poverty, but given the right decisions, the elimination of poverty was a realizable goal to be set before humanity.

The advent of the welfare state was an important step in this direction. The welfare state was a creature of the social fallout from the Industrial Revolution. Conditions in rural communities under the old feudal-type orders were bad but, due in part to closeness to the land, most were able to eke out some sort of marginal existence. The Industrial Revolution saw deterioration. Community known in the village was lost in the move to the city; industrial society imposed harsh conditions and backbreaking labor; accidents were common; strikes and lockouts resulted in great hardship. These could be followed by exposure to business cycles of boom and bust. Conditions were harsher than those of the rural environment. Balancing this off, on the other side was the wealth that this system created with its potential to alleviate the worst of these distresses. Bismarck of Prussia is credited with the beginnings of the old-age pension. The long struggle of the trade union movements brought about an acceptance that it was possible to redistribute income and require the whole community to share at least the minimum fruits of these

new benefits. Beginning in countries like New Zealand in 1939, the welfare state was born and, following World War II, spread to England, then into Europe.

In the field of altruism this means that it is no longer possible to set a goal as some form of charity. The objective of the organization has to be much greater in scope than this. Nothing less than the elimination of poverty and the redressing of injustice will be considered as the objective of a viable organization. Not all will attain this but, to be credible, all must contain this ideal within their aims. Interviews conducted with different organizations bear out this statement. In the case of Save the Children, Hope International and the Christian Children's Fund, the original concept of reaching out to children or alleviating distress has been enlarged—the enlargement being to expand the agenda to influencing governments in the developing country to move toward a structural change that would ensure the welfare of children.

Take-Off Points in Hinduism

As noted above, the Hindu faith is not strong on altruism when this is expanded out beyond the confines of their own caste or immediate ethnic group. To move beyond this point, major stimulants have been required. A recent instance of this was the arrival of the British in India. The British brought with them the outlook and thinking of the Western world, conditioned as it was and couched in terms of the Christian faith.

Impact of Christian Missions on Hindus

At the time of the arrival of Christian missions in the late 18th century, India was in a state of religious decline. M. C. Kotnala (1975: 184), in his survey of this period states: "We have already seen that Ram Mohun was born at a time when our country had lost its links with the inmost truths of its being, and she wriggled under the load or irrationality, superstition, false beliefs and decadent traditions. He was a tireless crusader against social injustice, blind beliefs and false religious practices."

There was great potential for renewal. The stimulus for this was provided by the activities of Christian missions, which began a crusade against some of the most objectionable cultural practices, such as the burning of widows on the funeral pyre (*sati*), a crusade in which they were soon joined by more progressive Indians, like Raja Mohan Roy as mentioned above.

Other movements were the Brahmo Samaj f. (1820), Arya Samaj (f. 1875), and Ramakhrishna Mission (f. 1886). These movements saw that the social aspect of life was in major need of reform, an initiative begun by the Christian Mission. This was something they also needed to share in if they were to retain the hearts and affection of the Hindu masses. A definite boost to altruistic endeavor was offered by this stimulus.

Mahatma Gandhi and the Redefining of Hindu Thought

As noted above, the twin bastions of caste and *karma* were upholding a very limited form of altruism. To widen the scope and open a door for many of Hindu beliefs to take part in social reform required a rethinking of these doctrines. This rethinking was undertaken by, amongst others, Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi reinterpreted the meaning of monism, one of the cardinal Hindu concepts. This reinterpretation said that the great Brahman, or essence of being to which all belonged, implied that all were part of the Brahman, and so in that sense, equal. There was no real outcaste in the thinking of Gandhi. All were *harijans* or Children of God and entitled to their share at the table of the bounty of the Deity.

Gandhi's immediate contribution to India had not been these social ideals or religious rethinking. That impact came later. His big contribution has been understood in political terms. The salt marches and the hunger strikes all pressured the British to finally leave India and give back governance to the inhabitants. This was only part of Gandhi's ideals. The Congress Party that took charge under Nehru did not believe in or practice the concepts Gandhi adhered to. The impact of Gandhi has been much wider. Observing the recent failure of development theory, thinkers like Schumaker (1973) have returned to Gandhi's concepts and embraced them. Dr. Ariyaratane in Sri Lanka received significant inputs from Ghandian thinking.

Impact of Democracy on Hinduism

A further and more recent factor has been the democratic system passed on by the departing British. When the British withdrew from India, in 1947, they bequeathed to the country a democratic system of government based on the 'one man one vote' principle. Initially this system worked on the basis of patronage. The Congress Party was an alliance of the large moneyed groups in the country. With the resources at its disposal, using a feudal-type system of vote banks, this alliance managed to buy up large vote

banks and hold them in control. The Congress Party embarked on a socialistic-type system with a balance between state control and a limited private sector in the hands of large business interests. The state sector enabled the Congress Party to control the supply-side of the economy on classic Marxist style-lines. As a corollary, they also had large patronage opportunities to reward those whom they favored. The chosen industrialists also had a quasi-monopoly that enabled them to prosper. The secular approach to politics gave to minorities, like the Muslims and the *harijan* outcaste groups, a sense of protection from the more militant Hindu parties. For a number of years, this system favored the nation and produced stability. Concessions of various kinds were made to the less privileged groups, such as the quota systems for placement in government employment and places in colleges for education.

The magnitude of the task and the cozy cartelization, along with huge demands that population and other pressures made on the system, began to spread discontent. The vote banks began to breakdown under pressure. Minority groups began producing their own parties, which would further their interests. The movement began at the State level, and gradually spread to the federal government. The net result has been to breakdown the power of the Brahman Raj and to disperse power formerly held by the privileged groups. A returning Indian, Naipaul, caught the spirit and feel of this happening in his book *India* (1990: 517-518). Democracy and some form of equity have spread, but the ability to govern a diverse and huge country like India may have been weakened.

Islamic Responses to Westernization

The impact of the West on Islam has not entailed a serious threat of mass conversion. Proselytization is taken as an active threat, but this threat has been largely countered. The Christian Church has made very little impact on the heartlands of Islam or in countries where Islam is strong and dominant. The threat perceived by Islam is not so much that its peoples will be converted to Christianity, but that they will be polluted by the impact of westernization and, particularly, secularism. It is the secular outgrowth from the basic Judeo-Christian base that threatens to undermine the Islamic ideal. "But if the problem of Muslim conservatism is grave much more grave is the challenge of pure secularism and materialism" (Rahman 1966: 252).

The threat of the spread of secularism in its cultural and economic aspects is part of the growing political challenge that global society is facing. In his book *The Clash of Civilizations,* Huntington (1996) argues that the next century will see as the focus of the political arena the different worldviews that are espoused by major groupings of nations and peoples. The Islamic peoples have been one of the first to feel the impact of Westernization and its power to alter the nature of their societies. Toffler (1993) expresses a similar idea in his book War *and Anti War.* Toffler begins with his basic concept of the first wave, the agricultural revolution. This is followed by the second wave, the industrial revolution. The world of today is described as the third wave, the knowledge revolution. All of these different waves describe the different groups in the world that support these different concepts. Each of these waves tends to be in conflict with the other.

> Rahman (1966: 212) is clear about this challenge in regard to Islam:

> The history of Islam in modern times is essentially the history of the Western impact on Muslim society. From the second to the eighth and then the fourth to the tenth centuries a series of intellectual and cultural crises arose in Islam produced by Hellenistic intellectualism. At that time the Muslims were psychologically invincible. Politically they were masters of the situation. Very different was the case at the time of the Western impacts on Islam in the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries and the thirteenth to the nineteenth century.
> The Muslims were vanquished and politically subjugated directly and indirectly. The most potent and direct challenge came from Christian missionaries, the modern thought of Europe and the criticism by Westerners of Islam and Islamic society itself.

Change is needed in Islamic society, but they want this change to take place under their inspiration and conditions. Islam is challenged by development concepts that isolate factors, like the lack of education and participation of women in the economy, as being potent in producing backwardness. The Islamic worldview has been what a modern liberal viewpoint in most countries would consider chauvinistic, favoring men over women. The different responses that have been made to the impact of the West can be seen in this context. Challenges, such as the place of women in society, have drawn a response from Islam of a religious nature—the call to the Islamic people to return to their

roots and find their true soul within the creed of Islam. This has taken various forms in different countries. These forms are Wahabism in Saudi Arabia, the Ahamedyia movement in India and, more recently, the fundamentalism of Iran and the Muslim Brotherhood in North Africa (notably Algeria and Egypt).

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