



Rescuing the Identity of the Adivasis from their Invisibility.

The Encounter between Jesuits and the Indigenous Peoples of India

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Castellón de la Plana, May 2017



PhD Dissertation
Doctoral Programme 14003
Development Cooperation

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The village spirits of the village,
the house spirit of the house,
our elders, our foreparents, our ancestors,
the path you made, the road you showed,
we follow after you, we emulate your example.

We invite you, we call upon you.

You sit with us, you talk with us.

A cup of rice beer, a plate of mixed gruel.

You drink with us, you eat with us.

(prayer word used by
the tribal priests)

*Dedicated to the Adivasis and Jesuits
in Gujarat and Jharkhand;
their encounters, struggles and joys,
and the immense support of my family,
who were there with me
day in and day out along the way*

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Gujarat state:

Jesuit institutions: Premal Jyoti, St. Xavier's College, Adilok, Human Development and Research Centre, Gujarvani (Ahmedabad); AAdi Aushadhi (Dediapada); Adivasi Sevalaya Educational Trust (Sabarkantha district); Rajpipla Social Service Society (Rajpipla); Hangati Trust (Mandal); Shakti-Larhrc (Songadh); Navsarjan (Surat); Jivan Jyot (Bardipada); Shamgahan (Dangs); Vyara; Gujarat Sahitya Prakash (Anand).

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Jharkhand state:

Jesuit institutions: Sadbhāvnā, St. Xavier's College, Xavier's Institute for Social Services (XISS), Satya Barathi, Manresa House, St. Albert College,

and Lievens' Institute of Film & Electronic media (Ranchi); Bagaicha, and Jharna (Namkun); Sarwada; Kishor Nagar, and Agricultural Training Centre (Namkun), St. Ignatius School (Gumla); Tarunoday Regional Theology Centre (Kanke); and Loyola School (Khunti).

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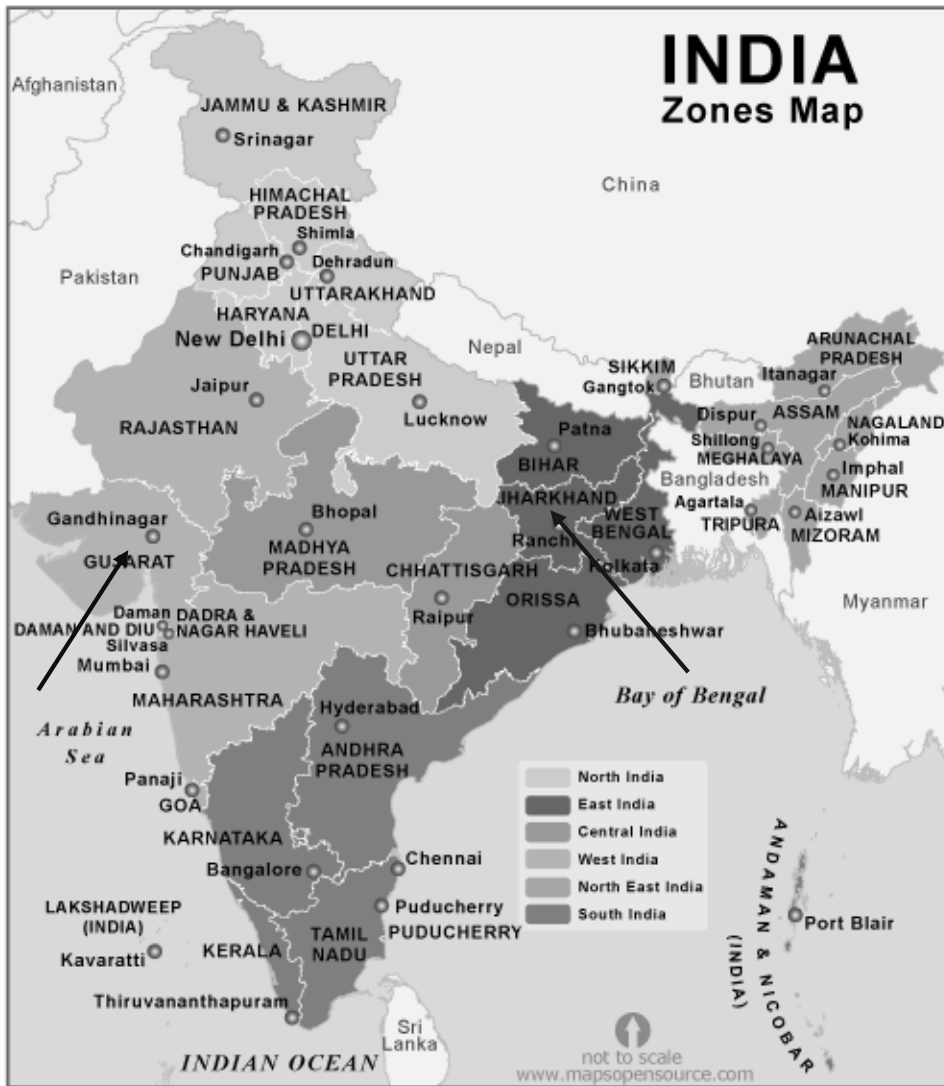


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Map of India. [online] Available at: <http://www.mapsopensource.com/india-zones-map-black-and-white.html> [Accessed 15 January 2017]



Figure 2. Map of Gujarat

Map of Gujarat. [online]. Available at:
<<https://www.google.es/search?q=black+and+white+map+of+gujarat>>
[Accesed 15 January 2017]



Figure 3. Map of Jharkhand

Map of Jharkhand. [online] Available at:
<<http://www.emapsworld.com/jharkhand-map-black-and-white.html>> [Accessed
10 January 2017].

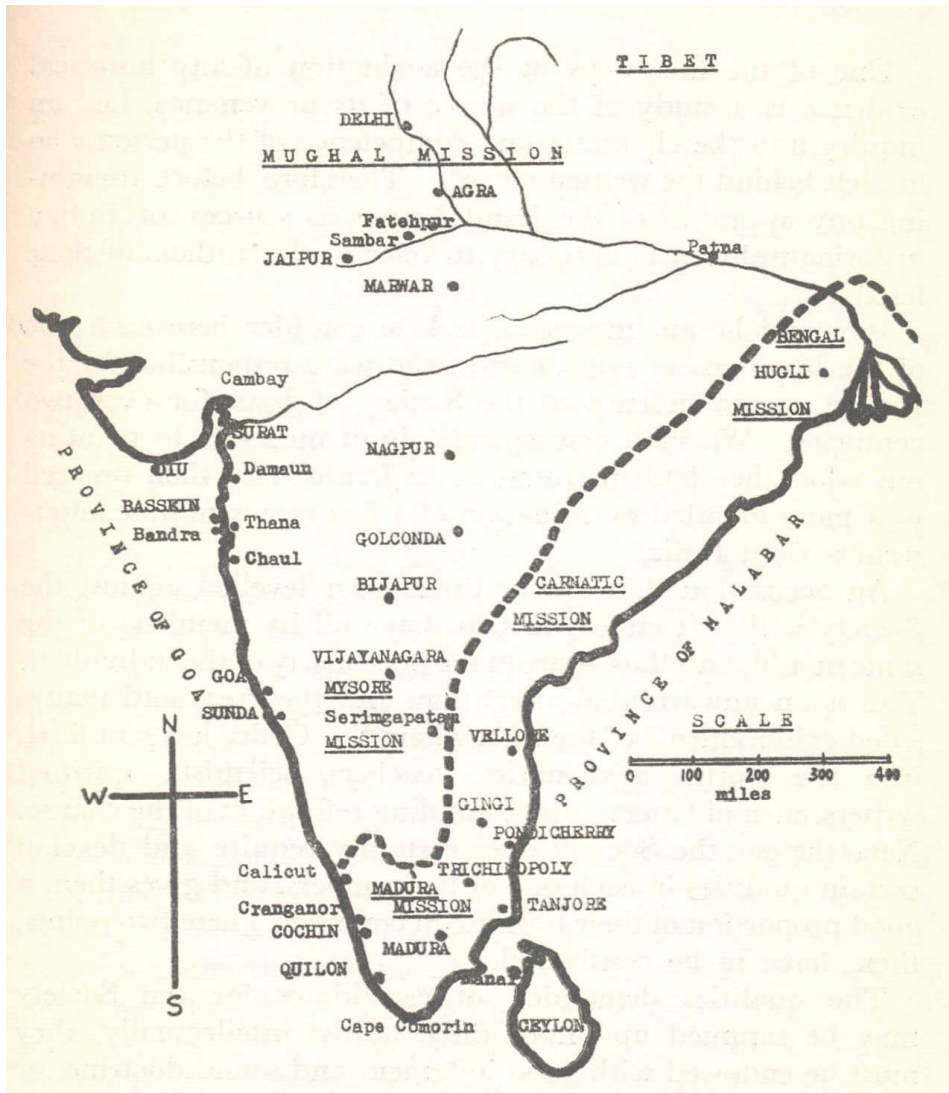


Figure 4. Territorial range. Jesuits in India (1542-1773)
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Introduction

Introduction

By Adi-dharam we mean the basis, the roots, the beginnings (*adi*)
of the religious beliefs of the Adivasis, the first settlers of India.¹
(Munda 2014, p.1)

In Adivasi Sevalaya, Jesuit mission located in the state of Gujarat (India), Domingo Larumbe, a Spanish missionary, made a comment that later would become the real motivation for research on the relationship between two groups: the Jesuits and the tribal people in the Indian states of Gujarat and Jharkhand. Although he was transferred to Vijaynagar, Sabarkantha district, in June 1980 (Lewis, 2006) to work as a missionary in Adivasi Sevalaya, he had already been in India since 1959 (Díaz Gárriz, 2006). Upon his arrival in Vijaynagar he received a very clear message from the local people; the message was related to the tribal groups living in the district, who generically are also called Adivasis. To the non-Adivasis, these people were not worth the trouble; he would not go very far working with them, as that was the concept they had of the tribal people in this area. Paradoxically, Larumbe's point of view was different, as he was certain about the capabilities of the tribal people. As soon as he heard those comments he was determined to work with the Adivasis since he immediately believed in them.

This encounter with Larumbe in 1997 was the first time I heard the word Adivasi, during my first trip to India. I became aware that when people speak of the population of this vast subcontinent, the Indian tribal people are not taken into account. The situation is quite the opposite, as it is not easy to discover a neglected population,² unrecognized, troublesome and controversial in some geographies of India, questioned

¹ Ram Dayal Munda calls Adi-dharam to the traditional faith of the Adivasis of India. The term points at a religion from the beginnings, the world of the ancestors, the faith of the first settlers.

² “commercial exploitation, underemployment, poverty, ill health and gender-based oppression for the subordinate Adivasi, ...” (Hardiman, 2002, p.1).

in its origin,³ manipulated in their identity.⁴ This blindness of the tribal people's capacities could be considered as a way of denying a possible evolution and transformation among the Adivasi communities, relegating them to primitive or savage societies,⁵ societies even backward as seen in the classification given by the government of India, embodied in the Constitution of 1950 in Scheduled Tribes (STs) (for a definition see page 81) and Backward Tribes (BTs),⁶ where different tribal groups can be identified and the government acts as executive agent responsible for the mentioned categories.

In this sense, it is not merely a question of political stances or beliefs at the grassroots level; since science through certain anthropological perspectives corroborate related postures. Written references (Hardiman 2008; Delière 1985), throughout history provide evidence of the attitude of Victorian Protestant missionaries whose self-concept was obviously related to Victorian values, and whose idea of evangelizing the Indian tribals was contemplated from a higher level, i.e. equal to civilising. The position of Victorian anthropologists at the time was not different.

The British believed that they had a moral duty to 'civilise' these 'primitives': to free them from the state of nature in which they were mired and bring them within the ambit of 'history'. (Hardiman 2008, p.21)

According to the previous statement, all colonial sections, and by colonial sections we refer to scholars, the military, medical personnel,

³ "In the anthropological literature, the big question related to the tribes has been: Are they backward Hindus or are they aborigines and are they distinctive in their religion, culture and identity?" (Lobo, 2010, p.212).

⁴ "In the twentieth century they were given the bureaucratic label of 'scheduled tribes'. In reaction to all of this, many of them have claimed, assertively, to be *adivasis*, or 'original inhabitants'" (Hardiman, 2002, p.2).

⁵ "These 'concerned citizens' are in almost all cases moved by an agenda which defines the adivasi in terms of a 'backwardness' and 'wildness' which can be overcome only through a conversion to the values of the 'civilised'" (ibid., p.1).

⁶ "A tribal/dalit context implies brokenness, land-alienation, deforestation, unemployment, discrimination, exploitation, oppression, migration, displacement and impoverishment." (Kujur, M., 2006a).

etc.; in contact with tribal population, are expected to deal similarly with tribal issues; for example how the missionary doctors used their work with the intention of converting as can be seen in reference to the Bhil⁷ tribal people in Gujarat:

.... it was believed that those who were cured by mission doctors would be more open to conversion; indeed, it was anticipated that many who were healed would take this as a proof of the superiority of Christian technology and culture and thus embrace Christianity. (ibid., p.236)

The British colonial perspective has been chosen as a clear starting point to understand the different kinds of missionaries according to the sociopolitical, economic and historical situation of India. As can be seen the colonial standpoint shows a negative appraisal of the Indian aboriginals' identity.

However, on the other side there are authors such as Verrier Elwin, who although being British himself, was of a different kind. By mentioning him in this introduction, special tribute is paid to this English anthropologist and missionary highly valued among the Indian anthropologists for his immense love towards the tribal peoples of India; communities in which he lived and developed his work most of his life. In Elwin's words:

.... there is nothing whatever hostile to scientific inquiry in having an intense and affectionate interest in the people one studies, in desiring their progress and welfare and in regarding them as human beings rather than as laboratory specimens. The essence and art of anthropology is love. Without it, nothing is fertile, nothing is true. (Werrier & Devy 2009, p.xxii)

The example of one of the best anthropologists in tribal India is contemplated in this thesis to show how human groups perceive and value other human groups and act in different historical, sociocultural, economic and sociopsychological circumstances. As Devy realizes "[while] Elwin was greatly instrumental in unveiling before the world the

⁷ The Bhils are the second largest tribe in India, located at the borders of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. "The Bhil are spread over a large territory of western India and is concentrated in southern Rajasthan, western Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and northern Maharashtra." (Singh, 1994, p.118).

great civilization of India's tribal communities, those communities had been conceptualized as the primitive faction of the Indian society by the colonial government" (ibid., p.xv).

In the Indian context, meaning by context the different ethnic groups and their relations; the missionaries' role concerning the tribal people is of great relevance, and more specifically as a result of our observations: the impact of the Society of Jesus. To this end, this study seeks to unravel the interdependence among the Jesuits and Adivasis in India. Therefore, the central points of interest are the nature of these encounters, the group relations, the evolution of the before mentioned encounters and processes emerging out of their interaction.

The Company of Jesus or Society of Jesus, is a religious order founded in Rome in 1540 by St. Ignatius of Loyola, a Spanish religious leader, who was first a knight and became a hermit, priest and theologian. As a community of priests and brothers, Jesuits participate in a mission of spreading the Church throughout the world, and they also have a special relationship with the pope. To achieve their mission, they work with many people from all nations of the world *ad majorem Dei gloriam* (AMDG), the company motto, "For the greater glory of God." The Company's missionary purpose in the world, their special relationship with the Holy See and the fact of being considered "friends, colleagues" of Jesus, are essential features of the Jesuit charism, and have survived until today.

The Adivasis are the original inhabitants of India, the so-called indigenous or natives. The meaning of this term of Sanskrit origin makes it very clear; 'adivas' stems from 'adi', which means beginning, and 'vasi' meaning inhabitant. The strong identity that has marked their status as tribal people has allowed them to survive for long periods of invasions and massacres, although it seems that the Adivasis have been invisible in the history of their own country.

Based on their encounters, we will find Jesuits who are also tribals by origin, i.e. the dichotomy tribal/non-tribal will be present throughout the study, as it is present in today's Indian society.

It should be added how this vast population seems invisible to the eyes of the majority of travellers not only from the Western countries but from other parts of the world; associating India with different groups based on criteria such as religion: Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, Muslims, Christians, Parsis, etc.; or state: Tamil, Bengali, Gujarati and others, including untouchables or outcasts, but hardly the Adivasis. There might also be a perception of India only as a Hindu country. Their existence and essence seem merely anecdotal even though the population is 8,6% of the total of India, which is 104 million people as per the 2011 Census of India.⁸ It is not surprising that the comparison is striking if one thinks of the official population in Spain in 2016: 46,438,422 million people.⁹ This figure explains the importance that such a large community, which in comparison is much more than Spain's population, should have in the development and study of India.

On the historical level they seem not to exist; since only tribute is paid to the Aryan invasions, Muslim's, Mughal Empire, and the British Empire, but never to the Indian aboriginal population, the tribal people; not even their participation in the process of independence of India is considered.

This invisibility was what eventually made my attention focus more and more on them until I decided to begin an investigation that would uncover their earliest identity. I wanted to find out more about them and their historical, cultural and religious heritage; and understand their relational system with other identities.

⁸ Ministry of Home Affairs. *Census of India*. [online] (23 January 2017) Available at: <<http://censusindia.gov.in>> [Accessed 26 January 2017].

⁹ Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2016. [online] Available at: <http://www.ine.es/inebaseDYN/cp30321/cp_inicio.htm> [Accessed 15 November 2016].

Thus, this research aims to study the meeting and exchange of two groups in the geographical contexts of the Jesuit Province of Gujarat (Gujarat state) and the Jesuit Province of Ranchi (in Jharkhand state), Indian Republic, located in the western and eastern parts of the Hindustani peninsula respectively. Generally speaking, both groups correspond to the members of the Society of Jesus and to the tribal population, who live in different places in India, and more specifically with the Bhils, Vasavas, Garasias, and Gamit Adivasis (Gujarat province) and Oraon, Mundas, and Kharias Adivasis (Ranchi province).

Different reasons explain why they have been chosen among so many tribal groups in India: Gujarat and Jharkhand states are located at a distance of about 2.000 kms from one state to the other, which will make the tribal differences manifest themselves along with the common features that all tribal people share. Moreover, Gujarat state has been linked historically to Spain while Jharkhand was to Belgium. Political backgrounds have also been different from the start, a fact that also has supposedly exerted certain influences in the development of the encounters between Jesuits and Adivasis.

What at the beginning was a study focused in Gujarat province, turned into a different reality worth studying. The dynamics of the research process allowed for the emergence of another reality in Ranchi Province, which as it will be seen later on, presents peculiarities and specific idiosyncrasies.

Taking the mentioned reasons into account, the investigation was launched as an intent to find out how the identities of both groups have been expressed and adapted through multiple forms of expression whether social, religious, cultural, etc., seeking to generate knowledge about their relationships and exchanges.

In this way, some light brushstrokes concerning sociological and anthropological views will be considered before focusing on the psychosocial perspective of the intergroup relations. Social psychology will be the field of knowledge that permits the explanations of the

different emerging processes that have transpired from the Jesuits and Adivasis encounter.

Research Question

As it has already been hinted at above, this dissertation will seek to answer the following questions:

- What has transpired from the encounter between the Adivasis of India and the Society of Jesus in Gujarat Jesuit Province and Ranchi Jesuit Province?

Sub-questions

- Who are the actors involved in the process?
- How has the group relationship come about?

In order to answer these questions, the research has been structured in the following manner:

The thesis is divided into two blocks. After the introduction, the Indian indigenous people will be presented in Chapter 1 along with the Society of Jesus; their idiosyncrasies, location and organization. Chapter 2 provides the theoretical approach to the construct of social identity, group relationships, etc., as well as what is understood by social identity from the sociological and anthropological perspective, to conclude with an in-depth study of social identity from a psychosocial perspective. Afterwards, a second block comprises the empirical study beginning with Chapter 3 which will contemplate the methodology, followed by Chapter 4 which will present the analysis and results collected from the fieldwork in the meetings between the two identities. The discussion and conclusions as well as the future lines of research will take place in Chapter 5.

All these chapters will help to clarify the main research question, which is the possible transformations occurring from the interaction among different identities, such as the Jesuits' and Adivasi's identities, as well as dealing with the concept of indigeneity and its peculiarities in India.

Consequently, the struggle for the survival of the Adivasis' identity will be present throughout the research.

This thesis is based on the research conducted in 2013 for the Master's programme in Development Cooperation entitled "Encuentro de identidades entre los misioneros jesuitas y la población tribal adivasi en Gujarat, India".¹⁰ Later on it became clear the need to focus not only on Gujarat but also on another area of India where tribal people could be found in order to make the identity of the indigenous peoples of India visible. The Adivasis together with the rest of the indigenous people all over the world deserve our attention due to their condition of vulnerability. Along with this, there is the need to elucidate a society group hidden as minority in the Indian society. Concerning the Company of Jesus, another main objective of this thesis is to highlight the presence of the Jesuits in colonial and postcolonial times regarding identity issues and the development of the Adivasis.

¹⁰ *The Encounter of Identities between the Jesuit Missionaries and the Adivasi Tribal Population of Gujarat, India*. Translated from Spanish by the author.

Chapter 1

The Tribal World of India and the Society of Jesus

1 The Tribal World of India and the Society of Jesus

1.1 Introduction

The paintings of Bhimbetka rock shelters in Madhya Pradesh seem to date back to the Mesolithic and are the oldest known traces of human life in India. The first permanent settlements appeared over 9000 years ago and gradually developed into what is now known as the Indus Valley culture, which had its flowering circa 3300 B.C. in the west of the current territory of India. They were discovered in 1957 by the Indian archaeologist Vishnu Shridhar Wakanka, and inscribed in the World Heritage List of UNESCO in 2003.¹¹ The apparent allusion made by the Archaeological Survey of India to the Adivasi people can be read here:

Bhimbetka reflects a long interaction between people and the landscape. It is closely associated with a hunting and gathering economy as demonstrated in the rock art and in the relics of this tradition in the local Adivasi villages on the periphery of this site. (Vaish, 2008, p.7)

After the Indus Valley culture, a Vedic period began which laid the foundations of Hinduism and other cultural aspects of early Indian society, a period which ended in 500 B.C. Many independent kingdoms and other states known as *Mahajanapadas*, were established throughout the country, they existed in ancient India from the sixth centuries B.C. to fourth centuries B.C.

It is known that the earliest written records of India are the Vedas, whose authorship is attributed to the Aryan priests, the only people who could read and write; and therefore it is rational to think that they wrote history as best suited them. In their pages we find references to the Adivasi people.

¹¹ UNESCO. *Rock Shelters of Bhimbetka*. [online] Available at: <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/925>> [Accessed 15 June 2015].

We will see that in order to understand the history of India and its changes, the existence of the Adivasi population cannot be ignored. The history is littered with constant interactions with different non-Adivasi groups; being location and circumstances what distinguishes the intensity. Intergroup relations between Adivasis and non-Adivasis in India have their own characteristics in pre-British times, British, and finally in current times where industrialization and urbanization have been rapidly contributing to the Indian social change.

Both the impacts and influences that the Adivasi population have received mean consequences not only from the point of view of social change but from the perception of their own identity; “up to 1950 most of the ethnologists in India were mainly concerned with tribes” (Dumont & Pocock cited in Delière 1985, p.13), until the independence. Since then, with the work of M.N. Srinivas the major interest shifted to other topics, although the tribes have always been part of anthropological studies (Delière, 1985). Hence, “In the fields of sociology and anthropology it has taken a long while for the worlds and worldviews of tribals, and of Dalits, in particular, to gain centrality of focus.” (Kujur & Robinson, 2010, p.1).

The following sections will approach the Adivasis from a general viewpoint embracing all the features and traits somehow common up to now. We do not aim at providing an accurate depiction of a controversial issue such as historical, sociological and other sciences’ findings. On the contrary, the generality of the Adivasis will be introduced, first contemplated in a diachronic perspective to finish with a focus on the Gujarat and Jharkhand Adivasi population, and their situation at present times.

The past will be left to the historians and sources that provide evidence of several interrelations that occurred between tribals and non-tribals, which are not meaningless to this research; but that cannot be dealt with in depth and it is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

1.1.1 Historical background

What follows is a short summary of the different encounters and times in the history of India between the Adivasis and other groups which are the key actors for our understanding of the Adivasi's current situation.

1.1.1.1 The Aryan people

At first glance and following Corral (2008), the Adivasi encounter with the Aryans began approximately 1500 years before the Christian era. The Aryans, farmers and nomads, entered India from Persia, which is now Iran; although the theory of Central Balkan is also contemplated. Historians mention the Aryans arriving on horseback in the Indian subcontinent and conquering the fertile plains of the Ganga Valley. Their settlements in India are due to the fact that they had all they could wish for: fertile pastures, best farmland, abundant forests, fodder for livestock and raw materials for their homes and cities.

Upon their arrival they found the natives, who were already living in the forest clearings. This first meeting between the two groups was crucial to the social history of India, as the moods of both Aryans as Adivasis were so different that the Aryan supremacy manifested in choosing war and become invasive. Meanwhile, Adivasis retreated to wildest areas of the forest, yet the Aryans already knew the iron, the horse and the radiated wheel. Aryan priests reached social power through their rituals, and their chiefs became the first Indian *maharajas*. By assigning trades and states down to the rest of the population, they established the famous caste system of India officially abolished by the 1949 Constitution.

Aboriginals, Adivasis, neither could nor wished to understand that men are unequal. Therefore, they refused in mass to join this structuring of society, which is so contrary to their character and social essences.¹² (Corral, 2008, p. 14)

¹² Translated from Spanish by the author.

Among other references, there are in the Vedas qualifications denigrating them; "they are cruel", "merciless savages", "three-headed monsters"; but on the other hand, we also find Adivasi words, syntax and phonetics in Arian Sanskrit language. Currently, Bijoy (2003) attributes the preservation of Adivasi sociocultural and religious practices to an autonomous existence on the margins. And the same has happened to their tongues, for expressions such as the sacrifice of widows, slavery, caste social difference, etc., simply do not exist.

Until 1920 it was thought that the history of India began with the invasion of the Aryan peoples in 1500 B.C., but in 1922 the discovery of the Indus Valley civilization (Harappa and Mohenjodaro) within a 100 kms range and 680,000 km², and with undecipherable language, changed the picture of history. This will not draw our attention in spite of the current controversy on the veracity of the Aryan invasions, (e.g. Elst, 2002). Thapar (2010)¹³ talks more about the migrations of Indo-Aryan language speakers than Aryans themselves; to her the archaeological data do not support the invasion theory nowadays. The Aryan invasion theory has also been contested from some political current Indian perspective.

Munshi (cited in Ponraj n.d., p.15) reports that the first Dravidians, who arrived in India before 2000 B.C., had a highly developed culture, as it is seen in their language and the findings of Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa and Lothal.

1.1.1.2 The Emperor Ashoka and Buddhism

Five hundred years before the Christian era under the religious, economic and social unrest, Buddha and Buddhism brought centuries of peace between the Adivasis and the rest of the population. Buddhism was the dominant religion in India from the 3rd century B.C. to the 4th

¹³ International Development Research Centre, 2010. *Romila Thapar: India's past and present — how history informs contemporary narrative.* [video online] Available at: <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J8HhLJzpx3Y>> [Accessed 10 October 2015].

century A.D.; covering the reign of Ashoka (268-231 B.C.), third century and prominent Maurya Empire, until the fourth century.

There are many similarities when comparing the Adivasis with the Gautama clan of the tribe Shakya to which Siddhartha belonged: both shared the same ideas about land ownership, which is linked to the clan concept in opposition to the individual, the so-called "native democracy"; both opposed the caste system of stratification and the rituals of Brahmanism, they both also enjoyed self-government and a value system based on sustainability, simplicity, love of nature and social harmony (Corral, 2008; Dowie, 2009).

Under Emperor Ashoka, the grandson of Chandragupta Indian conqueror, founder of the dynasty of the Mauryas (321 B.C.), dynasty with aboriginal roots; Buddhism spread throughout India. This religion came to hold an important power. The result was a reign of compassion, equality, popular assemblies, a welfare state with universal health care, infrastructure, etc. Nevertheless, Lenoir (cited in Thapar, 2010) warns that doubt exists among historians about Ashoka's conversion to Buddhism, who they consider a statesman above all; so we would find in him first a political calculation then an adoption of a new ethic of non-violence. Thapar (ibid.) highlights a social ethics of coexistence where Ashoka is the statesman and the pattern of the Buddhists.

Buddhist communities or *sanghas* would emulate the Adivasi patterns of social interaction based on gender equality and respect to all members.

Repulsed by how greed was instrumental in causing poverty, social exploitation, and unending warfare, Siddhartha Gautama saw hope for human society in the culture and lifeways of the Bhils, Gonds, Oraons, Mundas, Hos, Santals, Korkus, and Irulas, known collectively as the Adivasis. (Dowie, 2009, p.121)

1.1.1.3 The Brahmins

In 185 before the Christian era, Thapar (1969) stresses that the Pusyamitra king of the Shunga dynasty, which belonged to an obscure brahmana family, immediate heir of what remained of the Mauryan

Empire, murdered the last king of the Mauryas; but rejects, among other scholars, e.g. Elst (2012), that he would seek the extermination of Buddhism. Indeed, they agree in his struggle for the restoration of the caste system.

After the Gupta dynasty and several years of anarchy, all those aspiring to become *maharajas* were devoted to clean out the forests and their inhabitants, turning the Adivasis into serfs (Devalle, 1973).

The disappearance of Buddhism from the Indian subcontinent and the creation of the large and small Hindu kingdoms in front of which the *Maharajas* are placed, involves the grant of rights to the Brahmins in the vast aboriginal territories. This forced colonization occurred in all areas of the subcontinent. As a result, the Adivasis became losers with their ancestral habitat destroyed, their fields razed and themselves were converted into serfs with no rights, which thereby increased the mass of outcasts and untouchables. Those who could escape this catastrophe took refuge in mountains and wilderness areas, especially in the central plateau, called Chotanagpur.¹⁴

In the 8th century A.D. a period of peace began for the Adivasis due to two main reasons: the country was subjected to invasions by Mongols Arab armies throughout northwestern India, so the tribals were forgotten, and the wilderness areas where they were sheltering became infested with malaria, i.e. a death sentence for a non-immunized population.

¹⁴ The Chota Nagpur Plateau is a plateau in eastern India, which covers much of Jharkhand state as well as adjacent parts of Odisha, West Bengal, Bihar and Chhattisgarh. The Indo-Gangetic plain lies to the north and east of the plateau, and the basin of the Mahanadi River lies to the south. The total area of the Chota Nagpur Plateau is approximately 65,000 square kilometres (25,000 sq mi). What was called Chotanagpur is a plateau about 2,000 feet in height, a hilly area that was totally covered by forests during the 19th century.

Wikipedia. *Chota Nagpur Plateau*. [online] (23 November 2016) Available at: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chota_Nagpur_Plateau> [Accessed 11 November 2014].

1.1.1.4 Maharajas and British

Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal emperor, was deposed by the British India Company after the Indian Rebellion of 1857. The British exiled him from Delhi, which meant the decline of the Mughal Empire in India. Until the independence of India in 1947, a period of 240 years associated with the arrogance of the *Maharajas* and the British extends. The *Maharajas* formed small states and kingdoms occupying the Adivasi land. Following the occupation, the main concern was to get revenue. Moreover, a law of the Government of Delhi in 1858 ceded to Britain the domain of India, respecting the territories of the *Maharajas*, and India came under the British Crown.

Thus began the British rule of India, which culminated in its independence in August 15th of 1947, as already mentioned. The British looted the colony for Britain enrichment, as indicated for example by the policy of taking all of the teak in Gujarat, which is one of the best types of wood in the world. The exploitation of this wood brought the expulsion of the Adivasis and the desecration of their sacred sites, among other measures against the law. Alliances clearly emerged between *Maharajas* and British to achieve their own benefits; but it was also evident after the independence that both groups left an impoverished aboriginal people and a jungle devoid of much of its natural wealth.

The traditional colonial understanding of the tribals of east India was “The inhabitants were said to be robbers by profession, irreligious and savages by nature, worshipping none but crude village deities.” (Bara, 2007, p.199)

According to Bijoy’s contribution (2003), no Adivasi uprising against the British has been considered as part of the national struggle for independence. Since Malpahariya lifting in 1772 to Lakshman Naik’s revolt in Orissa in 1942, the Adivasis rebelled several times against the British in the northeast, east and central India belt. In many of the rebellions, the Adivasis could not be subdued, culminating the struggle when the British acceded to their immediate demands, as in the case of

the Bhil revolt of 1809, the Naik revolt of 1838 in Gujarat, and 1856 revolt against the British.

In Chotanagpur they rose against the landlords in 1789, 1797, 1807, 1812, 1820, 1832, against the *dikhus*.¹⁵ For example, the Santhal tribe, now in West Bengal and Jharkhand, rose against the exploitation and oppression perpetrated by the British and the local leaders in the mid-19th century. Today they rebel against the giant multinational companies and the state itself, particularly in Orissa, Chattisgarh and Jharkhand, where the Naxalites¹⁶ are very strong guerrillas. Not surprisingly, in 2006 the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh acknowledged the serious threat posed by these guerrillas for internal security.

A seven-fold typology of tribal movements in mid-India during 1832-1990 have been reported by Sinha and Verma (cited in Kujur, 2011a, p.223) as a consequence of the Adivasi assertion of their identity: “encroachment on traditional rights”; “revolt against economic exploitation and unbearable tyranny”; “revolt against cultural imposition and social domination”; “movement for generation of alternative political power structure”; “movement for entry into existing structure of power”; “movement for entry into existing structure of prestige without visualizing any alternative”; and “revolt against political encroachment”.

Under the British rule, the Mundas and Oraons of Chotanagpur felt neglected and hopeless.

The colonial administrators could not understand the aboriginals nor converse with them. With the lack of books and dictionaries in Mundari and Oraon, the British found it impossible to understand the people, their institutions and customs. (de Sa 1975, p.43)

This particular phenomenon of the history of India, the British rule in Chotanagpur, has been explained very well by Fidelis de Sa (1975). The

¹⁵ *Dikhu* is the term that Mundas and Oraons used for foreigners, term meaning also contempt (De Sa 1975, p.38).

¹⁶ The Naxalites are communist groups operating in different parts of India, armed Maoist movements.

author blames the British for the suffering of the tribes, a fact that could have been avoided “had the British taken an active part in the government of the district” (ibid., p. 46).

On the contrary, the police and the administration of justice was left to the *Maharaja*, a situation that can be well summarized with the result that he “unintentionally and unwittingly helped in the transformation of communal ownership of the villages of the aboriginal village communities into individual ownership, mostly of non-aboriginal and alien proprietors” (Roy cited in de Sa, 1975, p.47). People were deprived of their land by *jagirdars*¹⁷ and *thikadars*¹⁸ and the *Zamindari System*¹⁹ (Bernadette, 2007). De Sa (1975, pp. 2-3) would report:

Little did they [the British] suspect that these people were the descendants of the original clearers of the soil and ‘in possession of a land system, based on undeniable ethical principles and most rationally regulated’... These ‘semi-savages’, to the astonishment of those who came to know them, had a very high standard of morality.

Criminal tribes in British colonial period

The colonizers discovered them in many areas, and declared these peoples criminals; the government exploited and marginalized them. The title of Devy’s book *A Nomad Called Thief* might be shocking, but it is an indicator that Adivasis could be identified as thieves among other negative connotations. However impressive to the reader’s mind, it is already known that this is the way the British declared many Adivasi communities: as criminals. Not only did they called them aboriginals, but

¹⁷ *Jagirdars*. “The beneficiaris of service grants systems, men holding service grants. Villagers paid them with lands and tribute-supplies. *Jagirdari System*; land tenure system in which all lands under a king or an emperor were given to a few prominent people in return of their allegiance and services to their sovereign masters. Such landed estates were called *Jagirs* and their recipients *Jagirdars* who had to pay tributes to their kings or emperors in cash and kind besides the military service, if needed.” (Bernadette 2007, p.15).

¹⁸ *Thikadars*. Landlord’s contractual employees for revenue collection (Toppo, 2005).

¹⁹ *Zamindari System*. “The same land tenure system like the *jagirdari* system but the recipients of lands were called *zamindars*, meaning landlords. They also collected rents and taxes from the British, but did not give any military service to their colonial masters.” (Bernadette 2007, p.15).

they also called them early tribals, jungle tribes, primitives, lawless, wild tribes, etc. It is reported how the Adivasis liked to be called *Bhumiputra*, sons of the earth, and *Vanaputra*, children of the forest.

The above stance coming from the non-tribal groups such as the British would be the result of the tribals who continued being armed after the British policy of disarming all warrior groups. The Bhils were generally considered warlike, they had previously been organized in warlike kinship groups protecting their territories from the outsiders and keeping control over the mountains. Needless to say how difficult it could be for the British to subjugate such peoples. Those who opposed the British colonial expansion were considered and treated as potential criminals. First, the tribes of the northwest frontier were declared 'criminal tribes', to continue this policy onto other tribes and later by the passing of an act to regulate criminal tribes in 1871. Some examples are given below:

In Gujarat state:

- In 1829 when the British were given the contract to cut trees, they committed atrocities on the tribal in Dangs and harassed the Kukna tribals. For example, they hanged the tribals and burnt chillies underneath. (Patel cited in Devy 2006, p.101)
- Some Bhil people having been interviewed also reported to recall how their grandparents were used under British rule in tiger hunting organized by them together with the *maharajas*. The Bhils would be sent ahead to find the tigers while the hunters would wait in a safe place waiting for the tiger to come closer, being witness of so many Adivasi attacks and killings.

Within all these policies established under the British Raj, an important issue had been the establishing of categories into gypsies, vagrants and migrants. Among many reasons, one that has already shocked us is the fear of other non-Adivasi groups whether they are British, Hindus, etc. of the Adivasis, seen as a threat to the established social order, which also implies losing them as labour work and *baithbegari*.²⁰ We shall mainly

²⁰ *Baithbegari*. A form of hereditary tie to employers (Das Gupta, 2016). Work without remuneration that involved the joint family at any time and anywhere between 144 to 288 days

be concerned with landlords, money-lenders, colonizers, *zamindars*, *maharajas*, and government officers among others, under whom the adivasis suffered a terrible exploitation. In addition, we will bring to the fore forms of oppression taking place in present times. Nevertheless, unlike other tribal groups, the Bhils have never been a criminal tribe (Deliège, 1985).

If the colonial rule would encourage the Bhils to practice a more settled agriculture they would also protect the landlords, usurers and liquor dealers together with the princely states and exploited the Bhils who settled. Such was their policy. However, the land belonging to the 'criminal tribes' was alienated under their rule. Along with the British was the rule of the oppressive feudal lords.

The tribals "experienced drastic changes only under the British rule over India." (Deliège, 1985, p.39), because unlike the Dalits, tribals maintained a high level of independence up to the British rule. According to this author, sociological effects of the colonization are psychological, sociological, cultural, and religious. Xaxa is of the opinion that "tribals by virtue of being the colonized and the conquered share attributes such as ethnicity, alienation of resources, cultural annihilation, and powerlessness" (cited in Kujur 2011a, p.211).

Among all these different intergroup encounters, the Jesuits would take part in the Adivasi history, struggles and identity formation in some parts of India. The following lines are to be dedicated to some common features of such a heterogeneous group that come under the different denominations of Adivasis, tribes, and indigenous peoples of India, among others.

in a year". Toppo, J., 2014. *The History of Chotanagpur Mission*. [online] (1 December 2014) Available at: <<http://www.ranjesu.org/getResources.php?newsid=21>> [Accessed 13 May 2015].

1.2 The Adivasis of India

Many different classifications are to be used when referring to the Adivasis of India, these being political, anthropological, racial, linguistic, religious, constitutional and sociological.

According to the Anthropological Survey of India, the main four racial stocks are the Negrito (the Great Andamanese, Onges and Jarawas), the Proto-Australoid (the Mundas, Oraons and Gonds), the Mongoloid (the tribes of the Northeast) and the Caucasoid (the Todas, Rabaris and Gijjars) (Singh, 1994).

Following Munshi (cited in Ponraj, n.d.) there were four different races in the prehistorian times arriving in India as follows: first the negritos, followed by the proto-australoids, then mongoloids and dravidians.

He contemplates the Negrito as the first migrant races coming to India from Africa during the prehistorian period before 4000 B.C. They were the original inhabitants in India and today we can find racial features in tribal groups in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andamans and Nicobar Islands. The Proto-Australoid, primitive Mediterranean people arriving before the late Mediterraneans were identified as Dravidians; they arrived circa 4000 B.C. from Palestine and established themselves in north India and later move to central India.

The Proto-Australoid race includes groups of Indoeuropean languages of Bhils, Billala, Patlai, Naika and Meena tribes of Ratlam, Jhabua, Bhanswada, Dado, Panchmahal, Sabarkantha, Aravalli mountains and tribal groups of Kandesh of Kukna, Barril, Vasavi, Gamith y Chowdri from Nasik to Baroda and Bhusaval and Surat in Gujarat and Maharashtra.

The Mongols arrived in India from Mongolia and east Asia around 3000 B.C. to settle in north east India and sub-Himalaya region. The Dravidians are the fourth and larger group of migrants who came to India and who established themselves in the north. Coming from the Eastern Mediterranean in the third millennium B.C.; their civilization was

very advanced. The most important Dravidian tribes in Central India are the Kui (Kond mountains in Orissa); the Kolami (Maharashtra); the Gond (Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa); the Koya (Andhra Pradesh); the Khond (Orissa); the Oraon (Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal); the Maler (Rajmahal mountains). There are also Dravidian tribes in the south of India (Tulus and Kodagu in Karnataka; Toda, Kota and Badana of Nigris). The Aryan people were the fifth race to arrive to India migrating from their homeland in Eranvej (Turkestan) through Afghanistan towards India.

For the linguistic classification we have followed Mundu (2002). He names four families: (1) the Austro-Asiatic with two branches and 30 languages: the Mon-Khmer branch with the Khasi and Nicobari languages and the Munda branch to which the Santali, Kherwari, Mundari, Ho, Gondi, Kharia, Savara, Gond, Gadaba and other languages belong; (2) the Tibeto-Chinese family has 143 languages, spoken by the North eastern tribes; (3) the Dravidian family with 107 languages, among them: Korawa, Yerukula, Todo, Oraon, Maler, Kui, Khond, Gondi, etc.; and (4) the Indo-Aryan family which has 163 languages like Hajong and Bhili.

1.2.1 Adivasi culture and religious thought

History seeks evidence and sources, but also and above all seeks to understand, in this case the past, to better answer the question *Who were we?* and consequently *Who are we now?* The absence of neat classifications of Adivasis as a homogenous sociocultural category, is evident in the existing and insurmountable difficulty of finding a clear anthropological definition of the tribal people. In a larger sense, we note that even the United Nations has not adopted an official definition of indigenous, but rather a list of identifying characteristics applicable to them.

Bearing in mind the work of historians and other scholars and their approaches to the history of India, always in search of peoples' identity, we try to address the issue of who were and who are the Adivasis today. Many thinkers have not hesitated to express that the person and the

environment are inextricably linked, as Ortega y Gasset (cited in Corral 2007, p.65) "Tell me the landscape in which you live and I will tell you who you are".

When considering the heterogeneity of the tribal groups in India, also common features make it possible to call them under the same name. One example is what Mundu (2002, p.11) calls the "cosmotheandric vision of reality", meaning how "they look at reality as a whole", where "the nature, divine and human are understood as constituents of every reality".

The symbolism of the representation of their reality lies in nature, and the holistic vision of this reality can be recognized in the names, rituals, festivals, symbols, etc., tribal ethos being based in land and forest.

For the writer and activist Mahasweta Devi (2012),²¹ we owe to the Adivasis the "natural balance" that has endured in the country till the present time. It is the same as saying that their activity and relationship with their forests and natural environment despite the multiple deprivations suffered, involved an implicit conservation for the biodiversity of the country: "The most civilized people" to whom India owes the survival of forests, rivers and mountains. We consider it important to add the ancestral land value for the physical and cultural survival of the Adivasi community.

At this point, it can be said that Adivasis have been free people living in their natural habitat governed by their own self-government systems. However, they have been and are along with Dalits, the most exploited and marginalized. In the words of Bijoy (2003), heroes like Birsa Munda, Kanhu Santhal, Khazya Naik, Tantya Bhil, Lakshman Naik, Kuvar Vasava, Rupa Naik, Thamal Dora, Ambul Reddi, Thalakkal Chandu etc., are remembered in the songs and the stories of the Adivasi people, but ignored in official textbooks.

²¹ Devi, 2012. Adivasis most civilised people. *The Hindu*, [online] 2 October. Available at: <<http://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Hyderabad/%E2%80%98Adivasis-most-civilised-people%E2%80%99/article12542421.ece>> [Accessed December May 2012].

Therefore, we cannot think of a homogeneous group, but quite the contrary; the Anthropological Survey of India²² mentions a diverse social group in ethnicity, culture and religion; that speaks around 100 different languages which belong to the six language groups: Austro-Asiatic, Munda, Mon-Khmer, Tibeto-Burman, Dravidian, and Indo-Aryan (Singh, 1994; Tamminen, 2010; Devy, 2006).

The Constitution recognizes only 22 languages (ibid., 2006). Of these, only two Adivasi languages, Santhali and Bodo, are included in the Schedule of Languages. The non-scheduled languages are largely oral in nature and have remained unknown outside their respective speech communities.

Their culture has been transmitted orally and their dances, music, instruments are clear indicators of their difference with the non-Adivasi groups. Let us take the Warli art as an example. The Warli people live in the mountains and coastal areas along the border of Maharashtra and Gujarat. They have no written literature but their culture is rich in oral histories, music, dance, painting, rituals of birth, initiation, marriage, death, etc. Their pictorial art uses the circle, square, triangle, and materials like bamboo, rice-shaped pasta, clay, glue and canvas on which they represent life, sun, the moon, the setting, the hills, and domestic and wild animals, including insects (see the cover page and Figure 15). The Adivasi musical instruments are also peculiar. The Warli wind instrument *torpa* is another example.

²² Ministry of Culture. *The Anthropological Survey of India*. Government of India. [online] Available at: <<http://ansi.gov.in/>> [Accessed 10 October 2013].



Figure 7. Adivasi of the Vasava tribe playing *torpa*, Gujarat
Source: Sundar Vasava

Their dances, with their hands clasped behind them to the rhythm of the drum and *torpa*, are fast. Dance, rhythm, pace, are always spiral in open circles and spirals symbols of life, quick, open and straightened to the spirits. Ritual dances are held in the shade of a tree located in the central area of the town.



Figure 8. Adivasis of the Munda tribe, Jharkhand
Source: George Kerketta

Religious thought is a prominent issue in the Adivasi cultural background which have been misunderstood by many. Europeans in India, whether British officials or missionaries, have written about the Adivasis as devil-worshippers. As it is well-known, that is an error and misconception, we will approach this question following those who have come closer to them as well as the Adivasis themselves.

Different scholars refer to Adivasi religion as animist type, but nowadays anthropologists do not use the term animism to denote tribal religions of India. To produce evidence to support what has been said, we will briefly depict the religious system of some tribes of Gujarat and Jharkhand states.

In an attempt to come closer to the Adivasi religious way, Lesser (1998, p. 186) bears witness to their practices during his missionary life:

Tribals have their own religion which is quite distinct from Hinduism. They never call the Brahmins for their wedding; they don't celebrate Hindu feasts the way Hindus do. Diwali for them is not a worship of Lakshmi for they have no money but a veneration of the cow and the sacrifice to 'dharti mata'.

As we move into an Adivasi village in Gujarat, we will find groups of medium size stones surrounded by religious symbols; it is the place of Hivariyo Dev (god of boundaries, protector of crops, both from pests and wild animals); and it is there that a tour full of places where different gods are celebrated begins.

Among these gods, let us mention Kaka Bolliyo, who cares for the well-being of people, and Heli Pandreje the protector of the village of evil spirits. Small flags located in different parts of the village indicate gods' abode. Other tiny flags are placed beside art votive offerings of terracotta horses, figurines of children, women and men, oxen and buffaloes; all signs of sacrifices and prayers.

In addition, the hills seen from the villages have religious connotations and are used to perform different rites, such as prayers, songs, dances, offerings, and sacrifices in thanksgiving. These hills are inhabited by gods, but it is the "Lord of the Above" who is present in the lives of men, as His presence is manifested in multiple locations of villages and jungles. The message of the myth states that He is compassionate to all without distinction, considers everyone equally, and does not like the greed of men. This is the Adivasi worldview and life gained through direct knowledge of reality.

"The Adivasi does not require any building in which to find God or come to pray. The universe is full of signs indicating His presence" (Sopeña, 2009).²³ Therefore, it is not a purely animistic religion, for it goes beyond the simple belief in spirits, as Tylor says (cited in Martín, 1993), and recognizes the existence of a higher being and the presence of the figure of a supreme being. On the basis of their beliefs and worship, we appreciate monotheistic evidence in civilizations considered primitive.

²³ Translated from Spanish by the author. Fundació per al Desenvolupament dels Adivasis, 2009. *60 anys a l'Índia*. [online] Available at: <http://www.adivasis.org/Home/_H4QS29qxa70Uv9VKUnZUgkhv8n2muUG-m1sF9Vlc0pbXlj-AFJ3t8Q> [Accessed 7 April 2014].

Regarding the Warli tribals, Sopenña reports that they conceive the world, the environment and "the beyond" dominated by spirits who must be placated and turned benevolent; land is primarily a nurturing mother which feeds people with crops; forests offer them shade, firewood, timber, fruit, and medicinal plants. The environment is a friend to be cared, pampered, respected and not exploited.

During his stays with the Gamits, Vasavas and Chaudhris of Gujarat, Corral (2007, p.91) writes about the secluded religious spots in the forest. These sanctuaries are the link "between the village habitat and the forest ancestral habitat". These places in the forest under a tree carry the different meanings of life for the Adivasis, i.e. forest, and agriculture; they are where sacrifices of goats and cocks take place.

The Adivasi scholar Ram Dayal Munda (2014, p.46) clarified their vision of the world:

The elements of creation have a symbiotic relationship among each other on the basis of equality and mutuality. The Adi-dharam system does not have the audacity of declaring human kind to be the best in the entire creation and therefore has the right to control everything.

Munda advocates Adi-dharam, the primitive tribal religions that should be recognized by the Constitution; Adidharm Sarna,²⁴ and Adidharm Bhil among others, would be found in their regions accordingly.

One of the practices of worshipping God, result of their common faith, is to offer bloody sacrifices. In Lakras' words (2006, p.7) "They could not have learnt it from the Hindu or Muslim..., they could not have learnt it from the Christian missionaries, because the tribals have been offering sacrifice ages before they came into contact with any Christian missionary".

²⁴ "Originally the word 'sarna' referred to a grove of sal trees where the tribal worshiped on certain occasion, but this word has over the years acquired additional meanings too. Now this refers to their deity, it is also used to refer to the people who are non-Christian tribals. In addition, it has acquired political overtones too in the context of Jharkhand." (Ekka, 2010, p.152).

One thing that becomes clear from the above observations is that their tribal religion is distinct from Hinduism. Well-known anthropologists in Ranchi district such as S.C. Roy, and J. B. Hoffmann, have also considered this fact, since they report that tribals do not believe in *karma* and *samsara*, they do not fit into the caste groups, and are not served by Brahmins, etc. (cited in Kujur, 2009).

In his book *Adi-dharam. Religious beliefs of the Adivasis of India*, Munda (2014) summarises the characteristics which make Adivasi religion distinct according to seven points: 1) a form of God as bound with human kind through kinship; 2) nature is the dwelling of God; 3) beliefs in the eternity of the existence; 4) heaven and hell means living within social norms or against them; 5) direct individual relation with God, mediators are not needed; 6) equality and mutuality as relevant elements of creation, human kind is not the best of creation; 7) Adi-dharam goes along with creation without avatar or messiah. Adi-dharam runs like a common thread across all India spread in all the Adivasi, a common nature religion spread in all the Adivasis.

We have followed De Sa (1975) in his study on Mundas and Oraons (1975). In the religion of the Mundas,²⁵ one has to understand what *bongas* are. In Mundas' mind *bongas* are spirits with intelligence and free will dwelling on our earth; i.e. in the huts of their relatives, in streams, forests, trees, mountains, rocks, ponds; they are in nature. Singbonga, the Lord of them, is everywhere and sees everything; as the creator of the whole world, special worship is dedicated to him. Although *bongas* are living beings among us, they have their own world called the "world across yonder", while we have the world we live in. The line separating both worlds is a question of perception where concepts such as space, distance and time among others have nothing to do with their meaning. The *bongas* are offered periodical prayers and offerings. The ancestor

²⁵ "The Mundas. "They are also known as Horo-hon or Mura, which means headman of a village. They believe that they are the descendants of Sing Bonga, the supreme God. They are one of the well studied tribal communities, and probably the one with an encyclopaedia of their own, the *Encyclopaedia Mundarica*" (Singh 1994, p.842). The Mundas live in the states of Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Assam, Tripura, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.

spirits become *bongas* dwelling with their families and protecting them, therefore they are also worshipped with deep gratitude. The nature *bongas* complete the whole world of spirits by doing good, but also have to be propitiated when being offended. The sons of the deceased in the Munda tribe are expected to place a burial stone or *sasandiri* bearing the inscriptions of all the clan members buried under the stone.

Hoffmann and Van Exem, when studying the Munda tribe, focused on the constituent elements of the human being, stemming from this tribe worldview, in the body (*Hormo*), the intellect (*Mon*), the soul (*Jiu*), and the imperceptible self of the human being (*Roa*) (Kujur, 2001).

The rituals of such a communal people are also of the same kind; dances and music to worship and thanksgiving ceremonies. Being this the cosmogony, another religious aspect drew the attention of people in contact with them; that is their high standards of morality; honesty, truthfulness and simplicity as well as their strict monogamy practice, stricter than the Christians’.

Another tribe close to the Mundas in the Chotanagpur Plateau and in good friendship relations are the Oraons or *Kurukhs*.²⁶ Following Roy (cited in De Sa, 1975) in all the descriptions of Mundas and Oraons belief system, the Oraons like the Mundas have no images of deities and spirits, but *Dharmes* being symbolized by the sun was the main deity at the top of the hierarchy.

There are two main obstacles to tribal spirituality stated by Lakra (2006) in his study on tribal spirituality; one is the excessive fear of evil spirits (Mua, Baghaut, Jid Bonga, Pugri Nad, Churael), and the other, the agents of these spirits (witches, sorcerers).²⁷ These will lead them to evil

²⁶ The Oraons. “They also call themselves Kurukh... They are supposed to have lived in the south-west of the Ganga. Now they are concentrated in Chhotanagpur and the adjoining areas of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.” (Singh 1994, p.948).

²⁷ The believe that a woman has the ability to cause sickness, misfortune or death is common in parts of India whether rural or urban. Many are the reasons that lead to think of the curse in the family: illness, a poor harvest, the cattle death, etc., all these misfortunes will be the

practices that come from the belief in the power of evil “expressed in the ‘evil eye’ (*najar-gujar*) and ‘evil mouth’ (*bai-bhakh*)” (ibid., p.10). By this belief, all the misfortunes will be thought as caused by people who have power to harm others through their looks and words. In the ritual *Palkaṅsna*, the Oraons offer a sacrifice to God asking for the removal of evil effects of sorcerers and witches.

Taken together, what is explained in this section suggests that Adivasi society has its own religion, called *Sarna Dharam*, considered as a natural as well as egalitarian religion. The *Sarna Sthal* (sacred grove) is a common place for the village to perform socioreligious ceremonies. As religion and nature are two entangled aspects of Adivasi life, this place is located by holy Sal trees and other trees in the nearby forests.

However, according to the 2011 census, there is no mention to the Adivasi religion as such, as it would come under the heading “Other Religions and Persuasions”²⁸.

Table 1. The religious data of Census India 2011

Religious groups	Population (% 2011)
Hinduism	79.80%
Islam	14.23%
Christianity	2.30%
Sikhism	1.72%
Buddhism	0.70%
Jainism	0.37%
Zoroastrianism	n/a
Other religions /No religion	0.9%

reasons for the villagers to visit the witch doctor, the *ohja*. He has the power to identify the cause of the curse and the agent and therefore the healing power (Hardiman, 2008).

²⁸ The Telegraph, 2015. Census nails promoters of paranoia. *The Telegraph*, [online] 26 August. Available at:

<http://www.telegraphindia.com/1150826/jsp/frontpage/story_39196.jsp#.WErwYubhDIU> [Accessed 17 January 2017].

1.2.2 Organizational structure

Together with the Adivasi's belief system and worldview, their egalitarian ideology and the relation with nature have to be considered in order to understand their social system. The Adivasis are organized into local communities, equally ranked, in which the leaders' limited power is neither permanent nor hereditary.

A distinctive social, political and economic system is a defining aspect of the tribal population. Since their social and cultural system advocate equality, it is impossible to accommodate a hierarchical society such as the Brahmanical. They live in a world of equality and mutuality among each other and with the nature, jungle and forests. The land is common, and the authority resides in the village's democratic assembly and consensus.

In each village there is a person convening meetings who belongs to the first family that settled in it. Subsequently, the onus is a son of this person as long as the community accepts it. These assemblies are convened periodically or upon request of any person in need. Following an announcement made the previous day by the town crier, the whole village gathers for each of them to express themselves, between brief interventions of the leader such as the following: "remember our traditions and come to a decision that will please the ancestors" (Corral 2008, p.52).²⁹ While the assembly can conclude with someone being expelled from the village, the group cohesion is taken highly into consideration before an action of this type. The topics range from interventions considering the crops during periods of the year to interpersonal conflicts and marital disputes, disputes over farmland, the kidnapping of brides, welcoming an NGO, the approval of the establishment of a cooperative in the village, the acceptance or rejection of a government development project, etc.

²⁹ Translated from Spanish by the author.

The sense of property comes as a result of the migrations of the tribal people to settle in jungles and forests. They had to clear the land where they established themselves, and naturally the *hatas*, or clearings in the forests were considered the property of the family; besides that, within the bounds of the village, all was common property of the village families. The *sarnas* could be found in the jungle, reserved for the spirits and *bongas*. As an example, the Munda society is organized in clans which take their names after animals, plants and material things. These clans function at the village level, where the head is the priest or *pahan*, and at the confederation of a group of villages.

The *pahan* is the main authority of the council of elders which is called the *panchayat*. The *panchayat*'s responsibilities are related to local justice and economic matters. This is not considered as a privilege but rather as a service to the community. As per the confederation of several villages, it was together with the *panchayat* which was the base of the organizational Munda system. In the Oraon system the property did not belong to the village but to each family and they were organized politically in villages and confederations of many villages, under the *raja*.

The unity of the Adivasi communities is a key factor for the preservation of their ethos and values. Their sense of property and their economy based on sharing versus greediness are common to the indigenous peoples over India.

Hardiman (1986), searching for an explanation to why the Bhil peasants of Gujarat allowed the middle men to acquire the best part of the crops profits each year, even knowing that it was not a reciprocal economic relationship, came to the conclusion that the Bhils did not “attempt to act in an economically ‘efficient’ manner”, since this would have meant to accumulate capital, a fact that would contradict their egalitarian values.

Adivasi society needs to be recognised for its formidable achievements, including an economic system that is based on and in accordance with the

principles of ecology, and therefore sustainable in the true sense and the long term. (Padel, 2013)³⁰

As a consequence of the Adivasis social and cultural systems defending equality, it is impossible to adjust to a hierarchical society such as the brahminical. Land ownership is communal and the authority lies in the village democratic assembly and consensus. This Adivasi assemblies of self-government based on consensus consider that their management is not based on politic ideologies or other interests, but on the common good. The hierarchical structure of the caste system is not part of the tribal systems of social organization.

1.2.3 Adivasi women

Undertaking an in-depth study of the tribal women identity in India is an arduous task that we do not intend to achieve. However, it is relevant to understand their situation in the present times to expose the main common characteristics of the women among the tribal communities as have been exposed by anthropologists, sociologist and scholars in general, always bearing in mind that their status is changing both with time and within the different tribal group of origin.

³⁰ The Gandhi Foundation, 2013. *Whose Country is it anyway?* [online]. Available at: <<https://gandhifoundation.org/2013/01/29/new-book-review-whose-country-is-it-anyway-by-gladson-dungdung-and-reviewed-by-felix-padel/>> [Accessed 22 January 2017].



Figure 9. Adivasi woman of the Vasava tribe, Gujarat
Source: Sundar Vasava

Tribal economy has been dependent on forests resources and agriculture, where the women enjoy considerable social freedom and economic power. Moreover, forests are the source of the Adivasi cultural and spiritual life. The three J's (*jal, jungle, jameein*)³¹ as they call it, are the main sacred aspects. For Mullick (2002), from the beginning of the Jharkhand industrialization in the decade of 1950, the female condition has been debilitated in favour of a more patriarchal society.

Devalle (1973) tells us that the woman enjoys a freer position and the same rights and privileges as men, but in the political field they are completely marginalized. Considering marriage, forms such as polygamy, polyandry, cousin marriages and marriages of widows and divorce are generally allowed.

In their study titled *Tribal Women and Forest Economy*, Fernandes and Menon (1987) reveal how in every aspect of the economy, the women forest dwellers have a bigger contribution than men (cited in Kujur, 2008). However, they are the worst victims due to the deforestation

³¹ Water, forest and land. The mountains and valley are the dancing floor of their aspirations, the waterfalls bring down ancestral blessings in abundance; the greenery reflects the image of Supreme Divine. (Kujur, 2015).

process that reduce the cultivable land, the fodder acquisition and forest based products. They are the main livelihood strategists and food providers, and thus, women have to deal with this negative impact more than men.



Figure 10. Adivasi women of the Bhil tribe, Gujarat
Source: the author

In comparison with the rest of Indian women of non-tribal origin, a series of defining characteristics of the female Adivasi condition can be listed such as freedom of movement in their daily space, be it the hamlet, nature, or cities; the possibility to choose partner and their decision making capacity in the household. Unlike the Hindu women, the missionaries in the 19th century report that women in their common everyday practices had a respectable position within their society. Nevertheless, to inherit the most important family property is something they do not have access to, that is they cannot inherit the land.

The non-existent dowry means a liberation for them, the price paid to the bride's family, unlike the rigid Hindu system, shows the recognized value of the tribal women's work within their society. Devi (2012) praised a system of thought where no one is above anyone and social evils such as the dowry that women bring to marriage, simply do not

exist. To Kujur (2009, p.259) “dowry has spread as an evil in Hinduism, as contrary to the bride price given to the girls’ parents in Saranism”.

Indeed, tribal women considered from the dichotomy Adivasi versus non-Adivasi have a great deal of freedom, even sexual freedom; although in this aspect one has to bear in mind the different practices according to different tribal origin. In this sense we move on from the women who have the right to abandon their husbands if they have been forced into marriage, as is the case of the Dungri Garasi Adivasis (in Rajasthan, Gujarat), to the Madya Gonds (in Madhya Pradesh) in which women have premarital sex, choose their husbands and can abandon them if they are infertile or treat them badly.

However, in the political and religious arena, the woman will not be considered equal, and will not be allowed in the decision making processes or participate in rituals; she will be considered impure due to fertility and birth cycles. In general, the Indian woman has to cope with men’s behaviour that places them in a position of defencelessness against mistreatment, cruelty and abandonment.

The balance between individual and communitarian rights is still a disturbing issue in the Indian Constitution, yet this country regards women as mothers, sisters and daughters but not as full citizens with rights (Franco, 2015).

1.3 The Adivasi people in modern times

On this section we will show the distribution of the tribal population in all of the Indian subcontinent to continue on with the two states where the field work was carried out: Gujarat and Jharkhand, territories in which there is a confluence with the territorial Jesuits’ organizations called provinces.

1.3.1 The tribal belt

The Republic of India is divided into 28 states and 7 union territories (UTs). Each state is practically equivalent to a country with a specific socioeconomic status, ethnic groups, food habits, infrastructure and

different communication services. In order to know the population and its distribution, censuses in India are carried out every ten years. According to the Census of India 2011,³² the Scheduled Tribes (STs) are notified in 30 States/UTs and the number of individual ethnic groups notified as Scheduled Tribes is 705. The tribal population of the country is 10.43 crore (104,300,000 million inhabitants), constituting 8.6% of the total population, 1,210,854,977 million inhabitants³³, out of which 89.97% of them live in rural areas and 10.03% in urban areas.

Concerning the geographical distribution, four main areas or zones are inhabited by the tribal population: North and North Eastern Zone (Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Manipur and Tripura); Central Zone (states of Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Southern Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Bihar, Jharkhand and Orissa), this zone with the highest ST concentration (known as the tribal belt). The Southern Zone consists of the states of Karnataka, south Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and south Maharashtra districts; and the last area of Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The main tribal groups are the Santhals, Munda, Oraon, Kharias, Ho, Gonds, Bhils, Meena, Lodha, Gamit, among many others. Figure 11 shows the Scheduled Tribes distribution in India.

³² Ministry of Tribal Affairs, 2011. *Census of India 2011. Scheduled Tribes in India*. [pdf] Government of India. Available at: <http://tribal.nic.in/WriteReadData/CMS/Documents/201608300231535898843STinindiaascensus2011_compressed.pdf> [Accessed 20 April 2015].

³³ Ministry of Home Affairs. 2011, *Our Census, Our Future*. [online] Available at: <<http://censusindia.gov.in/>> [Accessed 15 July 2013].

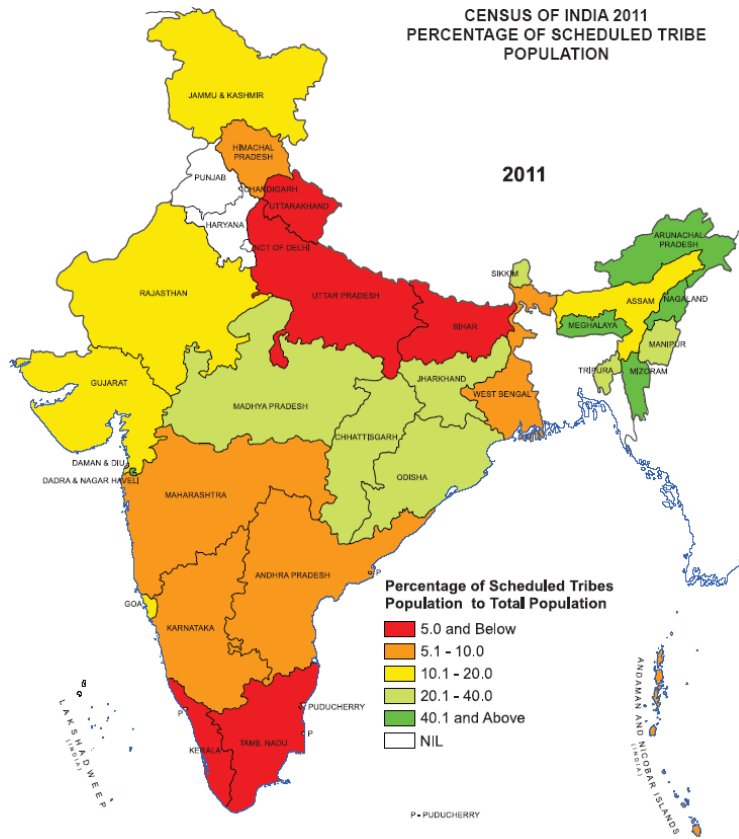


Figure 11. Distribution map of the percentage of tribal population, according to the census of 2011
Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India

1.3.1.1 Gujarat and the tribal population

Gujarat is the westernmost state; bounded by the Arabian Sea on the west, by Rajasthan to the north and northeast, Madhya Pradesh to the east and Maharashtra to the south and southeast. Gujarat has approximately 1,600 km of coastline, 196,024 km² is its total area, the census in the year 2011 population is 60,439,692 inhabitants, of whom 8,917,174³⁴ are tribal, representing 14.8% of the total population. Its density is 308.08 inhabitants per km².

³⁴ Ministry of Tribal Affairs, 2014. *Tribal People at a Glance*. [pdf] Government of India. Available at:

Portugal was the first European power to arrive in Gujarat, acquiring several settlements along the coast (e.g. Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli). The British East India Company established a factory in Surat in 1614, which became their first base in India, eclipsed by Bombay after the British acquired it in 1668. Between 1818 and 1947, Gujarat was divided into numerous princely states ruled by local chiefs under British control. On May 1st 1960, it became a state of India, establishing the capital in Ahmedabad until 1970 when it was moved to the city of Gandhinagar.

Gujarat is divided into 26 districts, and all of them also correspond with the Gujarat Jesuit Province. At its southeastern end lies the so-called "tribal belt" almost entirely inhabited by aboriginal people belonging to different tribes and spread in the following districts: Sabarkantha, Panchmahal, Vadodara, Bharuch, Narmada, Surat, Navsari, Valsad and Dangs.

Bhils are basically in northwest, the derivatives Vasava, Warlit, Gamit, Kokna, Chaudhri, Dungri Bhil, Dungri Garasia being the major names. Originally, their resources were forest-based (hunting and fishing); but they have been relegated to the hinterlands, devoid of livelihoods and disconnected from the progressive growth of the country. Table 2 shows the list of Scheduled Tribes within the state of Gujarat.

<<http://tribal.nic.in/WriteReadData/userfiles/file/Statistics/Tribal%20Profile.pdf>>
[Accessed 10 April 2015].

Table 2. List of Scheduled Tribes in Gujarat state
Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs (Annual Report 2015-2016)³⁵

ANNUAL REPORT 2015-16

Gujarat		
1. Barda	11. Gamit, Ganta, Gavit, Mavchi, Padvi	23. Surendranagar districts)
2. Bavacha, Bamcha	12. Gond, Rajgond	24. Patelia
3. Bharwad (in the Nesses of the forests of Alech, Barada and Gir)	13. Kathodi, Katkari, Dhor Kathodi, Dhor Katkari, Son Kathodi, Son Katkari	25. Pomla
4. Bhil, Bhil Garasia, Dholi Bhil, Dungri Bhil, Dungri Garasia, Mewasi Bhil, Rawal Bhil, Tadvi Bhil, Bhagalia, Bhilala, Pawra, Vasava, Vasave.	14. Kokna, Kokni, Kukna	26. Rabari (in the Nesses of the forests of Alech, Barada and Gir)
5. Charan (in the Nesses of the forests of Alech, Barada and Gir)	15. Omitted	27. Rathawa
6. Chaudhri (in Surat and Valsad districts)	16. Koli Dhor, Tokre Koli, Kolcha, Kolgha	28. Siddi, Siddi-Badshan (in Amreli, Bhavnagar, Jamnagar, Junagadh, Rajkot and Surendranagar districts)
7. Chodhara	17. Kunbi (in the Dangs district)	29. Omitted
8. Dhanka, Tadvi, Tetaria, Valvi	18. Naikda, Nayaka, Cholivala Nayaka, Kapadia Nayaka, Mota Nayaka, Nana Nayaka	30. Varli
9. Dhodia, Dhodi	19. Padhar	31. Vitola, Kotwalia, Barodia
10. Dubla, Talavia, Halpati	20. Omitted	32. Bhil, Bhilala, Barela, Patelia
	21. Pardhi, Advichincher,	33. Tadvi Bhil, Bawra, Vasave,
	22. Phanse Pardhi (excluding Amreli, Bhavanagar, Jamnagar, Junagadh, Kutch, Rajkot and	34. Padvi.

What follows is a brief reference of two of the tribes approached during the field work, the Bhils of the west and the Oraons of the east in India respectively.

The Bhil people

It would be far too pretentious to analyse Bhil tribal people with the intention of offering a perfect picture of their lives and identity; yet we already know the complexity of such a topic. Instead many aspects will be mentioned following the scholars who dedicated their time and efforts to faithfully study them.

³⁵ Ministry of Tribal Affairs. *Annual Report 2015-2016*. [pdf] New Delhi: Government of India. Available at: <<http://tribal.nic.in/WriteReadData/CMS/Documents/201606060452201526687EnglishAR.pdf>> [Accessed 6 June 2016].

The Bhil have a long history going as far back as the 6th century (Singh 1994, p.118). This Adivasi tribal community mainly resides in Rajasthan, western Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and northern Maharashtra. The *Anthropological Survey of India* numbers them in 7,367,973 (1981 census). In Gujarat, as per 2001 census,³⁶ the Bhils represent the majority of the total ST population of the state (46%) numbering 3.4 lakh population. The 2011 Census gives a total number of 16,449,000 inhabitants.

“Before the British very little is known of the ‘Hill people’ beyond ‘the wonderful tales about their strength and lawlessness’” (Dave cited in Delière 1985, p.20), a fact that contributed to the previous fascination and excited images on the ‘Plains peoples’.

We would be mistaken if we did not mention the ambiguity of cultures under the name “Bhil”, but rather different cultures are involved in a confederation of tribes with similar features. The Bhils can be considered as a group of cultures. Keeping all this in mind, some aspects will be identified to help us have a better idea of who the Bhils are.

A relevant source of the British rule is James Tod, scholar, official of the British East India Company, and political agent of Western Rajputana from 1818, who was acquainted with the Bhil tribals.

The Bhil is a step in advance in the scale of civilization, their hunting-grounds being separated into individual portions...The Bhils of the most desolate and unfrequented wild of Méwar and Nerbudda to this day lead a life little short of that of nature, and with the exception of a few articles of luxury, resulting from the discovery of fire, a roasted vermin and distilled waters, are not more civilized than the Esquimoux on the verge the Polar Basin... (Tod, 1839, p.39)

To refer to the tribals, the British used words such as primitives, and classed them as aboriginals, early tribes, animists and the like; considering it was their moral duty to civilise the tribals, encouraging them to practice a more settled and intensive agriculture, excluding them

³⁶ Census Commission of India. *Gujarat data highlights: The Scheduled Tribes census of india 2001*. [pdf] Government of India. Available at: <http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Tables_Published/SCST/dh_st_gujarat.pdf> [Accessed 10 January 2015].

from their forests' exploitation, protecting instead the landlords, usurers and liquor dealers. "Until the 19th century, the Bhils practised shifting cultivation but with the advent of the British rule in India, they were forced to settle down" (Ghurye cited in Delière 1985, p.15). Some missionaries entering the territory during the 19th century followed the British descriptions judging the Bhils with the same parameters.

To Munshi (cited in Ponraj, n.d.), the anthropologists agree to the non-Aryan identity of the Bhil people, recognizing the Dravidians as belonging to a higher cultural state. Dravidians considered the Bhils as aborigines. Hardiman (2006a, p.4) writes that "Bhils might be seen to possess certain 'negroid' characteristics".

If today it is still hard to get to many hilly tracts inhabited by Bhil people, the lack of availability in the past to get access to them was even higher; an important fact if we want to consider the starting points regarding information and knowledge about these aboriginals. All the writings about them were provided by colonial officials and Christian missionaries in the 19th century carrying their own ideology and prejudices (ibid.).

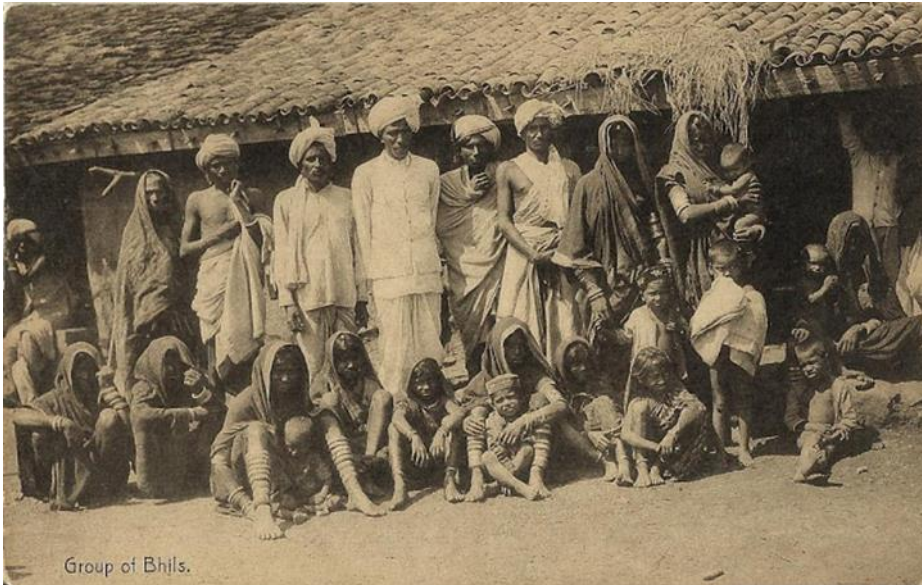


Figure 12. Group of Bhils (vintage photo postcard)

Concerning their name, as per Delière's writings it is a common explanation that the term Bhil might come from the Sanskrit *Bhilla*, applied to the "bowmen" and signifying "bow"; this is clear from the fact that Bhils "were scarcely ever seen without bows and arrows" (Delière 1985, p. 21). Munshi claims the tribal names of *Bhil* and *Billala* of Tamil origin with the same significance, "vil" y "*villala*" i.e. 'arrow' and 'bow'. They speak in Bhili, which belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of languages, and it is only spoken by the tribal people.

They were not integrated into the caste system, as they tried to keep their own institutions. They had been rulers in certain parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh and were dislodged by the incoming Rajputs; scholars, as for example Ramachandra Guha, mention the Bhils as warriors. (Guha cited in Devy, 2006, p.105).

However, there has been an assimilation of certain practices from the Hinduism. The Sanskritisation³⁷ that occurred did not help the Bhils in acquiring a better status in Indian society. There was a clear regression of Bhil culture under this process (Bhuriya, 2002).

1.3.1.2 Jharkhand and the tribal population

Jharkhand is a state located in eastern India; bounded by Chhattisgarh on the west, by Bihar to the north, Uttar Pradesh to the north-west,

³⁷ Sanskritization is a relevant concept in Indian sociology. "Sanskritization is the process by which a low caste or other groups takes over the customs, rituals, beliefs, ideology and style of life of a 'twice-born' caste". (Delière, 1985, p.3). "Sanskritization is a particular form of social change found in India. It denotes the process by which castes placed lower in the caste hierarchy seek upward mobility by emulating the rituals and practices of the upper or dominant castes. It is a process similar to passing in sociological terms. This term was made popular by Indian sociologist M. N. Srinivas in the 1950s, although earlier references to this process can be found in *Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development* by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. The sanskritising model is espoused by the country's leaders and the anthropologists/sociologists who belong to the high castes and upper classes in India". (Mundu, 2002, p.7).

A similar phenomenon in India is the Hinduisation, the conscious manipulation of a group by another group for its own material and political benefit; where the exploitation and manipulation is systematic and somehow the exploited do not realize the intentions behind it. The Hinduisation of the Adivasis has been highlighted among scholars as an attack upon their cultural identity. (D'Mello, 2000).

Odisha to the south and West Bengal to the east. Its total area is 79,714 km², 31% is covered with hills and forests. According to the 2011 Census of India, the total population is 32,966,238 inhabitants, out of which 25,036,946 are rural (75.95%) and 7,929,292 urban (24.05%), 16,93 million are males and 16,05 million females. The sex ratio is 947 females to 1000 males (943 is the national standard). Of the total, 8,645,042 are Scheduled Tribe population,³⁸ (26.2%). Its density is 414 inhabitants per km². Ranchi is the capital.

To describe the tribal belt located in Jharkhand, it is essential to refer to the recently created Indian tribal state. Knowing that Chotanagpur is a plateau about 2,000 feet in height, a hilly area that was totally covered by forests during the 19th century, it is easy to understand how the tribals lived in isolation, a great difference with the rest of India, a difference that would manifest at first sight in a lack of temples in every single tribal Indian village. This is only an example of the differences that the British would see at all levels.

Jharkhand state was formed on November 15th 2000, carved out of the relatively under-developed southern part of Bihar, after almost half a century of people's movements to evolve a Jharkhandi identity, which disadvantaged societal groups articulated to augment political resources and influence the policy process in their favour. It is the 28th state of India. The name means "The Land of Forests", the homeland of numerous indigenous population. The Jharkhandi identity and the demand for autonomy was not premised solely on the uniqueness of its tribal cultural heritage but was essentially a fallout of the failure of development policy to intervene in socioeconomic conditions of the Adivasis and non-Adivasis in the region.

Jharkhand state has 24 districts, and 5 of them correspond to the Ranchi Jesuit Province. Jharkhand is the leading producer of mineral wealth in

³⁸ Ministry of Tribal Affairs, 2014. *Tribal People at a Glance*. [pdf] Government of India. Available at: <http://tribal.nic.in/WriteReadData/userfiles/file/Statistics/Tribal%20Profile.pdf> [Accessed 10 April 2015].

the country after Chattisgarh state, endowed as it is with a vast variety of minerals like iron ore, coal, copper ore, mica, bauxite, graphite, limestone, and uranium. Kelles-Viitanen (2010) reports that the 85% of the coal reserve is in the states of Adivasi population, such as Chattisgarh (31,8%), Orissa (22,2%), and Jharkhand (26.3%).

Jharkhand is also known for its vast forest resources. In spite of abundant natural resources Jharkhand is one of the most backward state in India. The incidence of poverty is estimated at 46% and about 60% of schedule caste and schedule tribes are still below poverty line (Singh et al. 2012). The situation of the tribals and dalits in rural areas is worse.

This territory that at first sight should be a prosperous settlement for the Adivasis, who maintain a close relation with the land, has turned paradoxically in the main reason of their migrations, due to the spoliation of their resources and displacement by virtue of government policies.

Therefore, a first point to be considered is the fact that this population could lead a life in harmony with the environment but instead Jharkhand is one of the poorest states in India, being even worse in rural areas, where the percentage of people depending on agriculture is 77.8%. Dabhi (2008) notes that this poverty is the reflection of the sociopolitical discrimination against them.

The main tribal groups considered autochthone in central India are the Oraons, Mundas, Kharias and Santhals. Table 3 shows the list of Scheduled Tribes within the state of Jharkhand.³⁹

³⁹ Ministry of Tribal Affairs. *Annual Report 2015-2016*. [pdf] New Delhi: Government of India. Available at: <<http://tribal.nic.in/WriteReadData/CMS/Documents/201606060452201526687EnglishAR.pdf>> [Accessed 6 June 2016].

Table 3. List of Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand state
Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs (Annual Report 2015-2016)

Jharkhand		
1. Asur, Agaria	14. Karmali	24. Munda, Patar
2. Baiga	15. Kharia, Dhelki Kharia, Dudh Kharia, Hill Kharia	25. Oraon, Dhangar(Oraon)
3. Banjara	16. Kharwar	26. Parhaiya
4. Bathudi	17. Khond	27. Santhal
5. Bedia	18. Kisan, Nagesia	28. Sauria Paharia
6. Binjhia	19. Kora, Mudi-Kora	29. Savar
7. Birhor	20. Korwa	30. Bhumij
8. Birjia	21. Lohra	31. Kawar
9. Chero	22. Mahli	32. Kol
10. Chik Baraik	23. Mal Paharia, Kumarbhag Paharia	
11. Gond		
12. Gorait		
13. Ho		

The Oraon people

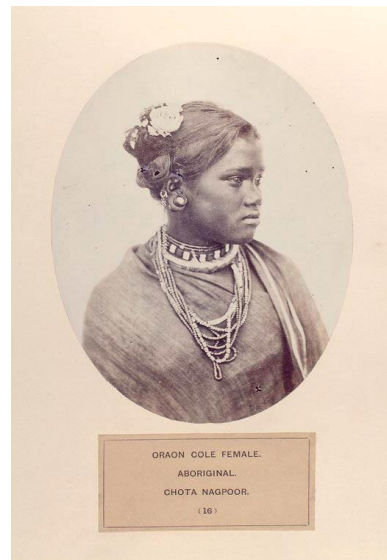
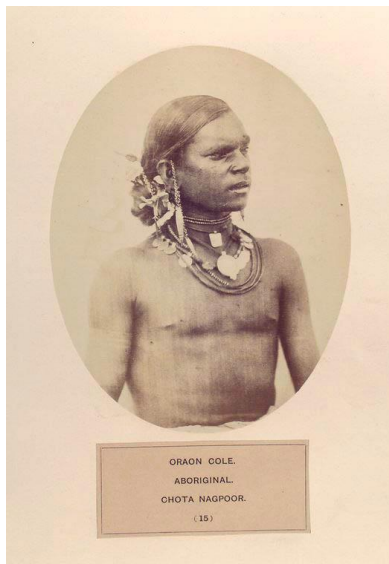
They are one of the major tribes of the central zone of India. The Oraons, also Uraos, Ouraons, called themselves *Kurukhs*. Oraon is used to refer to a group of people with a common culture and to designate the language of the group. They are found in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Maharashtra and Tripura; and in small number in Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Delhi, Rajasthan and other north Indian states.

The Aryans gave them derogatory nicknames.... These nicknames in the course of time became part of their consciousness.... the identity of the Oraon as 'Oraon' had been an imposition from outside. It did not resonate with the self-identification of the group itself. (Kujur cited in Kumar & Sunny, 2009, pp.261–262)

They are said to come from the Indus Valley living in Harappa 3500 years B.C. and moving towards Rohtas in Shahabad during 800-900 B.C. in order to avoid the Aryans.

It is noteworthy that the traditions of the Mundas, Kharias, Oraons, Kharwars, Cheros and Santals speak of them as having once lived in the Rohtasgarh area before settling down in Jharkhand. Rohtasgarh was a dense forest area. Therefore, different tribes as well as Hindus and Muslims wanted to get hold of the Chotanagpur plateau, where several tribes settled in different areas. (Mundu, 2002, p.14)

They speak Kurukh, which belongs to the northern subgroup of the Dravidian family of languages, but also use Sadri and Hindi to communicate with other groups (Singh, 1994; Kujur, 2009). Roy holds that linguistically and ethnologically the Oraons belong to the Dravidian stock (ibid., 2009, p. 247). Their arrival in Chotanagpur happened before the Mundas, one or two centuries, but both groups live side by side peacefully. Clarysse (1984, p. 89) narrates that Oraons were “More developed than the Mundas with regard to their knowledge of agriculture... where they made extensive clearances which they brought under the plough”.



Figures 13 and 14. Oraon Cole male and female. Chota Nagpur
Source: *The People of India*, Forbes Watson and John William Kaye, 1868

On the basis of the government classification of tribals and other groups in the Constitution, the Oraons are scheduled as a tribe. Their population in India is 4,870,000 million.

1.3.2 Tribes, Adivasis and Indigenous people of India

In the previous sections some notions and features have been provided in order to become familiar with the Adivasi context, history and identity. Furthermore, it is very important to understand the complexity

of the terminology used in different contexts, for example the political forces when dealing with the Adivasi identity. There is relevant information considering this fact which supports this reality. In this section we will mention these terms in relation with their meaning and use.

Tribal people

The designation of ‘tribal’ responds to a British strategy to classify the hill people and those living in the jungles who did not fit into the general pattern based on religion and caste in the decennial census of India. The British deployed an anthropological terminology to categorize these disparate peoples (Lobo, 2003; Mundu, 2002; González Torres, 2011).

The British used religion as a primary criterion for the categorization not only of time but also of society. The decadal Census of India, initiated in 1872, sought to delineate South Asian societies principally via categories of caste and religion. (Gottschalk, 2000, p.27)

In some cases, they were defined by the colonial rulers in terms of their ‘primitive’ religiosity as ‘animists’ (Hardiman 2002, p.2). J.A. Bains (commissioner of the census of 1891), this included the subheading “Forest tribes” in the report of the castes according to their traditional occupation under “Agricultural and Pastoral castes”. “Since the Census of 1891, tribals were marked separately under the category of Animists” (Xaxa, 2000).

Kujur (2011a) establishes different classifications given as follows: the Census report in 1901 classified them as “Animists”; the Census report 1911 “Tribal animists or people following tribal religion”; the Census report 1921 “Hill and Forest Tribes”; Census 1931 “Tribal Religions”; the Government of India Act, the 1935 “Backward Tribes”; the Census Report 1941 “Tribes”. Although the Constitution of 1950 named many tribes as “Scheduled Tribes”, no criteria can be read in the document itself in its definition.

Scheduled tribes

The term ST responds to the bureaucratic label of ‘Scheduled Tribes’ given to the indigenous peoples in the 20th century. The Indian government “refuses to acknowledge the presence of indigenous peoples in the country, by saying that all the tribals have been absorbed in various degrees into the wider society” (Mundu 2002, p. 9). The contrary would be to admit the existence of a non-Hindu group as the first dwellers in India. In contrast, India has the largest population of indigenous and tribal people in Asia.

Lefebure mentions eight common features of these communities listed in the *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*, in 1952:

- (i) they live away from the civilized world in inaccessible areas, forests and hills, (ii) they belong to one of three stocks, Negrito, Australoids or Mongoloids, (iii) they speak the same dialect, (iv) primitive religion ‘animism’, worship of ghosts and spirits, (v) primitive occupations: hunting, gathering of forest produce, shifting cultivation, (vi) largely carnivorous or meat eaters, (vii) primitive in dress and clothing, and (viii) nomadic habits and love for drink and dance. (Lefebure 2013, p.41)

Under the Article 342 of the Constitution of India, adopted in 1949, only those communities that have been declared by the President as "Scheduled Tribes," both in acts and in subsequent amendments of Parliament, will have this consideration. This administrative terminology is the basis for the Adivasis to become integrated as recipients of constitutional privileges and benefits, and to be considered a legally recognized social group after deprivation and exclusion:

Art. 342. (1) The President may, with respect to any State or Union territory, and where it is a state, after consultation with the Governor there of by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall, for the purposes of this constitution, be deemed to be scheduled tribes in relation to that state or Union Territory, as the case may be.

(2) Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Tribes specified in a notification issued under clause (1) any tribe or tribal

community or part of or group within any tribe or tribal community, but save as aforesaid, a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification.⁴⁰

According to Kujur (2011a, p.211) “the main characteristics considered for notification were primitive traits, distinctive culture, shyness with the public at large, geographical isolation and socioeconomic backwardness”.

Admittedly, many Adivasis are off the list or are considered "Scheduled Castes" and no real scheduled tribes, that is non-Adivasi tribes. This manipulation in terms of terminology and classification leaves them out of the constitutional laws previews, with the corresponding pejorative connotations and manifested outclassed. In turn, Brahmanical ideologues in order to convert them to Hinduism, do everything possible to rename them *Vanavasis*, citizens of the jungle, a term that does not recognize the Constitution.

Indigenous people

To define who is indigenous has been intended by indigenous and non-indigenous scholars, as well as organizations such as the World Bank, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), and the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), etc. For Corntassel, a Cherokee academic, this question is “best answered by indigenous communities themselves” (cited in Gomes 2013, p.3).

The *Permanent Forum of Indigenous Issues*,⁴¹ in an attempt to specify the concept of indigenous people, have relied on the following assumptions:

- Self-identification as indigenous from a personal level and community acceptance as a member
- Historical continuity with pre-colonial societies and/or pre-founding

⁴⁰ Ministry of Tribal Affairs. *Article 342 Scheduled Tribes*. [online] (25 January 2017) Available at: <<http://tribal.nic.in/Content/DefinitionpRfiles.aspx>> [Accessed 7 May 2014].

⁴¹ United Nations Permanent Forum of Indigenous Issues. *Who are indigenous peoples?* [pdf] Available at: <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfi/documents/5session_factsheet1.pdf> [Accessed 20 May 2014].

- Strong links with the territories and natural resources of the environment
- Different economic, political and social systems
- Different language, culture and beliefs
- Non-dominant social groups
- Decision to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinct peoples and communities

It is important to clarify that the list elaborated by the government establishing the tribal population is quite confusing considering the political, administrative, and intellectual reasons to join these communities under not defined criteria. The concept of tribe changes from state to state depending on the socioeconomic conditions of each particular community and its subsequent inclusion in a particular group. It seems that indigeneity in India is based on caste, religion and also marginalization, therefore it is a contextual issue.

In addition to their geographic and social isolation, they have been historically underrepresented in the political arena, and the regions they inhabit show a clear economic underdevelopment. The condition of scheduled tribe under the Indian Constitution means in political forums such as parliament that seats are reserved for Adivasis, plus jobs in the civil service and educational institutions. Policy for STs is provided by the mentioned Ministry of Tribal Affairs. However, “indigenous peoples in the larger scheme of things do not have the power of identification or classification, which is often in the hands of the politically dominant” (ibid., p.6).

Kujur (2011a, p. 216) notes that there is a competition in India regarding the indigenous identity that goes from the “appropriation of ST status among the groups/communities which consider themselves as ‘tribals’, to the school of thought that view the Aryans and non-Aryans as always co-existing”.

Adivasi tribal people

While ST is a name under the Constitution, Adivasi is a term replete with the historical consciousness of the people. The term Adivasi is used in

India by most indigenous tribal people who identify themselves with its meaning: the Sanskrit *ādivāsī*, from Sanskrit *ādi* earliest and *vāsī* inhabitant. The term ‘Adivasi’ is not used in the Indian Constitution but can be found among the scholars, books, media, etc. Its connotations empower the tribals in identity matters. The Oxford Dictionary uses the following definitions: a member of any of the aboriginal tribal peoples living in India before the arrival of the Aryans in the second millennium and a descendant of any of the Adivasi peoples.

Mullick (cited in Rycroft & Dasgupta 2011, p.1) reports that “it was first used in a political context in the Jharkhand region of eastern India, with the formation of the *Adivasi Mahasabha* (the Great Council of Adivasis) in 1938”.

For Burman (2009), during the last decades the “Adivasi” term is used in NGOs and activism specially in central India and carries political meaning regarding inclusion and exclusion of constitutional provisions. However, there is an exception when the Sangh Parivar⁴² and all those who are ideologically committed to Hindutva⁴³ refer to the tribals, as they call them *vanवासि* (forest dwellers).

The identity of the adivasis has entered into the consciousness of the tribal people. The identity that was forced upon them from outside precisely to mark out differences from the dominant community, has now been internalised by the people themselves (Xaxa, 1999).

⁴² The Sangh Parivar represents the Hindu nationalist movement. The Sangh Parivar is a family of organisations which has been started by members of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) or drew inspiration from its ideology.

⁴³ Hindutva, or "Hinduness", a term coined by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar in 1923, is the predominant form of Hindu nationalism in India. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) adopted it as its official ideology in 1989. It is championed by the Hindu nationalist volunteer organisation Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and its affiliate organisations, notably the Vishva Hindu Parishad, along with the older term Hindu Rashtra (Hindu nation). Wikipedia. *Hindutva*. [online] (4 January 2017) Available at: <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindutva>> [Accessed 24 January 2017].

1.3.3 Survival and struggle

In this section, we present a brief description of the current scenario of the sociopolitical life of the Adivasis. Their situation of vulnerability has been recognized by Gyan Sudha Misra and Markandey Katju, two India's Supreme Court judges who have condemned the injustices against the tribal peoples, as can be read below:

The injustice done to the tribal people of India is a shameful chapter in our country's history.... They were slaughtered in large numbers, and the survivors and their descendants were degraded, humiliated, and all kinds of atrocities inflicted on them for centuries. They were deprived of their lands, and pushed into forests and hills where they eke out a miserable existence of poverty, illiteracy, disease.⁴⁴

What follows is a brief summary of some aspects of the current panorama which will shed some light on the main problems nowadays for the Adivasi communities.

Displacement and land grabbing

The different dates provided concerning this subject as well as the lack of information provided by government institutions corroborate an existing gap. About 25% of the indigenous population has been displaced and directly affected due to the development of mining projects and all sorts of development programmes in their territories, given the wealth of natural resources. This population lives in resource-rich land, which in a globalized world is a sentence of poverty, marginalization, whipping and subsequent displacement (Tamminen, 2010).

Kelles-Viitanen (2010) has found that not only have most indigenous peoples not gained any share of this wealth but they are also losing their lands. The Planning Commission of India reports that half a million Adivasis have lost half a million hectares of their lands. Walter Fernandes' study on displacement shows that 40% of all displaced

⁴⁴ Survival, 2011. *India Supreme Court judge condemns 'historic injustice' of tribal peoples*. [online] Available at <<http://www.survivalinternational.org/news/6875>> [Accessed 5 May 2014].

people in this country are adivasis, who form just 8% of the population,⁴⁵ over 20 million Adivasis dispossessed in the name of development (Padel & Das, 2010).

Concerning the mentioned massive displacements; in 2012 the Indian People's Tribunal on Environment and Human Rights reports 54 million Adivasi being displaced (Toppo, 2012).

Most of the forest cover of Gujarat and Jharkhand is in Adivasi areas. Deforestation, due to forest-based industries, mining and agro-industries is depriving these communities of the means of livelihood and also cash income.

At least 65 people died in clashes between ethnic and religious communities in Assam, which resulted in the temporary displacement of 400,000 people. The Adivasis (indigenous) communities and fishermen and other marginalized populations continued to protest against forcible eviction from their lands and habitats, while advancing official investigations into the allocation of land to mining companies. Human rights defenders faced threats and harassment from state and non-state agencies, and in some cases were imposed long prison sentences. The government tried to censor websites and stifle expressions of dissent in social networks, triggering protests against restrictions on Internet. (Amnesty International, 2013)⁴⁶

Therefore, in the name of development and progress, the Adivasis are suffering land alienation because of the economic policies of the Government, as well as large national and multinational companies; for example, Lakra (2010) mentions several multinationals causing these shifts and land acquisition: Tata, Mittal, Jindal, Essar, Posco, and Vedanta.

He reports that policies of institutions such as the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), the World Bank, the WTO (World

⁴⁵ Guha, R., 2012. Ramachandra Guha outlines the Adivasi dilemma. *The Sunday Guardian*, [online] 23 September. Available at: <<http://www.sunday-guardian.com/young-restless/ramachandra-guha-outlines-adivasi-dilemma>> [Accessed 20 February 2013].

⁴⁶ Amnesty International, 2013. *Annual Report: India 2013*. [online] Available at: <<http://www.amnestyusa.org/research/reports/annual-report-india-2013>> [Accessed 2 February 2014].

Trade Organization), adopted at the international level, have a dramatic effect on the indigenous communities.

Among different forms of abuse and spoliation, there is the displacement of their lands with protectionist ends of the nature. The ironic touch of the following words corresponds to a governmental training manual for the formation of foresters.

Forest dwelling communities are invariably inveterate hunters and have in most areas practically annihilated game animals and birds by indiscriminate hunting and snaring. It is surely time to instil in the tribal mind a respect for the basic game laws of the country. (Dowie 2009, p.120)

It seems that there are colonial roots to the practice of expropriation. In India, the British colonial masters transferred their own economic practices.

In addition to the information about people being displaced, Swamy (2013, p.215) writes: “Independent studies say that about 15 lakh people have been displaced during the five decades after independence, out of whom almost 85% are Adivasis”. Another sad issue is the absence of good resettlement policies by the Indian Government.

Development and human rights

Sundar (2017)⁴⁷ affirms that the Adivasis suffer exploitation and discrimination on a massive scale. In this case she refers to the state of Chattisgarh, created as a region to give more opportunities to the Adivasis and the excluded people. Unfortunately, what is happening is the opposite in many tribal zones, in which survival issues outweigh issues of identity.

⁴⁷ Express New Service, 2017. Activities taking place in Bastar are unconstitutional, says Nandini Sundar. The Indian Express, [online]. Available at: <<http://www.newindianexpress.com/cities/hyderabad/2017/jan/05/activities-taking-place-in-bastar-are-unconstitutional-says-nandini-sundar-1556201.html>> [Accessed 13 February 2017].

According to an Oxford University study, based on the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), the poverty level among the tribals in central India is 81.4% (Kumar, V., Kumar, S. & Sonu, 2015).

Corral writes: “The history of the Adivasis has been marked by external aggression and a continuous struggle for survival” (2007, p.260). As per the statements provided by Devi (2008), many tribes that have not yet been recognized are victims of torture, persecution and police repression.

Let us take as an example the Tholkobad village in Jharkhand state. Dungdung (2015) reports that the people in Tholkobad village still drink water from the stream, the houses are broken and they do not have any health facility. Under the Saranda Development Plan things continued to be the same. The plan ended in December 2013 and in 2015 the author visited the village, a Naxal-affected village and now under the CPRF (Central Police Research Force). In this area called Saranda there are “alone 18 companies of CPRF and Cobra battalion are set up and they are torturing and harassing innocent people on the allegious suspicion that they are supporters/sympathizers of naxals” (Swamy, 2016).

Stories from tribal teachers (e.g. Awara cited in Devy, 2006) narrate the schooling situation within their communities (e.g. Pawra community), where not only is access to the school difficult, as students have to climb hills and crossing rivers, but also non-tribal teachers make arrangements to prevent the Adivasis from learning. They even tell how people were paid by the local leaders to stay away from the schools.

Different practices of discrimination are still present in many schools, contaminated by the polluted-unpolluted dichotomy of the Indian thinking; where Adivasis together with Dalits and Muslims are asked to do inconceivable things in current times. These things are to sit separately, clean toilets, not to pollute utensils for midday meals by bringing theirs, and the like. Deshpande (2014) refers to this fact as the primary trauma.

All relevant information managed in this respect lead us to mention Devy's statement about the "aphasia" of the Adivasis, in the sense that they do not communicate the knowledge they have. "I think we can extend the meaning of aphasia in modern or post-modern societies as a loss of the ability to communicate." (Devy 2006, p.98), and the reason for this loss of voice is the attack of urban society on them. (Vadhu cited in *ibid.*). To Devy, over 2.5 million Bhils are not in a position to express their deeply felt problems.

Another aspect to take into account is the inferiority complex of the marginalized and mistreated people. Lefebure (2013) mentions the necessity of the Warli⁴⁸ people to be empowered, as they have an inferiority complex and lack formal education.

Sources of the International Labour Organization record that India ratified the Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples of the ILO Convention, 1957 (No. 107), but even though over 50 years have passed, specific interventions, socioeconomic development of most Adivasis have not seen a significant improvement. The legislative and policy initiatives like Annexes fifth and sixth of the Constitution, the Law on the Panchayat Extension to Areas 1996, the project of a National Tribal Policy 2004 among others, reflect an important shift towards rights-based approaches in the field of tribal development. The Tribes Act of 2010 marks a historic milestone that proposes amends for the injustice practiced toward tribal peoples of India by restoring their rights to traditional livelihoods.

According to Dungdung (2015, p.189), "The main problem with the Indian politicians and bureaucrats is that they consider Adivasis merely as victims or beneficiaries, but not as opinion makers or rights holders. They are never made part of the system as decision makers". Because of such policies, the implantation of various models for the Adivasi development become a failure. With regard to globalisation, Lakra

⁴⁸ The Warli people. "They inhabit the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat, and the union territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. The term Varli has been derived from the word varal, meaning uplanders." (Singh 1994, p.1174).

(2010) emphasizes that indigenous and tribal world settle its border occupying the last unspoiled places on earth where resources are rich.

The claim has been made so far that Adivasis are marginalized peoples, the most abused people together with Dalits, and this has occurred in different periods of pre-colonial times, and after the Independence of India. Today's government policies are also contributing to this situation, as well as groups like Sangh Parivar. The list concerning different forms of marginalization is large.⁴⁹

Sangh Parivar denies Adivasis the status of the original dwellers. It runs counter to its own claim that Aryans, who brought Vedic civilization to the country, are the original inhabitants of the land. The Sangh's action in tribal areas is accompanied by a spread of literature full of hatred towards minorities, creating mental harassment and turmoil on Adivasis. As has been mentioned, the term Adivasi is used in all matters of public discourse: textbooks, government documents, newspapers, scholars, etc., except for the Sangh Parivar. The main strategies are to weak the identity through clear religious divisions, and to create tension and violence.

Spoilation, Naxalism and human trafficking

Thus, the list concerning modes of spoliation and violence is also large: exploitation of the forests, change from democracy to kingly or colonial rule, acquisition of territory, natural resources, and revenues in all possible guises. The list concerning modus operandi is also full of harrowing ways: big companies' takeovers, police serving the companies (Padel, 2010), mass exploitation and oppression of Adivasi women in domestic service (Mullick, 2002; Dabhi, 2008; Kujur & Jha, 2008; Mehrotra, 2010; Rao, 2011; Wadhawan, 2013), use of rape as a weapon of subjugation by police or army personnel (Dungdung, 2013), turning one tribe against another following the colonial techniques, etc.

⁴⁹ Outlook India, 2002. *Adivasi vs Vanvasi: The Hinduization of Tribals in India*. [online]. Available at <<http://www.outlookindia.com/website/story/adivasi-vs-vanvasi-the-hinduization-of-tribals-in-india/217974>> [Accessed 13 July 2013].

According to the report of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime,⁵⁰ Jharkhand has turned into a vulnerable state as far as the trafficking of women and children is concerned, and whose destiny is forced labour and slavery. The country is one of the worst victims of human trafficking where thousands of tribal girls have been trafficked to big cities, such as Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, etc., in order to work in domestic service as victims of the placement agencies, which in many occasions happen to be organized criminal groups. (Kujur, Peñarrocha & Peris, in press).

Along with the human trafficking issue, the armed conflict confronting the Indian Government and the Maoist movement called Naxalism started around the seventies in north and east India due to the reaction of the local people to the feudal agrarian system.

The Adivasis have acts of resistance against usurers, to struggle facing displacement with resistance as well as other injustices caused by the government development projects, which generates a situation of being accused of Maoists o supporters. “During the past decade, about 550 young men and women have been killed in police firings in so called Naxal operations, and about 6000 Adivasis are languishing in the jails of Jharkhand” (Swamy, 2013, p.221).

The use of all sorts of violence, such as murder, rape, kidnapping, abduction, etc., against the tribals under the accusation of Naxalism place them in extreme situations such as jail:

Operation Green Hunt⁵¹... was meant to hunt out the people and clear their green fields and forests to hand them over the mining companies. A new philosophy was created to the effect that development is not taking place in the tribal belt of central

⁵⁰ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2013. *Current Status of Victim Service Providers and Criminal Justice Actors in India on Anti Human Trafficking*. [pdf] New Delhi. Available at: <https://www.unodc.org/documents/southasia//reports/Human_Trafficking-10-05-13.pdf> [Accessed 12 October 2015].

⁵¹ “Operation Greenhunt is just the latest manifestation of the recurring patterns of state violence. Offering just military action and ‘development’ to counteract today’s Maoist insurgency is no solution at all ‘precisely because the injustice, discrimination and denial are the foundation of the violence’” (Padel, 2013). The Gandhi Foundation, 2013. *Whose Country is it anyway?* [online]. Available at: <<https://gandhifoundation.org/2013/01/29/new-book-review-whose-country-is-it-anyway-by-gladson-dungdung-and-reviewed-by-felix-padel/>> [Accessed 22 January 2017].

India because of the ‘menace of Naxalism’ and if the naxals/maoists can be eliminated, the government will undertake systematic development programmes and the tribal population will catch up in the developmental process. (ibid., 2014, p.321)

Jharkhand has been branded as part of the Red Corridor (states where the Naxalites operate). After her stay with the so-called Naxalites during several months, Roy (2010, p.3) concludes in his report *Walking with the Comrades*:

The Indian Constitution, the moral underpinning of Indian democracy, was adopted by Parliament in 1950. It was a tragic day for the tribal people. The Constitution ratified colonial policy and made the State custodian of tribal homelands. Overnight, it turned the entire tribal population into squatters on their own land. It denied them their traditional rights to forest produce, it criminalised a whole way of life.

But the question is that many Adivasi villages are in between the government forces such as Salwa Judum⁵² and the Naxalites, who have also been accused of “violations of international humanitarian law”.⁵³

Padel and Das (2010) speak of a “cultural genocide on the Adivasi social structure” which is a contradiction if we remember the resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on Human Rights 61/178, 6 March 2007:

Article 32

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands or territories and other resources.”
2. States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources.

⁵² “the dreaded, government-sponsored vigilante group responsible for rapes, killings, for burning down villages and driving hundreds of thousands of people from their homes” (Roy 2010, p.3).

⁵³ Asian Centre for Human Rights, 2011. *Human Rights Report*. [pdf] Available at: <<http://www.achrweb.org/ihrhq/issue3-4/ihrhq-jan-june-2011.pdf>> [Accessed 27 January 2017].

3. States shall provide effective mechanisms for just and fair redress for any such activities, and appropriate measures shall be taken to mitigate adverse environmental, economic, social, cultural or spiritual impact.

However, the jungle questions remain unresolved, considered by the Adivasis as their ancestral habitat, motherland of ancestors, place of myths, religious space, source of psychic energy, pharmaceuticals and medicinal plants last resort against starvation and lack of monsoon.

By luck or by providence the tribals/indigenous people throughout the world sit on the ‘frontiers’ of globalization’s expansion because they occupy the last pristine places on earth where resources are still in abundance: forests, minerals, water, landscapes and genetic diversity. (Lakra 2011, p.12).

1.3.4 Identity insights

Nowadays, identity has turned into a very complex issue when tribals and non-tribals are to define their position. Hindu religious and political forces strive for hinduising the tribals and de-recognizing “the tribal identity of Christians and *Sarnas* who ‘refuse’ the Hindu label”, as Kujur and Robinson make clear (2010). Conflicts and violence are justified by the neo-hindu organisations.

John-Baptist Hoffmann, one of the early missionaries working among the tribals of Chotanagpur, had a profound knowledge of their nature and condition:

And they are despised as a weak and backward race, unfit to survive, because they generally preferred to abandon to their aggressors the fruits of their labours, and to go and snatch more new fields from wild beasts in forests farther away from the ‘civilisation’ of the strong invading races, until at the beginning of this (20th) century, the few remaining forests of inner India were closed against them. (cited in Mundu 2002, p.9)

The current situation can be synthesized as a loss of identity and dignity, yet under the main policies of the “high-class ruling elite”. The Adivasis lose their homelands and livelihood in the name of the assimilationist policies.

We emphasize that the essential identity of a people is part of a process in permanent construction, resulting from the dialectic between this

identity and between actors and the context surrounding it. In the same vein, the words of the Indian anthropologist Burman (cited in Corral 2008, p.107) concerning indigenous claims and social movements, bring light to the Adivasi reality:

One has to seriously wonder if these movements should be considered mere ethnic uprisings or if they have deeper significance for humanity. Although most of these movements are directed towards the state as their formal goal, they could lead, without these leaders realizing it, to the resurrection of the human will by a communitarian self-management instead of being controlled by the depersonalized offices and soulless state.

These considerations lead us to Castells (2003) and his feedback on historical perspectives. For Castells the key to fruitful development of identity lies in its transformation, and this goes from the resistance to the project, and from the defence of collective memory building a common future. He also warns that one cannot play with fire by contempt of identities constructed over time.

It is therefore an approach to both a complex history and a current situation what we intend to comprehend thoroughly, in order to get close to the Adivasi reality, yet the dominant history of India has by and large ignored the tribals. This means to understand the whole Adivasi knowledge system and their situation in today's context.

From a more general perspective, according to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.⁵⁴

Article 15

- Indigenous peoples have the right to the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public formation.
- States shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding, and good relations among indigenous peoples and all other segments of society.

⁵⁴ United Nations, 2008. *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. [pdf] Available at: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfi/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf [Accessed 3 Juny 2015].

Nevertheless, the capacity of the tribal people has been questioned by the upper caste who said “that was nonsense to open schools for Adivasis because they have no head or faculties to go to college”, words that we bring from an interview.

The languages spoken by Adivasi and nomadic communities neither find place in the education system or the literary world nor receive state patronage. Many of these languages are on the verge of extinction. With the loss of these languages the traditional knowledge, oral history, myths and legends, stories and songs of the communities are under severe threat.

The identity issue has been dealt with considering their origin. In this sense, judges Gyan Sudha Misra and Markandey Katju (India’s Supreme Court), have highly considered that the tribes of India ‘have managed to preserve many of their tribal customs despite many oppressions and atrocities from other communities’. They recognised explicitly that the country’s tribal people, or Adivasis, are ‘descendants of the original inhabitants of India’.⁵⁵ Authors such as Kujur (2012) claim that tribals are not “backward Hindus” but can be Hinduized, Christianized or Islamized.

What follows is the contextualization of the Society of Jesus, which will provide a holistic view of the Jesuits in general and the Jesuits in India.

1.4 The Society of Jesus

Due to the vast scope that the Society of Jesus suggests, the subject will be restricted to limited spans of time and space. In this section we will explore the main traits of the Jesuit order to focus mainly on two Indian provinces: Gujarat Jesuit Province and Ranchi Jesuit Province.

⁵⁵ Survival, 2011. *India Supreme Court judge condemns 'historic injustice' of tribal peoples*. [online] Available at <<http://www.survivalinternational.org/news/6875>> [Accessed 5 May 2014].

1.4.1 Contextualization of the Society of Jesus

The term Jesuit was first used in Germany around 1550, as an adjective with derogatory connotations. The Catholic Encyclopaedia⁵⁶ refers to this point:

The term "Jesuit" (originating in the fifteenth century, meaning someone who used too frequently or appropriated the name of Jesus) was applied at the beginning as a reproach to the Company (1544-1542), and was never employed by its founder though members and friends of the Society accepted over time the name on its good sense.

Over time, Jesuit went on to have a positive meaning, and so it is common to find explanations from the Company itself that the term Jesuit comes from Jesus. Thus they make themselves known: "they are the vehicle of Jesus", "men who live in friendship with Jesus". After their name they write the letters SJ, this is *Societas Jesu*, the Latin name.

These men living in friendship are from all walks of life; persons like missionaries, researchers, teachers, spiritual and pastoral advisors, explorers, mathematicians, theologians, etc., whether living in the most remote areas or in the most advanced research centres. However odd as it may appear, they have something in common.

1.4.1.1 History, structure and leadership

If there is anything that can define the history of the Society of Jesus it is that the organization has always been in the middle of the controversy. Exalted in some moments, and at others strongly questioned; the order has never gone unnoticed, not only within the Church but also within societies and cultures where it remains.

Reviled as devils revered as saints, the Jesuits have evoked these extremes of characterization throughout the 450 years the Society of Jesus has existed. (O'Malley 1993, p.2)

⁵⁶ Catholic Encyclopaedia. *The Society of Jesus*. [online] Available at: <<http://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=6334>> [Accessed 24 January 2017].

Jesuit's history identifies four distinct stages: from the founding until 1773; the date of removal; from 1773-1814; and from 1814 to the present times.

First period: from the founding to until 1773

The *Societas Jesu* was founded in Rome in 1540 by St. Ignatius of Loyola and nine additional members (Francis Xavier, Peter Faber, Diego Lainez, Simon Rodrigues, Alfonso Salmerón, Nicholas Bobadilla, Juan Coduri, Paschasius Broët, and Claudio Jayo). They all met at the University of Paris, where they made the decision to found an order and travel to Jerusalem; but due to the wars with the Turks, they could not carry out this plan and decided to go to Rome to be at the pope's disposition. Before its recognition by the pope, the Society went through difficulties when the Vatican's bureaucracy attempted to merge the order with the religious order of the Theatines; but eventually, thanks to diplomatic efforts, it maintained its independence.

Following Wright (2005), Ignatius and the founders lived in a time of great crisis within the Catholic Church, they were convinced that the reform of Catholicism could only come from initiatives that supposed an openness to the world and saw a universal message in the gospel; so they decided to link themselves directly to the figure of the vicar of Christ in the Church and not rely on any existing order or diocese. It is in this early period, when the first trips to India, China and Japan (Goes and Francis Xavier), aided by the Crown of Portugal, which would later be one of the first to drive them off of their territories, occurred.

On the death of Ignatius of Loyola, on July 31st 1556, the Company had over a thousand members and many schools in Europe. Until 1773 the growth experienced is unprecedented in any religious order. This growth was due to several factors:

- The role the Company played in the Counter-Reformation. Powered by the successors of Loyola; Diego Lainez and Francisco de Borja, the order organized a real program of apostolate in regions that had gone over to Protestantism. So, the

southern regions of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Rhineland, Westphalia, etc. converted back to Catholicism.

- Training of the largest educational network in Christendom. The fact that the states did not offer education to their subjects, was seen by Ignatius as an opportunity for evangelization and apostolic mission. The Jesuits had no competition since their formation was the best in those days, and as they also offered their services for free, so they are everywhere wanted to open schools and universities. Their teaching methods were then seen as revolutionaries. An example is the so-called Jesuit school theatre, baroque drama written in Latin by authors of the order which included messages of Catholic tradition with elements of entertainment. González (1996) provides an in depth review of the literature on written theatre represented in Jesuit schools throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.
- They hold high positions of knowledge. In this era, we find Jesuits who excel in all areas of knowledge. The mathematician Clavius, reformer of the calendar; Marquette traveller, explorer of the Mississippi; Antonio de Andrade, the first European to cross the Himalayas, Cape Barnabas, discoverer of quinine as a means against malaria; and a long list of astronomers, linguists, theologians, philosophers, etc. It is not surprising that the majority of families of European nobility take their children to Jesuit schools and universities.
- Missionary labour especially in South America. In the Jesuitical fight against slavery, the most famous were the Reductions of Paraguay; referring to this area as the Jesuit state of Paraguay. These experiences came into conflict with the interests of the Portuguese and Spanish settlers; it could not be otherwise, and led to the dissolution of the Company in these two states.

In America, it is remarkable how quickly the Society placed its men around people who had political power in the same way that the Jesuits were confessors of many powerful kings in Europe. In fact, many viceroys had Jesuits as their father confessor who rose from the ranks of the organization.

The Jesuits' early political vocation in terms of the relationship between the heads of state and the order is astonishing: in Paraguay; already in 1623, adjusted internal rules are enacted on how the Jesuits should behave towards the governors and other officers. (Caravaglia 1987, p.144)⁵⁷

Second period: the dissolution of the order

Pinedo (2007) reports one of the most tragic events in the history of the Society: the dissolution of the order by Pope Clement XIV in 1773, after the Jesuits being expelled in Portugal (1758), France (1764) Spain and Naples (1767).

The causes of this unprecedented event in the history of the Catholic Church are varied, but we already found some in Ignatius' own reflections. From the beginning he realized the ambitions and the rough ways of the Jesuits. He once reprimanded a member of the Society who had reproached the ladies of the court of the Duchess of Tuscany the rich jewels they wore while the poor had no food. Ignatius rebukes their lack of tact and adds that in Rome the Jesuits have a reputation for wanting to dominate the world. These were revealing words, as the Company with its own thirst for knowledge, its meteoric expansion on five continents, was seen this way not only by non-Catholic personalities, but also within the Church itself.⁵⁸

The Jesuits did not learn to be moderate; they were involved in numerous disputes they had caused. Due to their exquisite training they became the winners, but did not display humility in these victories; on

⁵⁷ Translated from the Spanish by the author.

⁵⁸ Biblioteca virtual Miguel de Cervantes. *Expulsión y exilio de los jesuitas de los dominios de Carlos III*. [online] Available at: <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/expulsion_jesuitas/> [Accessed 25 January 2017].

the contrary they enjoyed squashing their opponent. Consequently, over the years, as the Company grew so did its enemies.

Non-Jesuit missionaries as illustrated as Rousseau and Voltaire, educated in their schools, saw the destruction of the Jesuits as the way to destroy the Church. Politicians across Europe viewed the order as the target of their accusations in order to remove the temporal power of the pope. Within the church itself they were also heavily attacked by the group of Jansenists.

Third period: from 1773 to 1814

Valero (2007) narrates this period of forty-one years starting in 1773 in which the Company disappears, at least visibly, suppressed by the Pope Clement XIV. The General Superior, Lorenzo Ricci, is imprisoned in Rome with his assistants. However, 200 Jesuits carry out their work without interruption in Russia under the protection of Catherine the Great, who does not recognize the papal bull and offers shelter to those who want to work in the task of modernizing Russia. It is this group of Jesuits and a small group in the new-born United States of America, who will establish the foundations for the new birth of the Company in 1814 as a phoenix. Consequently, it was restored by Pope Pius VII in 1814.

Fourth period: from 1814 to the present times

From 1814 until the Second Vatican Council, the Company is seen as a very elitist and conservative order bound by the papacy. With liberal revolutions that swept Europe and America, it is again expelled from many countries. The new Marxist and anarchist ideas in the late 19th century also see the Society of Jesus and the power of the Catholic Church as one of the main enemies. However, the order continues to grow over the centuries and has an important missionary work in the United States of America. In the first half of the 20th century, the Company experiences a spectacular growth. Its members reach 36,000 and run numerous schools, colleges, missions, and parishes, in addition to newspapers and magazines.

Oraá (2007) reports that since the Second Vatican Council (from 11 October 1962 to 8 December 1965), the Society develops a new impetus apostolate: social action. In the General Congregation (GC)1975⁵⁹, its mission was defined as the service of faith and promotion of justice, the “Society Faith that does Justice”; and widening it in GC 34 (1995) to include the evangelization of culture and the inculturation of the faith and interreligious dialogue.

During the years in which the Spanish Pedro Arrupe was appointed General Superior (1965-1981) some important facts took place, such as the crisis in vocations -a tendency in the whole Church-, abandonment by thousands of the order, and friction between the Vatican and relevant members of the Company. Note in this regard the theologian Karl Rahner and the affiliations of the Jesuits of Latin America to the Liberation Theology.

Following the election of the Dutch Peter Kolvenbach in 1983, the relations with the Vatican have been normalized; however, the Society of Jesus is made up today by members of identities ranging from the most conservative to the most progressive, as Ignacio Ellacuría and Jon Sobrino, which shows internal debates that are produced, which are no unusual for the Catholic Church.

1.4.1.2 The Order

The Society of Jesus is the largest male religious order of the Catholic Church. Only one case of a "female Jesuit" is known, who used the pseudonym of Matthew Sanchez and that proved to be the Infanta Juana, daughter of Emperor Charles V and King Philip II's sister. She was one of the many personalities in the early Jesuits to support the Society.

⁵⁹ The General Congregation is the maximum governing body of the Society. Cornish, 2008. *The Constitutions, General Congregations and Decrees*. [online] Available at: <file:///C:/Users/equipo/Downloads/39%20The%20Constitutions,%20General%20Congregations%20and%20Decrees.pdf> [Accessed 25 March 2014].

Their symbol is the abbreviation IHS, the first three letters of the name of Jesus in Greek. Members of the order also use this acronym of *Jesum Habemus Socium* (we have Jesus as partner) or *Jesum Hominum Salvador* (Jesus The Saviour of men). According to their statistics, in January 1st, 2013, the total number of Jesuits was 17,287: 12,298 priests, 1,400 brothers, 2,878 scholastics and 711 novices, a net loss of 337 members from 1 January 2012. The order is divided into 89 provinces in the five continents. The tendency is reversed in Europe and North America, with stagnation in Latin America and increase in Asia and Africa. As Valero points out (2007) in India, Africa and East Asia the Society is increasing and has become autochthonous.

1.4.1.3 Ignatian spirituality and formation

This section is based on Pollen's (1912) investigation. The Company shares with other religious orders affiliation with the Catholic Church, but there are many differences that distinguish it from the others at the time of its founding.

According to the beliefs of its founder St. Ignatius of Loyola that each Jesuit can adapt to the culture of each place they inhabit, members of the order have not used any kind of practices from the beginning; they do not live in convents or monasteries; they are not obliged to follow the prayer of the hours, or take vows of stability to any home. Jesuits share with other religious orders vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, but add a new one: the immediate availability for any mission as requested by the pope.

According to the Company's unwritten tradition and spirit, the members of the order do not accept any ecclesiastical dignity, although there are exceptions of Jesuits who have been bishops and cardinals themselves. It is understood as a way of obedience to the pope. The first Jesuit bishop was the Spanish Juan Antonio Martínez Camino (Spanish Episcopal Conference, 2007). Jorge Mario Bergoglio, a Jesuit himself, was elected pope on March 13th 2013, and is the current Pope Francis.

Ignatian spirituality is part of the Jesuit charism. It can be defined according to the following principles:

- Seek and find God's will
- Widen the heart to the dimensions of the world without deviating in unrealizable ideals
- Know your own reality as widely as possible
- Improve the reality to make it more evangelical through prayer and reason enlightened by faith
- Find God in all creation

Like any religious order, it has a special training program for those who wish to belong to it; perhaps what differentiates it from the other orders is that the formation of novices is much more demanding and long. It should be noted that this training is regulated by the Constitutions,⁶⁰ written by St. Ignatius (1491-1556), who devoted two-thirds of this topic.

General examen [71]

In the case of the scholastics, the experiences may be undergone during their studies or after their completion, according to persons, places, and times. But this must be observed in its entirety: Before the professed make their profession, and before the formed coadjutors take their three public though not solemn vows, two years of experiences and probations must be completed. In the case of the scholastics, when their studies have been finished, in addition to the time of probation required to become an approved scholastic, before one of them makes profession or is admitted as a formed coadjutor, a further third year must be spent in passing through various probations, especially those tests mentioned above if he did not make them previously, and through some of them even if he did make them, for the greater glory of God.

Outlined below are the stages that a future member of the Society of Jesus must pass.

- The novitiate. The training begins at this stage that lasts two years and aims to establish the fundamental principles of Ignatian spirituality and confirm from within if the Company is for the

⁶⁰ The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996. *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Complementary Norms*. [pdf] Available at: <http://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/centers/IAJS/GeneralExamenExcerpt.pdf> [Accessed 10 Juny 2013].

applicant and if the applicant is for the Company. If considered suitable, the novice will be allowed to make perpetual vows of poverty, chastity and obedience.

- The juniorate. It is the long intellectual training lasting two years; in which humanities studies are taken: history, literature, languages, arts, etc.
- Philosophy. It takes approximately three years and prior preparation for further studies in theology.
- The magister. It usually lasts two years and aims to contribute to achieving a religious and apostolic maturity. It is a stage where studies are interrupted and the Jesuit immerses himself in the reality of everyday life, working in some of the works of the Society (usually in some educational field).
- The theology. It takes approximately four years. Normally, after completing his theological studies, the student asks to be ordained priest.
- Special studies. After theology and already being priests, Jesuits do special studies: doctoral, masters or civilian careers. The duration of this stage depends on the type of study chosen.
- The third probation. Approximately fifteen years after joining the company, all Jesuits undergo a final test: the third probation. In this stage it is assessed whether the candidate is considered suitable for belonging to the Society.
- The last vote. After the third probation, if the Jesuit has been considered suitable for the Company, he is invited to make his final vows.

While Jesuits specialized in the field of teaching from the beginning, due to the excellent education their members received, the founders only mentioned that a Jesuit should be prepared for any job in which he can “help souls”.

1.4.1.4 Organizational structure

Based on their *Constitutions*, at the front of the order is the Superior General (*Praepositus Generalis*), whose post is held for life, although it is possible to resign if a serious cause disables him to perform the tasks of government. The Superior General has four assistants also elected by the supreme governing body of the Company, the General Congregation. This structure is copied in the regions and provinces. Due to the need for greater mobility of members of the order, they live in houses headed by a superior. This relative lack of hierarchy is supplemented with a close network of communication between the different houses.

The General Congregation is chosen by the delegates from all the provinces; and these in turn are democratically elected by all members of each province. The General Congregation meets for choosing the general superior. This organizational structure has enabled the Society to adapt to new and changing situations, without having to undertake major and significant reforms. The 36 General Congregation⁶¹ celebrated in Rome in October 2016 elected the new General Superior, Arturo Sosa, the 31st General Superior of the Society, after the Spanish Adolfo Nicolás, elected in 2008.

1.4.2 Approach to the leadership of the Jesuits

Although St. Ignatius wrote no treatise on leadership, the ideas for the formation of a leader are present in his writings, especially in the *Constitutions* and his letters. One of these first ideas is that, for him and the founders, every Jesuit should be a leader; and maybe that is why he called his Societas “order”, an organization formed by peers, in which every member has the freedom to act, but not for an apparent success. Ignatius and the founders rebuked Jesuits by their lack of initiative or non-action.

Another key aspect of the order is that from the beginning the Jesuits sought excellence. It is known how Ignatius and the first General Fathers

⁶¹ García, J.I., 2016. *Congregación General 36*. [online] Available at <<http://gc36.org/es/los-trabajos-preparatorios-de-la-congregacion/>> [Accessed 10 January 2017].

demanded the admission to *aptissimi*, regardless of their origin. The Society of Jesus did not disregard the admission of converts into their ranks or children from poor families. In those days of the late 16th century it was common in their first schools to see children of the nobility with peasant children or descendants of converted Jews. Diego Lainez himself, Ignatius successor, descended from converts.

For Ignatius, leaders are born twice; after having some extraordinary experience, they re-emerge with a created identity, that is not inherited. (Zaleznik cited in Lowney 2005, 2007; Tellechea, 2007). Ignatius of Loyola is a clear example of this idea: dissolute youth of the lower nobility, he tried in the army but without success. Seriously wounded, he nearly lost a leg which was operated on to try to recover its appearance. It is at this point of his convalescent when a conversion that would last almost ten years began. He started a journey to Jerusalem as a beggar. At this time, he also met the Abbot of Montserrat and lived a year in the Cave of Manresa, from where the famous *Spiritual Exercises* and "new birth" came out.

Since their early history the Jesuits have shown a model of leadership that has little to do with contemporary models based on their techniques and tactics. The Jesuits come to tell us that we all are leaders and we can direct time in a right or a wrong way; leadership comes from within and is a way of life and not an act. The leaders' work never ends, being an ongoing task that has perseverance as an essential quality.

The Jesuit leadership style is based on the so-called four pillars mentioned in the Ignatian charism, which even today are inculcated to the novices. What follows is the approach to the leadership of the Jesuits according to Lowney (2007):

- Know yourself. The instrument Jesuits have to achieve this goal is the *Spiritual Exercises*, a treatise on self-knowledge and reflection that allows them to stop and evaluate their actions, even if they are immersed in action.

- Ingenuity. For Ignatius the ideal of a Jesuit is "living with one foot raised". The leader must see the whole world as home, he has to learn to adapt to a changing world. The Society of Jesus was born when the Catholic Church had lost its monopoly in Europe due to the Lutheran Reformation. While the Vatican condemned the translation of the Bible into vernacular languages, the Jesuits translated the Gospel message into Tamil, Japanese or Vietnamese. Thus the concept of inculturation was born, being normal for the first Jesuit missionaries to learn the languages and preach in them, as well as to adopt the customs and costumes of the people to evangelize. An idea of this wit is the detachment or indifference to material issues, which enables the vital mission of each Jesuit to become feasible.
- Love. Machiavelli said that a leader should be more feared than loved, because men are evil by nature. Ignatius advised to govern with love, modesty and charity. "With more love than fear" (Lowney 2005, p.36), Loyola supported a diametrically opposite approach. The Jesuits saw all men as beings endowed with dignity and talent.
- Heroism. The magis. The Society of Jesus encourages its members to conceive big desires and visualise heroic goals. This term of the Ignatian spirituality means the development of talents to be put at the service of others. It is always seeking the best in a constant and systematic manner.

The first Jesuits prepared all novices to be leaders, rejected the theories of one great man and concentrated on the remaining ninety-nine percent of potential leaders.

Lowney (2005) lists some key points:

- Leadership comes from within, and determines who I am and what I do.

The most effective means of leadership available to the individual is the knowledge of himself: a person who understands what he values and

wants, who is based on certain principles and faces the world with a coherent vision. Their behaviour will develop naturally once the foundations are laid.

The greatest strength of the leader is his personal vision, communicating with the example of his daily life. What do I search for? What do I want? How do I fit in the world? What comes from within is the deciding factor between talking and doing. The technique can expand the vision but can never replace it.

- Leadership is not an act. It is my life, a way of life.

The first Jesuits often referred to what they called "our way of proceeding". Their *modus operandi* was a compass. Launched to the strange cultural terrain of China, the Jesuits found that the tactics that worked in Europe were inoperative in this country.

- Never determine the leader's tasks. This is a continuous process.

Personal leadership is an ongoing task in which knowledge matures itself continuously. The external environment evolves and circumstances change. This is a threat to a weak leader whose perspective is to reach some imaginary stage of leadership in which to rest and enjoy his position.

Ignatius of Loyola and his colleagues certainly are alike to those we call leaders today: innovating, taking risks and important changes. They are offered a direction but are dismissed with questions rather than practical answers easy to implement. Each one has to solve the personal leadership legacy they want to leave to their successors. Their model is based on real human beings who live a real life in a real world.

To conclude, in line with the most relevant features to Jesuit identity, the 32 General Congregation in the Decree 2⁶², as an answer to the requests

⁶² Society of Jesus, 1975. Jesuits Today. A response of the 32nd General Congregation to requests for a description of Jesuit. [pdf]. Available at: < http://www.sjweb.info/sjs/documents/CG32_D2_eng.pdf > [Accessed 20 August 2013].

for a description of the Jesuit identity, presents a review out of which we want to bring to the fore the following:

A Jesuit must know that he is a sinner; engaged in the struggle for faith and justice, struggle that has to be in companionship both of Jesus and the Jesuits. They have a mission all over the world, a mission that makes the difference between doing things for oneself' benefit or for the others'.

The propagation of the faith to seek “the salvation and perfection of souls” turns into “the total and integral liberation of man”, in current words. Love, poverty and humility are to be proclaimed, and sharing what one has in contemplative communities of discernment which gives sense to their mission.

GC 32 and its preferential option for the poor resulted in the tandem justice and faith's new way of adjustment. “That the clergy were divided among themselves admits of no doubt. Some active on the ground had little patience with traditional notions of evangelization” (Ramanathan 2007, p.178). There was a clash between Jesuits seeing empowerment and Jesuits winning souls of Christ.

1.4.3 The Jesuits in India

The history of the Jesuits in India begins in 1542 and comes from the kingdom of Portugal. King John III the Pious had asked Roman missionaries to accompany their colonists to the lands of Goa and South India. After a series of circumstances which indicated that Francis Xavier was not going to be designated for this work, he embarked in Lisbon towards Asia, reaching the coast of Goa after a journey full of hardships that lasted for one year.

Thus began the first stage of the presence of the Society of Jesus in the lands of India. The Portuguese domains in this area were limited to a coastal strip of southwestern India. In this phase, the work of Jesuit missionaries has a name: St. Francis Xavier, who remained in Indian territory until 1549. At that time, the evangelization looked rushed, and impregnated with the dreamy idealism and love of adventure of the Navarrese saint.

Although Francis Xavier is dedicated to conducting mass baptisms and attacking local religious idols, he already manifests the first signs of the inculturation, an identity feature that would later be beneficial in the evangelization of Asia and America. In his years in India Francis Xavier learned Tamil and adapted his catechesis to cultural concepts of the indigenous peoples. He dressed like a poor priest and mingled with the poor, not caring or even reporting against the king of Portugal for the way his servants and military treated the most disadvantaged people in these lands. In 1552, the year of the death of Francis Xavier, there were 64 Jesuits in India, including 19 priests. In the beginning the Jesuits' provinces were two; the North and the South, with Goa and Cochin as the main centres. The principal administrative divisions and stations are shown in figure 4, page 26.

From 1552 until the annexation of the kingdom of Portugal to the Spanish Crown (1580), a period of consolidation of the missionary work in India takes place. Territories are organized, and the Jesuits together with the Franciscans become the only Catholic religious' orders stable in these areas, both urban and rural. The first schools, hospitals and welfare centres were founded.

According to Cohen (2012), during the seventies in the 16th century, there is a transformation in the way the Jesuits perceive the endogenous religions. If we follow the resolutions of the diocesan councils in Goa, these show a more severe attitude towards the perversity of the idolatry.

The members of the order face different problems at this time. Many lived isolated, not in communities as they lived in Europe. They were engaged in numerous occupations and activities: religious duties, parish assignments, catechesis of adults and children in streets and squares, confessions, baptisms (which became massive and general); social tasks such as managing the royal hospitals, care work for the terminally ill, prisoners or travellers coming to India and the like. We must not forget the work of these pioneers in territories not colonised or their political and diplomatic efforts with the local warlords.

It is at this time that the first criticisms of the Company in these territories began. The legend started that many Indians had converted to Christianity due to the economic and social advantages provided by an order that had become the richest in India. The Jesuits were accused of mass baptizing the Indians without adequate religious instruction.

In the late 16th century, two significant events occur in the history of missions. First, the arrival of Alexander Valignano as a visitor from Rome; and second, three Jesuit embassy to the court of Akbar the Great Moghul. The two events will involve the expansion of the Society of Jesus in the Indian subcontinent and the Far East.

Alexander Valignano (1538-1606) developed his work in the Society of Jesus in Asia for 33 years, consolidating and reorganizing the work begun by Francis Xavier. According to his contemporaries, the personality of Valignano was a mix of wit, insight, initiative and pragmatism. Since his arrival in India he realized the constant needs of mission personnel. His letters to the General Superior, Claudio Aquaviva, requesting new missionaries, were numerous. He renews and strengthens the apostolate in education, and the development of inculturation in the work of evangelization. An example of this is the defence that Valignano makes to the General Superior regarding the dress habits of the missionaries for proper adaptation to the local context or of the adaptations of the Gospel and rituals to indigenous cultures.

The following picture shows the Adivasi Warli art in which elements of the Christianity have been incorporated.⁶³

⁶³ Student Christian Movement of India, 2011. *SCMI to observe NCCI Tribal & Adivasi Sunday 7 August 2011*. [online]. Available at: <<https://communicationscmi.wordpress.com/2011/08/04/scmi-to-observe-ncci-tribal-ativasi-sunday-7t/>> [Accessed 18 May 2014].

the Portuguese Jesuit Francisco Henriquez, come to India. Their mission is to be part of a Jesuit embassy to meet with Akbar, the Great Mughal. Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar, considered the greatest of the Mughal emperors, he had special religious concerns and sought to create an eclectic and universal religion in an effort to discover the absolute truth. The Jesuit ambassadors are with him in his new court near Agra with the false idea that the emperor wanted to convert to Christianity.



Figure 16. Jesuits at Akbar's Court

Source: <https://drcraigconsidine.files.wordpress.com/2013/03/akbar-receives-a-deputation-of-jesuits.jpg>

The Jesuit historian Correia-Afonso in his *Letters from the Mughal Court* shows the correspondence between Jesuits and their families and themselves. What follows comes from a letter from Rudolf Acquaviva to the Superior General regarding the meeting with the emperor Akbar:

This King so greatly desired our coming that he counted the days. The King is a man of great judgement. He is much inclined to what is good, a friend of all nations, but in particular of the Christians, of whom he always desires to have some in his court. (Correia-Afonso 1981, p.56)

Due to a rebellion in the territories of Akbar in the northwest (now Afghanistan), the court and the army begin a journey across northern India, the Himalayas, Kashmir, Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Jesuits accompanied the emperor, who allowed them to perform a geographic, ethnic and cultural study of all the places. Antonio de Montserrat becomes a mentor of one of the sons of Akbar, while the Jesuit ambassadors learn the Persian language and are partakers of endless theological disputes with Muslim priests and the king's advisers.

Gradually the court sees how the Jesuits are gaining political ground and influence, a fact that awakes numerous conspiracies against them. The embassy ends after more than a year, when Aquaviva, Montserrat and Henriquez realize the true intentions of the king: to establish what he called "divine faith", an eclectic creed formed by religious elements of Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Mazdaism, Jainism and Sikhism.

Despite the failure to convert the Great Mughal, the embassy had numerous advantages in the evangelizing mission of the Society, which took advantage of the relations with the Mughal Empire to expand northwards and penetrate almost the entire Indian subcontinent. The Jesuits had the opportunity to come into contact with people and cultures almost unknown until then (Tibetan Buddhist, indigenous forest peoples, Sikhs, etc.).

The 17th century is presented as a period of expansion across the peninsula to the Himalayas; missions in India are used as a bridge for evangelism growth in China and Japan. In the diocese of Angamali (state of Kerala), the first Jesuit bishop of India was ordained, the Catalan Francesc Ros. Schools, hospitals and Jesuit missions grow throughout the country.

A special mention should be made to the arrival in India of Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656). He was an Italian noble and Jesuit who develops and deepens the work of inculturation. He is the first European to master Sanskrit and study the Vedas, adopt Hindu customs and authorize certain traditions and rituals that he never considered idolatry.

He also writes in Tamil which is considered the first theological treatise written by a European in a language of India, *Dialogue on Eternal Life*; he dresses like a Brahman and becomes vegetarian. He is considered as the epitome of the inculturation of the Jesuits in Asia, but also with him the problems of the Jesuits in India began to worsen.

During the 18th century, due to the suppression of the Society in the Kingdom of Portugal, the Jesuits are involved in numerous controversies and struggles with the Church itself and the governments, as happened in Europe and America. In the case of India, they were attacked on three fronts that we have already intuited previously. Two of these fronts were open within the Church itself: the so-called question of Malabar rites and the prosecution of bishops and other religious orders. To them, the Jesuits had accepted the social division of caste and therefore, were closer to the powerful castes than to the poorest people.

Clair Segurado (2002) assesses the question of the Chinese and Malabar rites as the most important charge against the Jesuits. They were accused of disobeying papal decrees prohibiting these rites. The Jesuits vigorously defended themselves, but both sides claimed opposed anthropological conceptions.

On the third front, the rulers of Portugal saw that the Jesuits could take over the trade and wealth of the territories evangelized as a threat, an idea which was reinforced after the crisis of the reductions of Paraguay and Brazil. It is curious how the kingdom which opened the doors of Asia to the Jesuits, Portugal, is now their maximum detractor and enemy. Portugal's Prime Minister at that time, the Marquis of Pombal, before mentioned, becomes one of the key figures in the suppression of the Society of Jesus.

Menachery (2003, p. 54) reminds us of the dimensions of the presence of Jesuits in the history of India:

Not only has the work of Jesuits in India been going on for four and a half centuries but it has embraced almost every part of India as we know it today or even as politically acknowledged in former times –from Cape Comorin in the extreme south even to distant Tibet in the north-.

1.4.3.1 Gujarat Jesuit Province

Jesuit communities are organized into provinces, which in turn are part of the ten assistancies in the world. The Assistance in South Asia consists of the following provinces: India, Andhra, Bombay, Calcutta, Darjeeling, Delhi, Dumka-Raiganj, Goa, Gujarat, Hazaribag, Jamshedpur, Karnatka (Kohima), Kerala, Madhya-Pradesh, Madurai, Patna (Nepal), Pune, Ranchi, Sri Lanka.⁶⁴

This section charts briefly the Jesuit presence in Gujarat. The beginnings of the Gujarat mission go back to 1893 when Jesuits entrusted with the mission -Pope Leo XIII issued a missionary encyclical in 1892- (Valiamangalam, n.d.), titled *Ad Extremas Orientis Oras* (To the farthest shores of the Orient), although their presence had been there from the second half of 16th century.

In 1892 the Mission was given to the Jesuits of the Upper German Province; and, in 1921, entrusted to the Spanish Jesuits. Two bald sentences to sum up the beginning of the Jesuit presence in this part of the western province as an arm of the Roman Catholic Church. (Ramanathan 2007, p.173)

We follow Suriá (1988) in his work *Jesuit Presence in Gujarat*, where he considers three moments in the history of the Gujarati mission: The German Province (1893-1921); the growth under Aragon Spanish Province; and the consolidation of the Indian Province of Gujarat under Castile and Loyola. It is beyond the scope of our research to analyse the mentioned periods, but some facts will be mentioned briefly.

The history of missionaries in Gujarat started with a clear target to evangelize mainly upper and middle Indian castes. The reasons seem quite obvious nowadays as Hinduism was the major religion at the moment, so the Hindus had the sociopolitical power and therefore social influence capacity. But what really happened was that many social problems arose in a society such as this one where Christianity was under the Hindu attack. Xavier Gomes, a young diocesan priest was sent to

⁶⁴ Society of Jesus. *South Asia Assistancy*. [online] Available at: <<http://www.sjweb.info/resources/southasia.cfm>> [Accessed 12 January 2014].

begin the mission; facing opposition from the local caste Hindus (Díaz Gárriz, 2006). In December 1894 two German Jesuits joined him; Aloysius Gyr, Swiss, and Martin, German. In 1893 Gomes baptized the first Gujarati Catholics in Gujarat state, 18 children. From that moment, German Jesuits arriving in Gujarat started to build mission centres.

In 1949 a period of close relations began between the Spanish Jesuit Province of Loyola, with a Gujarat mission Secretariat in Spain, and the Gujarati Province, the year in which these relations were established officially. Many Jesuits arrived in Gujarat from the regions of Navarre, Aragon and Basque Country. All these Jesuits were very short of material resources, and received orders from their superiors which they followed enthusiastically in spite of their lack of means to move from place to place. They used to walk from village to village speaking of catastrophic situations found everywhere, education being one of them.

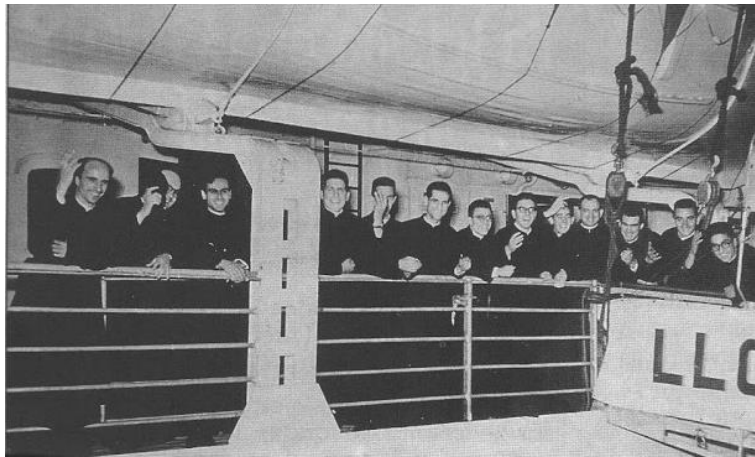


Figure 17. Jesuit Diamonds from Spain. The Italian steam-ship *Ugolini Vivaldi* weighed anchors at the Bombay harbour in the early hours of 21 December 1951⁶⁵

Their evangelizing purpose had to face the socioreligious situation in a country under the Hindu dominance and the unfair caste system. The

⁶⁵ Díaz Gárriz, 2011. Jesuit Diamonds from Spain. [online] Available at: <<http://formationuj.blogspot.com.es/2011/12/jesuit-diamonds-from-spain-by-m-diaz.html>> [Accessed June 3, 2013]

Vankars, to whose caste belong the first Christians in Gujarat, were the pariahs of the Hindu society, who pollute everything they touch (Díaz Gárriz, 2006). For Ramanathan (2007, p.169) “The Christian missionary activity being relatively more constrained in Gujarat than in many other states are too many and too complex”.

The missionaries had to understand the caste system and its resistance to changes in a state in which “Commerce and land are in the hands of a large group made up of many subgroups, all interested in preserving the ordering intact” (ibid., 2007, p.174). In addition, there has been an antipathy towards missionaries on the part of the Gujarati government and opposition from the caste people from the beginning. The point we make is the difference between Gujarat and Jharkhand a context in which the missionaries developed their work.

Nevertheless, in both Gujarat Province as well as in Ranchi Province the great difficulties helped the interaction between the people and the missionaries. For example, the Great Famine of 1899 in Gujarat, where the number of baptized rose from 5,321 in 1899 to 16,000 in 1903, or the breakdown of the *jajamani* system⁶⁶ affecting the low sections of the Gujarati society. However, the sociopolitical problems due to the caste system and radical sections of the Hinduism continue, because nowadays the fundamentalism and fascism is growing in Gujarat and India (Valiamangalam, n.d.).

The tribal belt of Gujarat is located at the eastern side, from north to south in the border with Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra

⁶⁶ Jajamani System. According to the Jajmani System, there is exchange of goods and services between landowning higher castes and landless service castes. The service castes traditionally include weavers, leather workers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, barbers, washermen and so constitute groups of artisans serving the community. The landed higher caste *Jajman* are the patrons, and the service castes are the *kameen* (servers) of the *jajman*. The Jajmani system is based on the agricultural system of production and distribution of goods and services. It is the link between the landowning high caste groups and occupational castes.

Wikipedia. *The Jajmani system*. [online] (15 October 2016) Available at: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jajmani_system> [Accessed 20 January 2017].

states, so the Jesuits' mission stations working among the tribal people are located along this belt.

We owe Charles Gomez, Indian Jesuit and also Gujarat Provincial (1957-1963), the expansion of the Jesuits among the Adivasi people in 1961 and toward the north and south of the state, as the Jesuits began their work in a non-tribal area, in the central region of Kheda. The fifties and the sixties are therefore important for the expansion into tribal areas.

Today's situation according to the Jesuit Catalogue of the Gujarat Province *Western Region of the South Asian Assistancy* is as it follows: Gujarat Jesuit Province is serving people by running 1 college, 4 technical institutes (2 in tribal areas), 25 high schools (12 in tribal areas), and 32 primary schools (17 in tribal areas). It is also running 31 parishes (17 in tribal areas) It has 5 social service centres (4 in tribal areas), 1 formation house and 1 communication institution.

Lewis (2006) reports that the first Gujarati Jesuit priest was Basil Lalabhai; he entered the novitiate on 1938 and later was ordained in 1951. The first Adivasi diocesan priest Chhagan Dodhia (Dodhia Adivasis), was ordained in 1953. The first Adivasi-Jesuit entered the Society in 1981.

1.4.3.2 Ranchi Jesuit Province

Ranchi Jesuit Province covers five districts of Jharkhand state: Lohargada, Ranchi, Gumla, Samtoli and Khunti.⁶⁷

Ranchi was part of Bengal Mission (Calcutta Province) for many years. In 1935 the Ranchi Mission gained an identity of its own, when it separated from Calcutta Mission, with Charles Timmerman as the first mission superior. It became a full-fledged Jesuit Province on March 12th 1956. Now it is a vibrant province in South Asian Assistancy with 362⁶⁸ Jesuits working in India and abroad. However, it is necessary to point

⁶⁷ Ranchi Jesuit Society, 2015. *A Short History of the Chotanagpur Mission*. [online] (18 May 2015) Available at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Ranchi_district> [Accessed 2 August 2015].

⁶⁸ *Catalogus Provinciae Ranchiensis Societatis Iesu*, 2016.

out that Christianity came into Chotanagpur under the British rule in order to attend the needs of their soldiers.

The first Jesuit missionary to arrive in Chotanagpur was August Stockman, of Belgian origin. He arrived the 10 July, 1868, and settled in Chaibasa. Along with him, De Smet, Müllender, Motet, Fierens and De Cock are the oldest missionaries in Chotanagpur, the beginnings of Ranchi Mission, the dawn of the mission (Ponette, 1992).

In 1869 Stockman started working among the Ho tribe.⁶⁹ A few Munda families, working as labourers in the area, became Christians and later they returned to their original villages. These families invited the missionary to come to their ancestral villages. In this way Stockman arrived in Burudi-Kochang, the first mission station, where he settled down in 1875. This was the small beginning of the Ranchi mission in Chotanagpur, Jharkhand state.

In 1873 the first twenty seven tribals to be baptised in the whole mission were Mundas, the first Catholics aboriginals of Chota Nagpur (De Sa, 1975). The conversion movement was going to be rather slow. In 20 years' time, more missionaries came from Calcutta and four new centres were opened in the Munda area. These centres together constituted what the missionaries called the 'Quadrilateral'. What Stockman found was a situation of crisis and desperation among the tribals, who oppressed by landlords, tax-collectors and the British attitude, either raised in arms or religious revival movements (Brys, 2015).

With the arrival of Constant Lievens in Chotanagpur, March 1885, the missionary activity took a new turn. Lievens settled first in Torpa, also part of Munda belt. But after a few years he shifted his activities to Ranchi, where he helped the people to get legal redress to get their lands back (Clarysse, 1984).

⁶⁹ The Hos. "They are concentrated in the Kolhan area of the Singhbhum district of Bihar, and are also distributed in the adjacent areas of Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh." (Singh 1994, p.404).

Lievens was given an opportunity which none of his predecessors had:

His duty was to get into contact with the people and their way of living in order to acquire for his future apostolate a sufficient knowledge of the languages, customs and usages of the aboriginals. (De Sa 1975, p.121)

He discovered the Oraon tribe side by side with the Munda people, although with differences in language and character, and decided to settle down in Torpa to be close to Mundas and Oraons. Toppo (2012) reports that missionaries realized how the exploitation suffered from *zamindars*, *thikedars*, *mahajans* and money-lenders was a common fact in tribal lives, where exploitation, oppression, subjugation are the best term to denote their sociopolitical situation, the main problems at the time being *baitbhegari*, and land litigations. Nevertheless, the problems of the Adivasis were spiritual and agrarian, yet “if they were defeated, it was because their spirits had let them down or because the spirits of the Dikus were stronger than their own” (Van Exem 1988, p.84).

Lievens was very successful in his mission, winning land litigations for the tribals against the *zamindars*, litigations never won by themselves [Adivasis]. The first case took place in 1886, followed by a big tribal celebration dancing all night over their victory. Lievens is known as “The Apostle of Chotanagpur”.

By August 1, 1888 Lievens had 11,291 baptized Catholics and 39,060 catechumens in 832 villages from 7,139 families. He had a band of 189 catechists, 95 chapels and 77 schools with 2,400 children. (Bernadette 2007, p.XVII)

In 1893 J. B. Hoffman was assigned to Bandgaon and in 1895 he was shifted to Sarwada. This was the time of Birsa rebellion (the revolt led by the tribal leader named Birsa Munda). Hoffman was also a scholar on Munda culture, who wrote 14 volumes of the *Encyclopedia Mundarica* and started the Catholic Cooperative Credit Society in 1904, but only in 1909 it got the approval as a cooperative society. He drafted the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act to safeguard the land of tribals in Chotanagpur (enacted in 1908 by the British Government). During the First World War, he was expelled from India. As Brys (2015, p.5) writes, “He truly incarnated the Gospel message into the tribal culture”.

The first Jesuits were pioneers in all senses facing the most difficult and painful years of the mission, penetrating into the thick jungles, areas totally uncommunicated, malaria prone zones, blackwater fever, different tribal languages and culture.

Gradually, the missionaries concentrated on the consolidation versus creating new contacts. A severe famine spread all through the north of India during 1896 and 1897 followed by the spread of cholera. The missionaries approached the British Government asking for help as well as the Belgian's in order to save the people from starvation. These actions would consolidate the relationship and the love towards the missionaries even more.

From then onwards there was a very rapid expansion of the mission among the Oraon tribe in Barway. Seeing less success among the Munda tribes, the Munda belt was less focused, except Sarwada and Bandgaon. In 1885 there were only 2,000 converts turning into 236,073 in 1961 and 505,285 in 1967 (Kujur, 1988). Only 100 years back Jesuits have taken up this neglected area and people with new zeal and commitment. Therefore, this geographical backward area where even the Belgian early missionaries found tough, has become the priority area of Ranchi Jesuit Province in current times.

Nowadays, Ranchi Jesuit Province is serving the tribal community by running 2 degree colleges, 1 management institution, 1 technical institute, 7 junior colleges, 22 high schools, 27 middle schools and 38 primary schools in most interior places. It is also running 29 parishes in Ranchi, Assam and Andaman and Nicobar Islands. It has 6 social service centres to cater the needs of the socioeconomic development of the tribal people.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have approached the identity of the tribal people of India focusing in the first place, on their history. Some encounters with different groups have been depicted in order to understand their origin. It is evident that this has been a difficult point given the existing controversy after trying to decipher their encounter with the Aryan people. The Aryan invasion has always been a permanent debate among the scholars. Therefore, the question of identity has been present from the beginning.

However, it is important to understand, that beyond the question of the Aryans, the indigenous peoples have migrated to the jungles and forests because of their encounter with other groups. Moreover, they have not always had favourable circumstances, as it has been stated that they are a minority, marginalized group that has had to struggle until today to survive and keep their identity.

There are also differences between the states of Gujarat and Jharkhand regarding these encounters. Gujarat is a Hindu state in which the tribals have been more hinduised than Jharkhandi tribals, also due to the fact that the latter state was carved out of Bihar in year 2000 to create a tribal state, their homeland, where the majority of the population was tribal. This means that in Gujarat there has not been a total tribal isolation, although there is the dichotomy of the hill and plain Adivasis; for example, the Bhils have been warriors fighting with the Rajputs and are highly recognized as such.

The racial and linguistic classification clarify and contribute to the explanation of the geographical areas where they come from, as well as to know that they are not a homogeneous group. The need to find what are the common aspects that unify them as indigenous peoples of India may arise. Concerning their religious expression, the misconceptions of classifying them as animist have also been explained, yet there are spirits of different kinds although the monotheist features have been

highlighted. Nowadays it is possible to find Adivasis converted to Christianity, Buddhism and Muslims, but they are not Hindus in origin. Their sociopolitical systems have shown the big difference with the caste system's organization of the Hindu society. Unlike them, Adivasis are part of an egalitarian way of thinking and structuring of society. It is shocking to know that greediness is not a strong aspect of their economy that is deeply connected with their idea of nature. Some scholars have mentioned that the Adivasis' contribution to the ecology is what the modern world would need. Together with all that has been said, we do not want to forget a special mention to the tribal women, another important aspect of the tribalness that clearly distinguishes them from the rest of women in the Indian society, for example the Hindu and Muslim women.

After becoming aware of all of the above mentioned aspects, we have moved on to the description of the geographical areas under study and their tribal belts, to carry on with some aspects of the Adivasi situation in the present times: issues of survival due to the displacement and the development of government policies, spoliation, human rights and questions of identity.

On the other hand, there is the Company of Jesus as part of our research, which has also been addressed by mentioning its origins and the history of the Jesuits in India. To conclude, there is a brief depiction of the two Jesuit provinces where the fieldwork has been done: Gujarat Jesuit Province and Ranchi Jesuit Province.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Approaches to Social Identity

2 Theoretical Approaches to Social Identity

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will approach the construct of identity from the perspective of anthropology and sociology, to focus finally on the psychosocial perspective, which will be the conceptual approach guiding this study. In order to understand the encounters of the main groups within the study, the starting point is to comprehend the meaning of identity through its theoretical framework, and thus, to come closer to the identities of both Adivasis and Jesuits.

The different interactions manifested in the terrain of social sciences must be considered, taking into account issues such as power, acceptance and rejection, social influence, ideologies, social communication, causes and effects, etc., and psychological identifiers such as fear, hostility, identification and belonging, self-concept, social comparison, etc. In addition, as context is highly related to identity matters, and in turn it is attached to the political, cultural, and psychosocial processes, this factor has to be considered.

Much has been written about identity in the various disciplines of the social sciences, including history, sociology, anthropology, social work, political science and especially since the 1950s, social psychology. This is why a rigorous approach must be carried out under some interdisciplinary considerations, yet identity is seen as a practical category that refers to individuals and their daily lives; their differences from others; as well as a category for analysis.

By and large, anthropology, sociology, psychology and social psychology are interrelated; and therefore the research has been done based on the psychosocial perspective starting with William James (1890), a relevant psychologist from the 19th century, and his breakdown of the constituents of the individual. James offers an initial classification of the

individual into the material, the social, and the spiritual components, on the one hand; and what he calls the “pure ego” on the other.

From James we will move to the symbolic interactionism’s school of thought which reflects on the two main components of the individual, such as "the me self" and "the I self" in social interaction, together with their significance and symbols. Finally, we will focus on social psychologists such as Henry Tajfel (1981) and colleagues who have studied group relations and psychology of the individual in group life. In this way, the construct of social identity and self-categorization arises.

We will explore and try to define the concept of "self" in each of these approaches in order to understand how relationships form as well as personal and social identity; always with the aim of studying the encounter and group relationship presented in the Introduction, i.e. the Adivasis of India interacting with the Jesuits. Although the affinity between social psychology and anthropology in its psychological aspect is to be considered, the main attention of the thesis will not focus on Adivasis’ rituals or lifestyle exclusively, but rather on how they think, feel, and are identified; and also on those expressions that can be interpreted as symbols through which relations with the ingroup and the outgroup come clear.

The issue of identity, and more specifically social identity, is therefore the basis and pillar of what is intended to expose in the following sections, and has to do with the different theoretical perspectives; i.e. the anthropological and sociological views; and the theoretical approaches of these perspectives in their response to what we are and how we relate.

In the next section an attempt will be made to approach the concept of identity from a general viewpoint before delimitating social identity from a psychological perspective.

2.2 Approaching the concept of identity from sociological and anthropological perspectives

The concept of identity has been a relevant topic for discussion within the social sciences from the eighties onwards. Before addressing social identity in its psychosocial perspective, the concept of identity has to be defined from a sociological and anthropological viewpoint. It is not easy to get a complete definition that encompasses the most important theorists; indeed, it would not be so complex if identity was one clear, static and universal notion. However, the individual constructs his/her identity as a process linked to history and social movements, which undoubtedly leads to the study of groups in their interactions.

Human relations are easily understood using the prism metaphor in which each of its faces provides a particular vision connected to the rest. Actually, it is not the intention of this study to go in depth into all these faces, but a short depiction of how identity is understood by the sociological and the anthropological face is required before we focus on the psychosocial perspective.

The sociological side provides the structural relations perspective, which means that relations between human groups are analysed taking into account the influence of social structures, whereas the anthropological perspective considers human beings in a cultural context, as well as the physical and social characteristics as the main agents and causes of their cultures.

Under the assumption that the human group is the social organization per excellence, we could talk metaphorically of a prismatic reality; out of which one face would be the sociological contribution of the group as a structural element and their relations; another would be the anthropological face with the cultural viewpoint; and the other the psychosocial face with its allusion to mental processes in society; bearing in mind that the prism could multiply its faces if one considers other areas of knowledge, such as political sciences, economics, etc.

Since this research is based on the psychosocial perspective, what follows is a brief reference to the most outstanding contributions from the above mentioned disciplines without being too exhaustive, but taking into consideration how all the faces are necessary for constructing the prism, i.e. group relations; although our main focus is on the psychosocial side.

2.2.1 Sociological insights in identity

Cinoğlu and Arıkan (2012, p.1114) claim that “It is a fundamental fact that groups need to have their own type of members in order to assert their distinction from which they derive the energy for survival”. To our understanding this conveys the importance of identity, groups and group formation in all societies.

From the sociological view (Stets & Burke, 2003), there is a reciprocal relation between the self and the society, being the self “one of the greatest discoveries in the history of social sciences” (Joas cited in Cinoğlu & Arıkan 2012, p.1115), as this self takes part in the processes of identity formation, being able to understand and perceive the environments and transform them. From the symbolic interactionism sociological contribution (30’s decade), the mind is used by the self in order to interpret the social environment. Therefore in the relation between the self and the society there is a power of self over society and vice versa.

The sociological contribution of this line of thought is based on peoples’ interaction through gestures and significant symbols, such as language. Considering identity, it is not possible to change the individual identity of the people without changing at the same time the social reality of the group, i.e. structure and influence processes are key points for symbolic interactionists.

It is also interesting to highlight Berger and Luckman’s contribution to the construction of identity and reality. We consider constructionism important due to its relevance regarding identity questions.

Identity is, of course, a key element of subjective reality and, like all subjective reality, stands in a dialectical relationship with society. Identity is formed by social processes. Once crystallized, it is maintained, modified, or even reshaped by social relations. The social processes involved in both the formation and the maintenance of identity are determined by the social structure. (Berger & Luckmann, 1996)

Adopting the approach of constructionism, these authors address identity as a key element of subjective (reality as assumed by the individuals in the socialization process) and objective realities (external to the individual's will); this type of identity is observable in everyday life, reality is socially defined and refers to the subjective experience of everyday life.

Experience enables us to ensure that everyone has to build and inhabit a world with others. Consequently, that world becomes for each person the dominant and definitive reality. In the dialectic between nature and the socially constructed world, human nature is transformed. In this dialectic, man produces reality and therefore produces himself. As a philosophical heritage, the sociology of knowledge understands human reality as socially constructed, in which knowledge interprets and constructs reality, the reality of everyday life.

For these authors, the identities produced by the interchange of organism, individual consciousness and social structure, maintain, modify or reformulate the given social structure. Thus, in the fully socialized individual there is a continuing internal dialectic between identity and its biological substrate. The individual continues experiencing as an organism separated from the socially derived objectification of himself.

On the other hand, the construction of collective identity is related to the process of primary socialization as a child, under conditions of emotional baggage; and especially the secondary or later process in which the already socialized individual acquires the role-specific knowledge, which is developed depending on the social context.

To these authors, the emergence of psychologies contributes to a dialectical relationship between identity and society which goes further, i.e. “the relationship between psychological theory and those elements of subjective reality it claims to define and explain”. Psychologies are relevant, pertain to a dimension of reality, that is of the greatest and most continuous subjective relevance for all individuals. The individual is affected by this relation between theory and reality.

We should not end this section without mentioning Emile Durkheim. In order to get insight into the sociological perspective on identity, it is essential to recall him, one of the fathers of sociology, to whom the group is a whole with an identity different to the sum of its parts in which all phenomena are attributable to the society and not to the individual.

Seidman (1997) reports that Durkheim’s mistake was to rely on scientific sociology as a discipline to create clear truths to explain social facts and stand for objective moral judgements. Durkheim and Weber, in their classical sociologies are regarded as “captives of modernity”.

A perennial concern in sociology, dating back to its founders, concerns the general problem of social regulation and the destructuring of traditional forms of culture in the face of modernization. (Côté & Schwartz, 2002, p.573)

2.2.1.1 Insights into political and territorial expressions; essentialist and instrumentalist perspectives

Contemplating different interpretations and approaches to identity; political and territorial expressions refer to ethnic, regional and national collective identities as the most inclusive for the individuals. As pointed out by Piqueras (1997, p.190), “*Collective identity* is reserved over time, even if all the subjects that compose it within specific spatial and temporal coordinates disappear and are substituted by others.”⁷⁰ Thus, territory has identifying characteristics that are distinctive and agreed upon.

⁷⁰ Translated from Spanish by the author.

Beyond collective identity, as far as ethnic identity is concerned, both sociology and social anthropology have classified different interpretations as essentialist or primordialists and instrumentalist. The essentialist approach responds to the possession of distinctive features originating from the community itself; collective identity, whether ethnic or national, keeps these attributes throughout time. Ethnicity responds to a collective identity deeply rooted in a historical perspective or based on biological traits. The primordial characteristics of the group have to be present since group formation cannot be changed.

The instrumentalist approach contemplates a constructed and changing identity in which the use of specific identity elements leads to achieve certain objectives, such as political, economic, or anything which might imply a betterment and development of the communities or groups. For this school of thought there is a possibility to choose and change the identity in order to adjust the social environment for one's own benefit and advantages.

From these perspectives, the ethnic component is assumed to have a basic or essential identity. These two orientations have contributions from many scholars beginning with Geertz (1963) who studied how the ethnic group maintain its identity because of emotional attachment to the symbols of the groups, and Barth (1969) who postulated how ethnicity is linked to political and economic factors. Respectively, they are considered pioneers on both perspectives.

This concern needs to be considered in order to explain social interaction among groups. For Giménez (2005) the theory of identity is associated with a theory of the social actors. He refers to the social anthropologist Barth's classical thesis on the ethnic frontier, in which the groups keep their frontiers in spite of cultural changes; i.e. keep their identity.

Barth's theoretical approach of has provoked the ethnic dilemma and the research methods relevant in this field. For example, the researcher does not have to question the distinguishing cultural traits of an ethnic identity, but how the ethnic groups have succeeded in maintaining their frontiers (the ones that

distinguish them from the others) through social, political and cultural changes that marked their history.⁷¹ (ibid., p.18)

Returning to the sociological perspective concerning identity, it is impossible not to refer to the ethnic concept when it comes to agreeing on a scientifically rigorous concept. Among the multiple meanings assigned, we highlight the term *tribal* and *peoples*, and their attributes invoked subjectively. Ethnicity has always represented a major human identification substrate; long before any national or social formation.

To Giménez (1997) identity emerges and is reaffirmed only in confrontation with other identities, this takes place in the process of social interaction and communication, which frequently implies an unequal relationship. This intersubjective and relational character of identity implies that the individual has a self-perception in relation to the other. The identity is revealed in the context of social interaction and communication.

Following this author's consideration on social belonging and attribute identifiers, the sociological tradition contemplates identity in association with the multiplicity of belongings to different social groups (parents, own family, etc.). This sense of belonging means a fidelity towards the group and the assumptions of roles within it, but mainly the internalisation of the symbolic-cultural mosaic of this community, such is the status of belonging in social interactions.

As far as identifying attributes are concerned, they have been defined as characteristics of the individuals such as dispositions, habits, tendencies, attitudes or capacities, as well as the image of one's own body (Lipiansky cited in ibid., 2010). In this regard, they refer to individual's identity.

To Goffman (1986), a way of social categorization that uses disempowering attributes turns into a stigma. To this author the stigma is not related to the attributes but to the interactions, as he poses in the example of American black women who have been perceived as

⁷¹ Translated from the Spanish by the author.

aggressive and dominant; these are stereotypes linked to social prejudices. The biological attribute is also relational; e.g. to be black in United States is very different from to be black in an African country.

To Martínez Sahuquillo (2006), important theorists in the study of identity in a modern world are Berger (1996), Bauman (2004) and Beck (1996). Identity is individuated, open, reflexive, differentiated, more fragmented, mobile, precarious (Beck, 1996) with unhappy individuals, with insecurity and anxiety, in which fragile identity will take the individuals to adhere to new collective identities (Bauman, 2004).

2.2.2 Anthropological insights in identity

Culture and identity are interrelated concepts for sociology and anthropology, although the identity of social actors is not defined by their cultural traits. After clarifying different concepts of culture according to different stages of history, Larrain (2003) mentions two of them:

One in the middle of the 19th century is the symbolic conception of culture, that explains the relationship between culture and identity, yet identity is constructed by the symbolic interaction with the others. The other at the end of 19th century is the anthropological-descriptive concept, that is the interrelated set of beliefs, customs, laws, forms of knowledge and art as well as material artefacts, objects and instruments belonging to the member of a society and that distinguishes them from other societies.

Although culture was seen as a whole when it came down to studying ethnicity, nowadays after Barth's paradigm (1969) the focus relies on sub-groups of people. This would lead us to enquiry about the anthropological approach to group identity. Following Emberling (1997), to study group identity in early approaches was to identify "cultural areas". A different approach, however, was focused on the definitions of boundaries of "tribes", definitions associated with the

needs of colonial administrators. These definitions and name do not mean a self-identification by the people being labelled.

The relevance of Barth's paradigm (1969, p.10) should be reiterated, in which he rejected previous concepts such as race, culture and language as features to define the boundaries of a group, and focused on the following point: "Ethnic groups are categories of adscription and identification by the actors themselves".

In his book *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, he speaks of the concept of ethnicity versus ethnic group, a radical change in anthropology and the concept of identity. The member's perspective does not come from the external point of view, but from the member's internal perspective, where the observer loses prominence. Therefore, the concept of identity changes. Now the community is identified by cultural factors mentioned by them, with which they define themselves. Ethnic identity refers to cultural traits in the face of ethnicity (psycho-sociological cultural identification).

Considering identity, both as a general issue or in a collective aspect, some authors (e.g. Mercado Maldonado & Hernández Oliva, 2010), clarify that in sociology, collective identity is a component that guides social movements -Alain Torrain, Alberto Melucci-, it is an element of communicative action -Jürgen Habermas- as well as an attribute to social actors -Gilberto Giménez-. In anthropology, there is the essentialist focus (identity as a group of characteristics of a group) -Judith Friedlander, George De Vos-; and the dynamic perspective, in which the collective identity is constructed in a historical context through interactive cultural elaboration processes -Fredrik Barth, Alicia Barabas, Joseph Cucó, Gilberto Giménez, José Manuel Valenzuela-.

Collective identity in a modern society, characterized by secularisation, individualism, uncertainty, ideological crisis, and multiplicity of group, becomes subjective and changeable yet the individual is attached to a diversity of groups and the sense of belonging may change (ibid., 2010).

2.3 The social dimension of identity

Sociology, anthropology and social psychology study the phenomenon of identity, but the approaches may differ. The social psychologists will reflect on how individuals shape the self-image where cognitive, affective, cultural and socio-structural factors are affected (Villalón, 2012).

Social Identity to Iñiguez (2001, p.210) “goes beyond a natural, biological and/or psychological reality”. For this author “it is rather something related to the joint elaboration of each particular society throughout its history, something that has to do with the rules and social norms, with the language, the social control, with power relations; all in all with the production of subjectivities”.⁷²

When dealing with the identity concept, one has to speak of social categories and social groups. Therefore, what follows is the presentation of this construct reviewing the historical evolution of the study of groups to focus later on the psychosocial perspective.

In this section various psychosocial theories about groups and their main features will be presented; and with them the concepts developed in relation to how groups function and both intragroup and intergroup relations. With this we refer to social identity, the roles, the self-concept, the emotional and cognitive processes, social change, power, status, etc.

We will follow a historical trajectory on the group conceptualization to focus afterwards specifically on the intergroup relationships; but before this, of particular interest are: the sense of belonging, communication, identity, and group identity.

Sense of belonging, communication, and group identity

In order to achieve their goals, individuals need to have relationships with other individuals who have the same motivations, concerns, interests and attitudes. It is both in intergroup and interpersonal

⁷² Translated from the Spanish by the author.

relationships and through communication where human beings develop, both individually and socially. One can infer from these statements that both the sense of belonging as well as the identity of individuals are crucial concepts in the approach to the psychosocial theories of groups.

Human beings are organized in internally structured groups where belonging and communication are essential. Therefore, the relationship between individuals and groups is part of the human social system; and the groups in turn relate to each other, although they may change throughout the history and some elements may prevail over others. In this sense, the groups are bearers of an identity that is far from static. This identity makes groups respond with an exponential self-awareness, self-perception, with an ability to influence identity by marking their social status.

Considering perspectives on social identity, we allude in this chapter to the notion of identity as collective, subjective and social. Thus, in the context of the relationship between the social and psychological, the anthropology, sociology and social psychology, we will move from the perspective of the self in the most personal sense, that is, from the elements established by William James (1890), to social identity; followed by the proposals of symbolic interactionism, and social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981), among others as a reference in the study of the construct of social identity.

Some comments on identity will be presented before the next section. Identity has become an essential term to point out collective phenomena and social activity. It is not something unique to particular individuals or groups, but rather something every individual experiences, although it is not always obvious nor distinguishable. To address this issue it is essential to locate both the context and the different traditions and approaches in response to inquiries, proposals, applications and definitions of the various concepts and their applicability.

Several recent indicators have been used to approach the identity concept leaving an open space; it is multiple, unstable, fragmented,

constructed, negotiated, etc. It is intrinsic to social life, and in modern contexts where interactions and belongings multiply, more chances are created for identification. But to whom correspond this identification? How do we identify ourselves and how are we identified by others? What do we look for in defining personal and social identity?

As a practical category, it refers to the daily life of individuals, and their differences with regard to others. Identity will always be dependent on the context: the existence of social groups, their self-perception, and the relationship with one another and with their environment. For example, a categorical attribute such as race or ethnicity can be modified by the social relationships of the groups. The category of gypsies in the UK is different when compared to a gypsy village in India or a Japanese village where a gypsy community may reside.

The external identification from the institutions considering the group relationships is an important point to consider. There are clear examples of misidentification of ethnical groups and subsequent categorization implemented by the political forces, i.e. colonisers along the history.

The Consciousness of Self

This section is dedicated to William James and his analysis and theory of self and social identity. Following his book titled *The Principles of Psychology* (1890), it becomes evident that James was a pioneer in the establishment of psychology as an autonomous discipline, the functionalist psychology, presented as a natural science that studies consciousness as a peculiar human function. James, precursor of George Herbert Mead (1934) and Charles Horton Cooley (1930) in their approaches clearly stated in the Symbolic Interactionism school of thought, already distinguishes between the knower and the object known. The Empirical Self is split into a connoisseur or pure Ego and the known self. The theory of Self of this pioneer scientist in the field of modern psychology, introduces a first classification of the individual according to constituent elements, and a subsequent approach to his/her social identity. The concept of self, although later explained by other scholars from different

perspectives, keeps the common view of the individual (or self) with their personal and social attributes.

James poses a series of questions on human identity. He analysed the empirical self on the one hand, and the Pure Ego on the other, and established a classification of what is understood by “I” and by “mine”, i.e. what is mine. This classification is by no means exclusive if we realize the ambiguity and fusion of the two terms. These “I” and what “is mine” produce the same actions and feelings, even giving more importance to material things as property, or less material as friends versus one’s own body. For James there is no clear line between what is part of me and what is mine.

He would determine the constituent parts of this empirical self as follows. According to James’ own wording:

- (a) The material Self
- (b) The social Self
- (b) The spiritual Self

Let us briefly review how the American psychologist deals with each of these parts of the self.

The material Self. The material part of the body encompasses the body along with an extension formed by elements as diverse as clothing, parents, siblings, spouses and children, considered a continuum of one's flesh and bones. What happens when they die is that part of our selves also goes with them. The home is also included in this material part, next to which friends, bank accounts and related properties are listed. All this answers our instinctive preferences and practical interests in life. These instinctive impulses push us toward the act of collecting properties which contain different levels of intimacy and are part of our empirical self. The lack or absence of these possessions exercise over us a lowering effect of our personality as well as a partial conversion into nothingness,

into the void and inconsistency, which in itself is already a psychological phenomenon.

The social Self. The social part of the self is the recognition gained by the others. So the author tells us how painful it might be to go completely unnoticed among the other members of society.

No more fiendish punishment could be devised, were such a thing physically possible, than that one should be turned loose in society and remain absolutely unnoticed by all the members thereof. If no one turned round when we entered, answered when we spoke, or minded what we did, but if every person we met 'cut us dead,' and acted as if we were non-existing things. (James 1890, p.293)

From the moment individuals recognize and create a picture of others in their minds, James says that human beings have many social selves, and by hurting any of these images the individuals are also hurt. At the same time, those in possession of these images are part of a group, and therefore have as many different social selves as different groups of people whose opinions are concerned. We see how a different side of the self is offered to each of the groupings. This inclusive and empirical self, result of the individual and his experience, as a psychological construct, will correspond with the development of the self, identified by Mead (1934) in symbolic interactionism (see section 2.4.1.1.) as a mental as well as social process. Thus, the social aspect of self is given by the fact that we are "someone" for our partners; hence James underlined our need to be noticed by others.

The spiritual Self. The spiritual self belongs to the empirical self, the more subjective and intimate part of the self which produces complacency. The psychic powers and provisions inherent to the spiritual self are immortal and inexhaustible, though it is not the bare principle of personal unity or pure ego.

We take a purer self-satisfaction when we think of our ability to argue and discriminate, of our moral sensibility and conscience, of our indomitable will, than when we survey any of our other possessions. Only when these are altered is a man said to be *alienatus a se*. (ibid., p.296)

These psychic dispositions are the most permanent and intimate part of the self, the part that most truly defines who we are. The spiritual self or consciousness has a reflective nature, the person is subject to his own reflections, that is, he/she thinks of himself/herself as a reflective being. It is the consciousness, the reflective process, the result of our abandoning the expansive view and being able to think of subjectivity as such; in the words of James "to think ourselves as thinkers" (ibid., p.296).

Table 4 illustrates the self differentiated into three categories, i.e. the constituents.

Table 4. The Empirical life of Self
 Source: *The Principles of Psychology*. (James 1890, p.329)

	Material	Social	Spiritual
Self-Seeking	Bodily Appetites and Instincts, Love of Adornment, Foppery, Acquisitiveness, Constructiveness, Love of Home, etc.	Desire to please, be noticed, admired, etc. Sociability, Emulation, Envy, Love, Pursuit of Honour, Ambition, etc.	Intellectual, Moral and Religious Aspiration, Conscientiousness
Self-Estimation	Personal Vanity, Modesty, etc. Pride of Wealth, Fear of Poverty	Social and Family Pride, Vainglory, Snobbery, Humility, Shame, etc.	Sense of Moral or Mental Superiority, Purity, etc. Sense of Inferiority or of Guilt

In understanding the self in this widest sense, we may begin by dividing the history of it into three parts, relating respectively to its constituents; the feelings and emotions they arouse, Self-feelings, and the actions to which they prompt, Self-seeking and Self-preservation.

The pure ego

The pure ego is the most puzzling and enigmatic aspect of self beyond the empirical self, the object of personal experience and the result of the interaction; approaching the construct as consciousness, subjectivity with identity and continuity, tenure structure, and the ability to recognize our own thoughts.

James (1890) already distinguishes the components or constituents covered in a dichotomy of the me self and the I self. We have seen the classification of selves in physical, social, spiritual; all that would be the me that is the egos, the material self, the spiritual self and the social self. The person is also in itself a division.

Beyond this empirical "me"; the "I" or pure ego is the experience or process. James proposed a classification in these terms, "Hereafter let us use the word ME and I for the empirical person and the judging Thought" (ibid., p.371).

Having approached James as a pioneer in self and social identity, we wish to highlight how the sense of personal identity according to James' thoughts is not sufficient for us to verify the existence of a social identity.

2.3.1 Historical trajectory in the study of groups

Human beings are so absorbed in group processes that they hardly realize their existence. If more attention was paid to these processes, we would be better prepared to work within groups, as they are present in all aspects of our lives. We belong to wide groups (i.e. men, women, Catholics, teachers, etc.) or small ones (i.e. family, friends, work team, neighbourhood, etc.). To live without relations and references is almost impossible, as these are shared with our ancestors and manifest in all cultures. Since our birth we become what we are through processes of

socialization, so for better or for worse it is necessary to continue living with others.

What follows will contribute to understanding the conception of the group (collectivism versus individualism) and its psychosocial perspective.

2.3.1.1 Collectivism versus individualism in the study of groups

Two different traditions are to be mentioned in this section; the collectivist tradition giving supremacy to the society over the individual; and the individualistic tradition with the individuals as the main units of analysis and social phenomena understood in individual terms.

The collectivist tradition

From the collectivist tradition the group is seen as a mass tied to the sociopolitical situation more than to a theoretical question. This mass is considered as irrational, dangerous and anomalous. Therefore, many concepts related to it are concepts such as impulsiveness, mobility, irritability, exaggeration and simplifying feelings, intolerance, anti-authoritarianism, criminality, out of control. The individuals as a group have no personal identity and no analytical capacity of the situation; responsibility is therefore an external attribution. For Le Bon and the French tradition (1895), it is the “collective soul” in which the individual is submerged and where a degradation of his/her behaviour occurs and where he/she becomes irrational and emotional through mechanism such as suggestion and transmission. The collective soul takes possession of the individual and his/her self-control diminishes, violating therefore the social and personal norms (Canto Ortiz & Toranzo Moral, 2005).

Following Mc Dougall (1920) and the Anglo-American tradition, the group is an organized system of forces carrying out its own life, it has enough power to mould all the individual members; it has power to perpetuate itself as an identical system of itself, subjected only to gradual changes. The individuals hardly have any capacity of exerting influence, as they are mere links of the chain. The group possesses a group mind;

it is a soul or spirit that is highly organized and independent from the psychological qualities of each particular individual as a member.

Consequently, there are sociocultural processes which are independent from the individuals, whereby the people are determined by these processes. We find this theoretical thinking under the name sociological holism, in which the social and psychological exert pressure and influence. The sociological holism differentiates the group from the unorganized crowd: the group has continuity, shared representation, interaction with similar groups; traditions, customs and habits determining the group relations, and differentiation of functions. The culture is such a strong specific reference that the individuals are passive when it comes to building their reality. To the sociological holism, the groups act as facilitators of the individual's achievements.

According to the collectivist tradition the person is a social being. His/her behaviour changes when becoming part of a group. The groups count on positive aspects such as socialization, cultural evolution, etc., and negative aspects such as mass irrationality among others.

The individualist tradition

Triplet (1897) carried out studies on social facilitation; that is, the influence of others on the individual's performance, considering social stimulus as facilitator or inhibitor.

As a reaction to the sociological holism, Allport (1923) supports the hypothesis of psychological holism, according to which there is an independence of the individuals from the sociocultural processes. The group cannot substitute the individuals; it cannot be operationalized as a unit different to the sum of the individualities.

Such is the thesis of Allport (Marin & Troyano, 2012). To him, located in the positivist and conductive mainstream of American psychology, the behaviour of individuals in groups is a response to physical or social factors, hence the presence of other groups and individuals leads the groups to be facilitators of success in certain subjects.

Under psychological holism the causes of social conduct are to be found in the individuals, being the learning process the main determinant of social conduct. This approach introduces the concept of social facilitation: a positive effect or optimizer that the others seem to have over some parameters of the behaviour. Now the tasks are individual.

Related to Allport, Tajfel's social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner 1979; Tajfel 1984) and the subsequent self-categorization theory (Turner, J.C.; Oakes, M.A.; Reicher, P.J.; & Wetherell, 1987), represent an overall vision for understanding intergroup and intragroup behaviours.

2.4 Psychosocial perspective in the study of identity

This section will be focused on the study of groups and their relations, the intergroup and intragroup processes, their interaction and comparison among others. In this sense, according to Sherif (1967) the relations between groups are the relations established between individuals or groups according to their sense of belonging and identification with them.

2.4.1 Background of the psychosocial perspective

The psychosocial perspective is established by two main approaches or contributions; the symbolic interactionism of sociological origin, and the empiric social psychology contributions. We will deal with the first of these in the following section.

2.4.1.1 Sociological contributions: symbolic interactionism

Individuals interact among themselves through gestures and significant symbols (e.g. the language). It is not possible to change people's individual identity without changing at the same time the social reality of the group; that is, the structure and influencing processes.

Whether we refer to one or several groups, either from the collective or individual dimension, human beings are part of the social inner workings. They are closely related to their own social structures of geographic space, within the culture in which they are integrated, with

the development of the mind and their needs of fulfilment as well as many other factors that consistently influence encounters with the other.

For this participation to be possible, the existence of something that may seem obvious at first is necessary. However, it is not that apparent according to certain scientific perspectives; we mean the existence of group life, social life, where the biological, psychological and social natures of individuals are at stake. At this point, it is necessary to present the symbolic interactionism perspective. Symbolic interaction tradition in sociology tends to see the self as an offspring of mind, which is created during interactions with social institutions (Mead cited in Cinoğlu & Arıkan, 2012).

George Herbert Mead's (1934) and Herbert Blumer's (1937) fundamental thought, are integrated under the theoretical perspective coined by Blumer as Symbolic Interactionism (Chicago School), and its roots are pragmatism and psychological behaviourism. For this school of thought the interaction between the world and the actor, their relations in dynamic processes versus static structures, and the capacity of the actor to interpret the social world are central issues.

With the symbolic interactionists, a different relationship of the individual with the world is heard for the first time, since for Mead the person is endowed with something that makes contact and communicates precisely with himself, something the interactionist would call "the self". Another important term also provided by symbolic interactionism is the "object"; now the person is an object for himself/herself; he/she is perceived, acts, thinks, and communicates with himself/herself through a process. Mental structures are not presented in isolation; the key element is the development of social activity with others through reflection and confrontation with the world. That is, the individual has the ability to self-perceive.

In this social process the "role" is another issue among the multiple concepts symbolic interaction accounts for. By assuming the other's role, the individual sees himself/herself this way and consequently

becomes an object, conscious precisely of his/her own self. The cognitive process of the human being arises by means of their social contact with others. Therein lies the importance that Mead gives to the social being, yet the person is not seen as an isolated entity whose reactions and learnings are confined to one's own self as such, i.e. intrinsic qualities which have nothing to do with intergroup relationships.

For Mead (1934), the self is associated with identity, as the individual develops through his/her experiences, actions, social relations and social action where the others are; and not in the action itself, this being considered as a separate phenomenon. Moreover, it is through the other individual's private views or the general view of the social group as a whole, where the individual becomes an object to himself just as others are objects to him. In the process of the individual as an object of oneself, another feature that makes this observation possible becomes present. The subject is self-observed, but in the process is understood to be a consequence of his/her ability to stand, to assume the other. Such is the importance of social experience to conceive the person, which for Meads covers the conscious "I" and the social "me".

Table 5 presents the dichotomy of the me self and the I self that shape the self, and that takes part in the process that leads to the person.

Table 5. The individual, the self. Notions of identity. Own adaptation

Me self	I self
Sociological component, represents the social structure, the internalization of social roles	More personal component
It represents the me self as an object, but there is no me self without the I self	Represents the I self as subject
Organized attitudes of others assumed by oneself, that is the organized me self, reacting as I	Reaction of the organism to the attitudes of others

Me self	I self
It represents the conformist me self. Organized set of other's judgments assumed as one's own. Adaptations are weak and occur unconsciously. Reflects the current social values or the social structure	Represents the creative, unpredictable, responding to the attitudes of the other, internalized. Reacts to organized attitude with significant difference. The I self dominates the experience
It is the product of society that determines its content	The society is transformed due to the actions of the self, it is the most active element
The me self conveys the conscious responsibility It is the usual and conventional individual	It is never presented as a conscious experience; observes but without revealing himself
	Immediate response from one individual to another, we are not fully aware of the self, our own actions surprise us
The society dominates the individual through the me self, this social control is criticism, not annihilation of the individual It is the 'should be', the internalization of attitudes that the generalized other projects to the individual, organized attitudes of the generalized other	Source of innovation Our most important values are found Something we all seek: the realization of the self
	Conveys dynamism and creativity that counteracts the dominant result of internal and external controls
Allows the individual to live comfortably in the social world	It makes change possible as the result of the meeting between the two components
Primitive societies are as such precisely because people are more dominated by the me	Modern societies have a greater component of self

The person is essentially a social process that takes place in these two distinguishable components. If the two faces did not meet, then there could not be conscious responsibility, and there would be nothing new in the experience. (Mead cited in Miranda Aranda 2003, p.263)⁷³

This division made by Mead as far as the person is concerned, leads to the question about the real nature of the self, how it is positioned and

⁷³ Translated from the Spanish by the author.

acts in the interactions of real life. The self is an important link between the I and the me; being I and me two dimensions that do not work separately, but as inseparable components of the self. The self is the ability to see oneself as an object, being both subject and object.

When James speaks of the spiritual nature of the self, he refers to the individual's ability to incorporate his self as part of the thought process. That is, people may think of themselves as thinking individuals. This reflective characteristic of consciousness is embodied by Mead in his analysis of the self-constitutive process, which is identical for all individuals, and is indeed a process and not a quality or mental or static component; it is in this process that the constituent elements of the self emerge under this dialectic.

Nonetheless in terms of a dialectic between these two important aspects of the self, it becomes imperative to move on to the dialectic between self and society, that is, between the self and the others in both the ingroup or group to which it belongs, and the outgroup. The internalization of the common attitudes of the community is essential to achieve a self and become genuine members.

In essence, the theory of Mead gives priority to the social world, from where consciousness, mind, self, personality, and meaning emerge. Thus, the process that leads the individual to be an object to himself is called self-indication. The individual thus becomes "Self" to the extent that he/she introjects and incorporates activities that others have toward him/her in an environment or social context of experience and behaviour in which all (individual and others) are involved.

The most important feature of the above discussion is Mead's recognition of the individual's reflective skills. These skills are made possible based on the individual self-perception as part of a social whole: his/her group. Thus, self-consciousness or self-awareness cannot arise in isolation, it is not conceivable in a social vacuum. Hence, the self-consciousness is possible because the individual is experienced as the culmination of others toward him.

For Mead it is clear that society is to the person as this person is to his conscious behaviour (behaviour with reflective presence of "Self"). This parallel is made possible by the presence of the "generalized other" that Mead explains (1934, p.218): "The organized community social group which gives the individual his unity of Self can be called 'generalized other'". His attitude is the attitude of the whole community. This is undoubtedly one of the most eloquent instances where Mead stands on social action and attitudes formation.

From a collective perspective, and given the relationship between individual and society, it is important to locate where the change occurs. It is the product of society that determines its content, but precisely because of the actions of the self, society is capable of being transformed. The possibility of transforming the relations between social groups lies in the actions of the self. For Mead "no individual can reorganize the whole society, he is continually affecting society by his own attitude, because he takes the group's attitude toward himself and reacts to it. This reaction changes the attitude of the group" (cited in Doise, W., Deschamps, J. & Mugny, G. 1985, p.55).⁷⁴

For Mead the generalized other is the community or group organized which leads to the nature of the self. It is the community exerting its influence and control over the conduct and behaviour as a determinant factor. However, the individual comes to adopt the attitude of the generalized other toward himself/herself and thus the system of social meanings is generated. Each self is different from the other although a common structure is shared; there are many generalized others due to the plurality of groups, so there are pluralities of selves. The particular set of selves make each person different from others.

The generalized other is the attitude of the whole community. The adoption of these attitudes toward organized activity will develop a complete self. This ability to see himself/herself from the point of view

⁷⁴ Translated from Spanish by the author.

of the community is essential for the emergence of the self and for organized group activities.

Social identity and social act

From this perspective, subjective social identity is contemplated, in which each individual has a cognitive structure that organizes the constitutive elements of his subjective identity without access to direct consciousness of the subject; whereby social identity is responsible for revealing this structure. When speaking of social identity, it is essential to consider the individual in a situation or position within his/her own group. However, from a psychosocial perspective, position relates to status, while allowing their valuation, and if we associate the role with the implication; more involvement in the role means more identity. (Sarbin and Allen cited in *ibid.*, 1985).

The individual places himself/herself in the world between social relationships and the relationship with himself/herself; this position is important within the psychological and sociological analysis of the self. In Blumer's words "Human society must be regarded as a set of people who act, and the life of society consists in the actions they perform" (cited in Ritzer, 1997, p.1). So we refer to both isolated and collective acts; and this joint action is not the sum of all individual acts, on the contrary it has its own character and is neither external nor coercive, but rather created by the actors. However, the joint action adopts patterned forms and is governed by pre-established meanings, such as culture and social order.

The conscious individual would not be so without a social group. The consciousness, the mind, and the self, belong to the social world, come from the social world and the basic unit is the social act. The social act implies social actors; the basic mechanism of the social act is the gesture. Humans create vocal gestures and so develop language and distinctive ability of humans to communicate. The significant signs make thought and symbolic interaction possible.

2.4.1.2 Contribution of experimental social psychology

Asch and Lewin (The Berlin School of Experimental Psychology), study interaction from the experimental paradigm. Group interaction generates realities (norms, group atmosphere, and leadership) that cannot be explained on the basis of the members' particular characteristics but condition their behaviour. The group modifies the individual, and at the same time, thanks to the group interaction, certain group processes and products emerge.

Lewin (1951) defines the group on the basis of the interdependence among its elements. His research contributes to leadership, group atmosphere, group productivity, analysis on the structure and group functioning. Asch (1952) defines the interaction as “the reciprocity between those who intervene in it and the existence of a shared field”. Therefore, far from the individualism and the group mind, he stems from a definition of interaction that clearly implies reciprocity and sharing but at the same time he recognizes that the psychological processes only take place in individuals. The group phenomena are the product and the condition of the individuals' actions. His research contributes to social conformity, and impressions formation.

To conclude, between the collectivist and individualist proposals, the interactionist tradition is a reaction against the radicalisms proposed by the sociological holism and the psychological holism.

The psychosocial group acquires meaning and becomes real when the individuals and the sociocultural processes cease to have autonomy to develop themselves in mutual interaction. (Ayestarán, 1996).

2.4.2 The psychosocial perspective in the study of identity relationships

2.4.2.1 Individualistic approaches

From a psychosocial perspective the study and focus on intergroup behaviours can be explained either as personality features or as intergroup processes. The individualist approach uses cognitive

mechanisms or individual motivations. These approaches carry out extrapolations stemming from the interindividual behaviour.

The Authoritarian Personality theory explains the prejudices against the outgroup in the configuration of the personality with motivational and cognitive components. The authoritarian individual shifts his compulsions or drives against authority to his/her inferiors or minority groups.

The Right-wing authoritarianism theory (RWA). Social dominance orientation theory pays attention to group-based social hierarchies within the social structure. The individuals assume certain roles or belongings to institutions that increase or reduce social inequality. It relates with ethnic prejudice and sexism.

2.4.2.2 Intergroup approaches

Within this approach, the processes and intergroup relations are not tackled as mere individual psychological characteristics. A certain lack of continuity between interpersonal processes and intergroup is proposed. Nevertheless, scholars consider it crucial to understand the origin of the transformation that occurs from the individual psychology to the collective psychology: it is within the articulation with the intraindividual processes where the individual transforms and acts based on his/her belonging to a particular group.

2.4.2.2.1 The realistic conflict theory

Unlike the individualist tradition, within the contribution of experimental social psychology, Sherif (1936) shows based on experiments the existence of group norms. He studied the situations in which the individuals lack a previous norm and do not know how to behave. They require reference provided by the norm, that is, the behaviours expected from society. The reference framework is established through the normalization process (reciprocal influence of the members) that gives the criteria to know how to act in a group.

Furthermore, focusing on the transformation process from individual to collective psychology, the realistic conflict theory, (Sherif & Sherif, 1979) is encapsulated as follows: a) relations between two or more groups are affected by the goals and reciprocal interests of those groups; b) groups focus on the cooperation or competition relations to obtain either goals or resources, and c) interdependence can be either cooperative or competitive.

Incompatible goals lead the group to interests and intergroup conflict, perception and increase of competition with the other group, hostile behaviour, prejudice, and positive attitude towards the members of the ingroup, meaning more cohesion. On the contrary, if goals are in concordance, there are cooperative and friendly attitudes that lead to the reduction of conflict and the correlative psychosocial and behavioural aspects involved.

From the perspective of the conflict it is known intuitively that there will be competition for the perception of scarcity of resources and/or salience of a potentially competitive group. Discriminating, denigrating or avoiding the outgroup will be the consequence. According to these beliefs, the resources obtained by the outgroup are derogated from those that the ingroup could obtain. Functional relations therefore have either a competitive or cooperative interdependence.

2.4.2.2.2 The theory of social identity

The theory of social identity will be approached in this section. We owe this theory to Tajfel (1981) in which his contributions to group phenomena have proved to be relevant for the field of social psychology. Before explaining this conceptualization, we wish to point out its affinity with Festinger's theory of social comparison (1954) and Berger's concept of social identity (1996), (see section 2.2.1.). Festinger's theory (Doise et al. 1985) says that social comparison has a starting point which is the uncertainty placed in each individual and the situational characteristics. The individuals, in order to reduce this uncertainty and define the self,

compare to other individuals. Everyone has a tendency to evaluate his/her opinions and personal skills.

Festinger, however, was almost exclusively concerned with social comparisons made between individuals and with evaluations of oneself and others made by means of these inter-individual comparison. This inter-individual emphasis neglects an important contributing aspect of an individual's self-definition: the fact that he is a member of numerous social groups and that this membership contributes, positively or negatively, to the image that he has of himself. (Tajfel 1981, p.12)

Categorization and intergroup comparison have a very important role in the theory of social identity. According to Tajfel, individuals would perceive society as composed of many social categories and would be conscious of their belonging to any of these categories. The process of social categorization has great influence on the formation of groups and intergroup behaviour, because group interaction is linked to the negative evaluation of the outgroup and ingroup's positive assessment. For him, intergroup relations are necessary to understand the social identity of individuals. Personal identity and individual and collective behaviour are to be understood as belonging to a group where intergroup behaviour, individual processes, i.e. motivations and cognitive processes of the members, and the social context are integrated (Tajfel, 1984).

Social categorization is understood as a process of organizing the information received from the environment in various forms, indicating the individual and upholding his place in society. From this place the intergroup differences and ingroup similarities are produced; this process is referred to by Tajfel as the emphasis hypothesis. Social categorization leads to social identity, social comparison and positive ingroup differentiation. In this theory, social identity is no stranger to personal identity, and individual or group behaviour. These aspects are both part of group membership. The position of individuals in the social system directly affects the behaviour and their personal identity. Subsequently, according to Tajfel (1981) social identity is part of the self-concept that derives from the identification of group membership, along with emotional and evaluative aspects associated with that membership.

But what is a social group? Tajfel (1978) considers the social identity criteria essential for defining the social group. For Turner (cited in Canto Ortiz & Toranzo Moral 2005, p. 61), the social group is defined as follows:

... a social group occurs when two or more individuals share a common social identity and perceive themselves as members of the same social category, identify themselves the same way and have the same definition of who they are, which are their attributes, and how they relate and differ from outgroups.⁷⁵

A collective consciousness of group identity that directly makes us consider other groups as outgroups is created. Tajfel (1978); Tajfel and Turner (1979) speak of a social categorization, a fact by which individuals who are aware of the existence of the outgroup, demonstrate competitive responses and ingroup bias. The discriminatory intergroup behaviour towards the outgroup takes place without the existence of any objective conflict of interest.

Therefore, the social identity theory refers to aspects of a concept of the individual self based on self-identification with the characteristics of groups or social categories, to which emotional, evaluative or motivational psychological aspects are bound. Figure 18 shows that taking the I self as a starting point, there is a two-way relationship to self-concept and self-esteem.

Firstly, self-concept involves a cognitive dimension of the self (personal identity) while reflecting the characteristics of the groups in which the person identifies (social identities) himself/herself. Consequently, these social identities will be multiple and positive or negative.

Secondly, self-esteem reflects the evaluative–affective dimension of the self that arises from a process of social comparison between the self-concept of the self with other individuals or groups. As a result of this comparison, the individual's self-esteem will be increased or decreased.

⁷⁵ Translated from Spanish by the author.

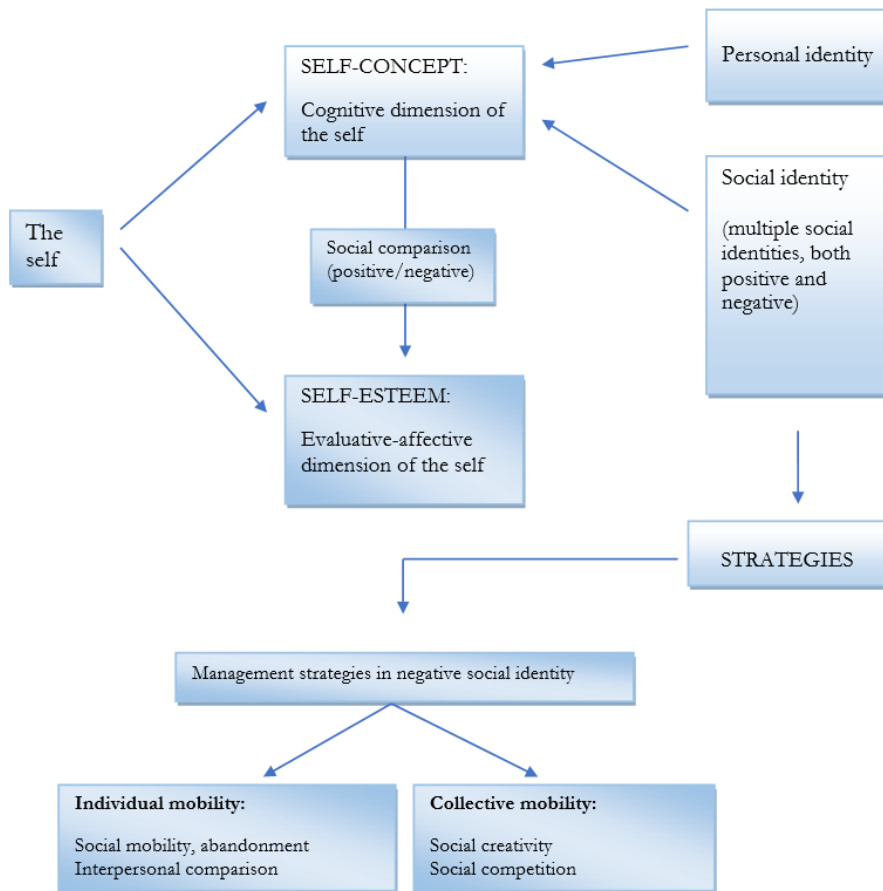


Figure 18. Outline of the theory of social identity (Tajfel, 1979). Author's elaboration

Strategies

By virtue of the above explanation, individuals must be motivated to establish a positive distinction between the groups they identified with and the outgroups, and if the group membership produces an unsatisfactory social identity, individuals/groups activate a series of strategies to improve their own identity: abandonment, mobility or interpersonal comparison (at individual level), and social creativity (preference for alternative modes of comparison) and competition (ingroup bias on the primary comparison dimension) (at collective level).

The management of social identity from assimilation or social mobility means leaving the ingroup and becoming part of another group with more positive social identity, and in this way through social comparison, individuals maximize their self-esteem. This is because social comparison with other groups provide information to the individual about the relative status of his/her own group and therefore of himself/herself as a member.

Also, as shown in Figure 18, social identities can be positive or negative. In the latter case, as we have seen, different management strategies of social identity are activated. Accepting that, the strategy adopted implicitly will lead individuals to make changes so the group itself become a group socially valued.

Keeping all this in mind, we would summarize the contribution of Tajfel's proposal by saying that individuals will construct their social identity by ordering their reality into two categories: "us" and "them", i.e. the ingroup and the outgroup; increasing similarities between us and accentuating differences of others. They will also seek to maximize their self-esteem through group favouritism to find a more positive evaluation of the comparison. Intergroup relations are therefore essential to understand the social identity of people.

Under conditions where individuals' social category memberships are salient, they tend to be assigned all the characteristics perceived to define their category. Tajfel's (categorization) law that, as category memberships became salient, there will be a tendency to exaggerate the differences on criterial dimensions between individuals falling into distinct categories, and to minimize these differences within each of these categories. (Turner 1982, p.28)

Tajfel also considers how intergroup relations often refer to the majority and minority groups, especially to observe and study the relations of hostility and the consequent processes of discrimination, aggression, stereotypes and group prejudices.

In the study of social identity, we have focused on the characteristics of this minority made clear by Wagley and Harris (cited in Tajfel 1981, p.309). They are the following:

- Minorities are subordinate segments of complex societies
- Their physical and cultural features are considered as the lower level by the dominant society segments
- They are self-conscious groups united by shared traits and the vulnerability that it entails
- The membership of minorities is transmitted by a rule of descent that includes generations even in whose reality these mentioned cultural or physical features no longer appear
- By necessity or by choice, minorities tend to marry within the group

The internal cohesion and structure of a minority group may sometimes result from an awareness of being considered as different. It is precisely this development of a special kind of awareness that some people within minorities are sometimes trying hard to achieve through social action, through initiating social and political movements. (ibid., p.311).

To conclude this section one should bear in mind that to Tajfel social identity is not as such if there is no recognition of group membership, that is the identification with the group; whereas for Mead interaction has to occur in general and socialization in particular to see the way in which people create meanings and symbol mentally.

In almost all societies, kinship concepts are symbolic and ideological resources, yet while they shape norms, self-understandings, and perceptions of affinity, they don't necessarily produce kinship 'groups'. (Brubaker & Cooper 2000)

2.4.2.2.3 Theory of Self-Categorization

Turner *et al.* (1987) develop this theory from Tajfel's social identity, both being different while unified in the defence of the concepts of social or group identity as well as its categorization. For four decades, the social psychologist Turner focused on the study of the relationship between individual minds, groups and society; how this relationship is possible, and how society exerts its influence and may change our minds. "This is a science of the mind and society", Turner says (cited in Canto Ortiz & Toranzo Moral, 2005).

To the aspects of the self, arising from group membership, Turner provides the cognitive basis of group behaviour as a mechanism that enables the categorization; the categorizations of the self-make group and individual behaviour able to be carried out precisely from this self. In reference to this and as a curiosity we allude to the simplicity of the statement made by Margaret Thatcher about society in an interview for the magazine *Woman's Own*, registered in Margaret Thatcher Foundation (1987): "There is no such thing! There are single men and women and there are families". This statement was attractive from both a political and scientific standpoint.

Turner's top contributions to the theory of his master, Henry Tajfel, are *grosso modo*

- a) *Process of depersonalization*. The person in the group no longer perceives himself/herself as unique and different, as he/she has already been categorized as a member. Or to put it differently; to the extent that several individuals perceive themselves similarly, constitute a social group.
- b) *Identity of three levels of categorization of the self*. Interpersonal level (differences of oneself with respect to the other); intergroup level (intragroup similarities and intergroup differences arising from group membership); and the interspecies level (common characteristics shared by members of the human species over others). Their performances are antagonistic, which indicates that the operating level inhibits another, but social identity will always prevail over the person, as the context influences these levels.
- c) Since categorization is structured in a continuum of levels from the personal to the group, if the saliency occurs at the group level, depersonalization of the self occurs, (there is not a loss of personal identity, but a change of personal identity at the group level). Following this depersonalization, the importance of personal identity of the individual decreases and the importance

of their social identity increases (the subject takes on the properties and characteristics of the group's attitudes).

- d) These levels determine the definition of the self at all times and its ways of behaviour.
- e) Prototype concept. By prototype we mean the person who best represents the group's position in a relevant dimension for the group itself. To the extent that group members come closer to that position, more or less respected and influential they will be. But it should be emphasized that these prototypes are context sensitive, which means not being fixed.

Thus, social categorization produces depersonalization of the self and the others based on the prototype, generating phenomena of social identity. The individual performs as many self-categorizations as groups with which he/she is identified, so that there are multiple dimensions of comparison. However, the psychological group formation is an adaptive process that allows group relationships of mutual attraction, cooperation and influence among its members.

The perspective of social identity, as its essence is the group versus individualistic social psychology, provides insights into the behaviour of individuals within each group; there is now much uniformity as well as discontinuity at intragroup and intergroup level. "The same individual in different groups may behave differently, just as different people belonging to the same group can express very homogeneous behaviours" (Canto Ortiz & Toranzo Moral, 2005).

Regarding these ideas, we ask ourselves which is the nature of the self; the concept explained now as multiple and complex formed by a dual identity, that is personal identity and social identity. Canto and Moral (ibid.) emphasize that the changing conception of the self supposes a change in criteria, going from one level of identification to another.

2.4.2.2.4 Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Effects (SIDE)

In the model *Social Identity of Deindividuation Effects*, Spears (2001) refers to the concept of self-definition instead of identity, by contrast with

Tajfel's. The "Collective self-definition" arises from the comparison with other groups, and the "Individual self-definition" depends on comparisons with others. The level and content of the self-definition (Morales, 2007), will depend on the context-perceiver interaction. The motivation to achieve certain goals will determine individual or collective choice. The polarity individual-collective identity is preferred to Tajfel's personal-social.

This model has a different explanation than the deindividuation phenomenon, integrating the postulates of both social identify and categorization theories. Summarizing the review carried out by Canto Ortiz & Toranzo Moral (2005), from the social identify theory this model takes the idea of a complex self, made of social and personal identity where to change from a single self to a complex does not mean to lose the sense and control of behaviour; it is only necessary to change the criteria to act in any of both levels.

Concerning the self-categorization theory (Turner, 1987), the model considers the three levels of identity: personal, group o interspecies, that according to Turner determine the self-definition and behaviour at any time. The change from the personal level to the group level is the depersonalization of the self.

Within the meaning of social identity and self-categorization, the context affects from a cognitive dimension; as well as from a strategic dimension that is conscious and motivated (threatened identities, identity choice). Thus, the motivational and emotional processes are activated, as evidenced by Peris and Agut (2007).

In order to understand group behaviour, authors such as Klein, Spears and Reicher (2007) argue that beyond internal processes there are "external constrains on actors". Therefore, attention should be paid to the way of dealing with such constrains.

2.4.2.2.5 A Self-Aspects model of identity (SAMI)

In the *Self-Aspects of Identity* model, Simon (2004) introduces the concept of self-interpretation, and refers to it as the socio-cognitive process by

which people give coherence and meaning to their own experiences; a process that channels the understanding that people have of themselves, of their identity; resulting in the influence of their perceptions and behaviour.

He examines personal identity, their psychological functions and components and the historical evolution, preferring the polarity between the individual and collective to the personal-social.

Collective identity is the self-interpretation focused on an aspect of the self that is socially shared. Individual identity is self-interpretation based on a complex configuration of different aspects of self, highlighting the uniqueness and independence as a novelty.

What Simon understands as self-aspects are cognitive and social concepts that process and organize information and knowledge about the self: personality traits, abilities, ideologies, physical features, behavioural characteristics, social roles, language affiliations and group memberships.

The term “I” is used in social cognition while the term “identity” is used in the sociocultural context. This model is based on the social identity theories and self-categorization of Tajfel and Turner that integrate social cognition (the knowledge about human beings, their activities and the processes to obtain such information) and paying more attention to the individual identity. Simon also gives preference to the process of self-interpretation (what people comprehend about themselves) and the relationship between majorities and minorities, and identity problems.

Conclusion

The approach to the concept of identity has been a mandatory requirement for the appropriate development of this research, as we have attempted to focus on the psychosocial viewpoint of a society in current times. Not only it is necessary to come to know the history and culture of the Adivasi people of India, but also to define the main theories that can help us to understand their reality. Accordingly, we will

be able to go beyond this and after considering the data collection, be capable of elaborating a formal theory.

We have paid attention to terms such as identity, individual and collective identity, territorial expressions attached to it, essentialist and instrumentalist angles, and schools of thought; both in sociology and anthropology. Associated to this there is the idea of the self per se, the self in interaction, the self and the mind, the self and the other selves, and the difference between the “I self” and the “me self”.

William James goes from human identity to realize that individuals have many social selves associated to social images, which in turn correspond to different groups. Beyond the empirical self, the pure ego is the most puzzling and enigmatic aspect of the self (the object of personal experience and the result of the interaction). In a different vein, symbolic interaction tradition in sociology explains the self as an offspring of mind, which is created during interactions with social institutions.

Following these different concepts and thoughts, it is difficult not to realize how there is a line that has driven us from the study of man as an individual reality towards the man in society. The identity phenomenon changes for the social psychologists with the emergence of the self-image, the comparison between groups, the self-concept in cognitive, affective and cultural dimensions, social categories and social groups.

Psychological theories, ingroup and outgroup and a sense of belonging, self-awareness, self-perception are also part of the social psychology studies. In this sense we have followed this trajectory by focusing on group relations and categorization.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction to qualitative methodology

This dissertation is embedded in the research group framework and therefore its aim is to study directly or indirectly some of the factors affecting individual or collective behaviour of individuals while they are part of a group (Cornejo, 1997).

In line with this, the group activity refers to everything that makes a group function as such (Munné, 1985), and involves activation in varying degrees and unified ways of group processes (norms, leadership, roles, objectives, structure, etc.); therefore, group interaction is the beginning to reach other factors explaining what happens within the groups.

Furthermore, the group activity as a study of social psychology is subject to the methodological assumptions of this area of knowledge; assumptions that require all central concepts be measurable validly. This research work has focused on one of the core constructs of group behaviour: social identity. There is a specific interest in comprehending the inherent relational complexity of intergroup relations (between identities) and seek to do so with as little interference as possible.

We have opted for a qualitative research methodology and ethnographic fieldwork that can generate and analyse data. Therefore, different strategies and methods to explore how both identities manifest and relate will be used under the qualitative methodology mentioned above.

This methodology (Soler, 1997) is inductive because it develops concepts based on data; it is holistic because both data and people are considered an all in its theoretical framework; and is phenomenological because studies behaviour of people as they live their world.

Being our main interest to understand the nature of the relationship between Jesuits and Adivasis and the meaning that this relation has for both of them, grounded theory has been chosen in the frame of qualitative methodology.

This chapter is structured in the following way: first, the grounded theory will be introduced as the methodology used along this research to continue with the main reasons that made this method our main option. Second, the main objectives will be established followed by the participants, which will be the next section. Fourth, the proceedings will show the main phases established by the grounded theory methodologists.

3.2 Grounded theory methodology

This section centres around grounded theory as analytical and research methodology. The main characteristics and relevant questions have been defined and explained. In addition, there is a brief exposition regarding the development and processes when applying grounded theory to the study carried out till the final construction of the main theory.

In the first place, data have been given the shape according to the type of analysis required, which for this research has been grounded theory, an inductive theory methodology. We owe this method to sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in the early 1960s, the two researchers who developed the theory as an alternative to all paradigms. Glaser stems from a tradition in quantitative research from Columbia University, whereas Strauss comes from the qualitative research tradition from Chicago University, from the 1920's to the 1950's. These traditions had not been "successful at closing the embarrassing gap between theory and empirical research" as they claimed (Piantanida 1967, p.VII).

This methodology lies close to the American pragmatism and the symbolic interactionist school of sociology: Strauss strong background in symbolic interactionism due to the Chicago School.

Thus, Strauss and colleagues focused on symbolic interactionism, social processes and pragmatism whereas Glaser's focus was more a positivistic methodological training. Hallberg (2006, p.142) explains that "The ontological assumptions behind symbolic interactionism include that

meaning is constructed and changed via interactions between people and that people act on the basis of the meaning they ascribe a situation”.

Grounded theory is an important way of analysis for studying topics of a social nature. It helps to understand an area, which requires no preformed concepts of knowledge of reality.

The methodological thrust of the grounded theory approach to qualitative data is toward the development of theory, without any particular commitment to specific kinds of data, lines of research, or theoretical interest. Therefore, it is not really a specific method or technique. Rather, it is a style of doing qualitative analysis that includes a number of distinct features, such as theoretical sampling, and certain methodological guidelines, such as the making of constant comparisons and the use of the coding paradigm, to ensure conceptual development and density. (Strauss 1987, p.5)

Charmaz (2006, p.2) approaches grounded theory methods as “systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing qualitative data to construct theories ‘grounded’ in the data themselves”. The qualitative way of knowing based not only on facts but also on values hold validity for qualitative researchers, whose observation methods assume an active role in the whole process through interpreting meanings or intuitive realizations that finally will not ignore human problems and research questions able to acknowledge them.

For Glaser and Strauss (1967) the main components of grounded theory comprise data collection and analysis simultaneously; building different categories and coding out of the data without any a priori hypotheses; a comparative method of analysing the categories through memo-writing to elaborate either categories together with their properties, relationships and gaps; the chosen sample aimed at the theory construction, and literature review together with the final theory.

But before reaching the theory construction, category’s theoretical saturation indicates that “no additional data are being found whereby the sociologist can develop properties of the category. As he sees similar instances over and over again, the researcher becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated.” (Piantanida 1967, p.61).

Charmaz (2006, p.113) is very clear when stating that “Categories are saturated when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of these core theoretical categories”. That means the researchers keep finding the same patterns and it seems that no more material for constructing the formal theory will arise.

However, that will depend on the complexity and scope of the study, the number of interviews conducted as well as the researchers’ claims for the credibility of the study. Rather than a close investigation it is a cautious approach to be open in the theoretical saturation process and consider that the whole process is not a closed system. On the contrary, recoding earlier data may lead researchers to new leads.

We openly agree with Dey (cited in *ibid.*) in his contribution to the theoretical saturation concept. Instead of categories saturated by data, he would use the term categories suggested by data. Also instead of saturation, he would claim ‘*theoretical sufficiency*’ as a term that fits better the way research conducts grounded theory.

To us, this applies the way we have gone through the whole process of analysing data and achieving at saturation in a logical framework. It is precisely data saturation what gives validity to the formal theory.

On-going processes take place in the analytical work, one is constant comparison of data in each interview and between them to look for frequency, similarities, and dissimilarities, confirming, and disconfirming the data. Another process of sampling known as theoretical sampling involves, according to Charmaz, “starting with data, constructing tentative ideas about the data, and then examining these ideas through further empirical inquiry” (*ibid.*, p.102).

On the other hand, as the main issues to be dealt with in this thesis concern group relations and identity matters, the value of using ground theory methodology relies on different characteristics that we have highlighted here as follows. This method focuses on the study of phenomena and processes in their natural settings, and we have approached people in their natural spaces to see their perceptions of

their own world, actions, reactions and challenges, all out of their everyday experiences, versus reducing qualities of human experience to quantitative methods and variables.

This perspective has also been expressed as a naturalistic or an interpretative approach to the world (Hallberg, 2006), a constructivist for Charmaz (2006), and phenomenological for Glaser and Strauss (Hallberg, 2006).

We aim at studying human group life through field work and participant observation but at the same time agree with Strauss and Corbin when they explicitly argue that “reality cannot be fully known but can always be interpreted” (cited in Hallberg 2006, p.145). This relativist ontology justifies the variety of interpretations done by a variety of researchers with different profiles and targets.

The researcher is also involved in the research project with theoretical sensitivity, a personal quality that indicates “awareness of the subtleties of meaning of data”. It includes the literature background, professional experience, personal experience, periodically stepping back and asking oneself to analyse the situation, maintaining an attitude of scepticism and following the research procedures (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

In the same vein, we also agree with Jones and Alony (2011, p.98) with the epistemology adopted in the research, as we support that “knowledge is not static, but is always emerging and transforming, and is interpreted by both observant and participant”. Let us not forget how many areas are relatively unknown to the researcher. This also means that the idea of a preliminary hypotheses may not be the case nor the a priori assumptions or preformed concepts of knowledge of reality.

3.3 Objectives of the research

The general objective guiding the development of this research will be explained below, with the four specific objectives.

General objective

To comprehend the nature of the relationship between the Jesuit identity and the tribal people's identity in two Jesuit provinces in India: Gujarat Jesuit Province and Ranchi Jesuit Province.

Specific objectives

To achieve the general objective stated above, the following specific objectives have been determined.

- To know the identity characteristics of the Adivasi people in the Jesuit provinces of Gujarat and Ranchi.
- To know the identity characteristics of the Jesuits in the Jesuit provinces of Gujarat and Ranchi.
- To identify the emergent psychosocial processes in the interaction between the Jesuit identity and Adivasi identity.
- To comprehend the patterns of interaction and their influence in the identity development.

3.4 Participants

The field research has been carried out along several periods corresponding to the years 2013, 2014 and 2015, in which a total of fifty-six interviews were conducted within the two Jesuit provinces already mentioned. Around one hundred people had been previously contacted, out of which fifty-six participants were finally selected.

The different domains chosen where Jesuits and Adivasis live together help understand and explain the relationships between the aforementioned groups; they can generate knowledge and information applied to other situations, and can support the assumption that identities are multiple, rather than homogeneous, and are in constant motion, as they are not fixed (Thapar, 2010).

As stated in the Introduction, the choice of these provinces has also been made for the following reasons:

- Both provinces are located in the tribal belt of India, Western and Central Zone respectively, as observed in Chapter 1; but located at a distance of about 2.000 kilometres from one another, so it was necessary to switch between the two sites during each fieldwork period. For historical reasons Gujarat has had a strong connection to the Jesuit Spanish Province of Loyola while Ranchi Province has been strongly linked to the Belgian and German Jesuits. The introductory chapter has already explained the first contact in India taking place in Adivasi Sevalaya mission station, where the Spanish Navarre missionary Domingo Larumbe was in charge for many years; he is still there in present times although retired but collaborating with the community.
- Adivasi Sevalaya mission station was visited during the month of February 2012 in order to make first contacts with the two groups under study and their most important representatives. Adivasi Sevalaya was first considered the hub of the study, which in turn served as a bridge to access other places and institutions directly and indirectly, as this starting point would lead us through the geographic radius required to obtain the necessary data in the study sites.

After meeting Domingo Larumbe we traced the shaping of the Spanish missionaries' identity to continue with the Indian's. Soon it was agreed that another province should be incorporated such as Ranchi Province found in Jharkhand, which was carved out of Bihar in 2000 as a tribal state. According to the 2011 Census of India, Gujarat has between 10-20% tribal population while in Jharkhand state Adivasis make up 20-40% of its population; also the tribes contacted are different in each state.

3.4.1 Sample

Fifty-six people were interviewed by the researcher of this study. The interviews were grouped into different categories outlined below, establishing as a basic requirement that there had been a real contact between major groups, that is Jesuits and Adivasis. All this has been made regardless of economic status, age, role, and gender for each group. However, occupation has been an aspect to insist upon, as it is relevant to know the different fields of work and tasks of the interviewees. Concerning gender mainstreaming, it should be stressed that Jesuits are a male group since their inception, which is an unchangeable fact.

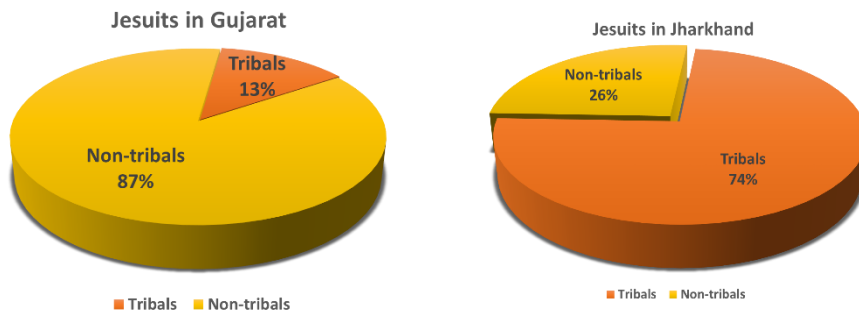
According to qualitative research standards, samples are usually small and are purposively selected; a sample is relevant and not representative. In that sense, among many criteria we have considered the need to make a selection of the informants who could provide relevant information, accessible both physically and socially, willing to cooperate and capable to communicate.

Out of the total number of interviews conducted, 38 are Jesuits and 18 non-Jesuits. In the latter group, women are 13, out of which 8 are of tribal origin and 5 non-tribal. Among the rest of the informants, there are 2 Adivasi men and 3 non-Adivasis.

The ages range from 24 to 90 and the fields of work and occupations are the following: social workers, researchers and teachers (in sociology, zoology, social work, development cooperation, mass media communication, law, history, human rights and activism, economics, theology, finances), pastoral work, school's administrators, school and college's principals, congregation members and superiors, lawyers, activists, economists, linguists, psychologists, engineers, nurses, theologians, NGOs founders and members; and farmers; all of different backgrounds. There is a wide range of professions in which Jesuits develop their work as the means for the relation with Adivasis. The majority of the interviews have been conducted in the workplaces of the respondents.

As per the religion, beyond the members of the Company of Jesus, among the groups sampled, there are lay people being both Hindus and Non-Catholic Christians.

Figures 19 and 20 show the percentage of tribal-Jesuits and non-tribal Jesuits interviewed in Gujarat and Jharkhand.



Figures 19 and 20. Percentage of tribal and non-tribal Jesuits in Gujarat and Ranchi Jesuit provinces (Gujarat and Jharkhand states)

The Gujarat province sample

Adivasis in Gujarat state are located along the tribal belt: north, east and south border of Gujarat with Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. The journey started in the capital city, Ahmedabad, where the Provincial Superior establishes. From central Gujarat the different mission stations and social centres in the north and south have been contacted and reached.

A number of 15 Jesuits have been interviewed, out of which 2 are tribals and 13 non-tribals. Among the non-Jesuits (7 people), there are 6 women, 3 belonging to tribes and 3 non-tribal, and 1 man from a non-tribal origin.

The different tribes contacted are Bhils, Dungri Garasia, Vasava and Gamit.

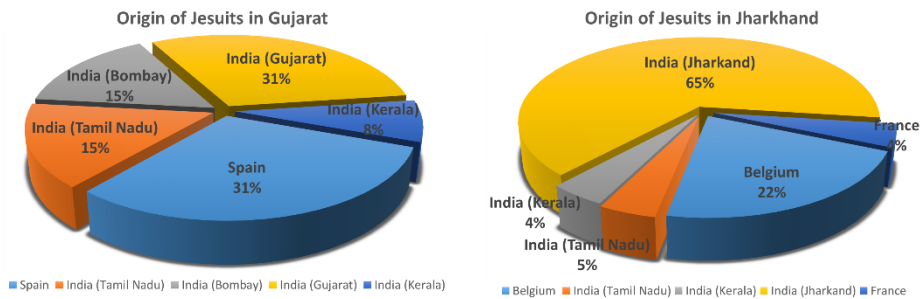
The Ranchi province sample

The Adivasi people in this Jesuit province embedded in Jharkhand state inhabit the whole area, belonging to the east tribal belt. As per the Ranchi Jesuit Province, also the capital city, Ranchi, was the starting point, where the Provincial Superior establishes. From there different tribal districts have also been visited and interviews conducted.

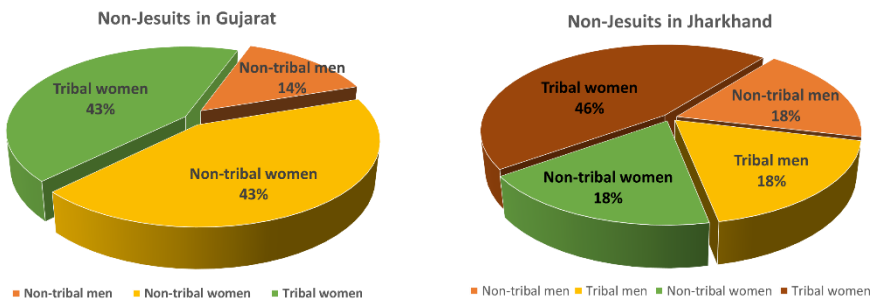
In this area, a number of 23 Jesuits have been interviewed, out of which 17 are tribals and 6 non-tribals. Among the non-Jesuits (11 people), there are 7 women, 5 belonging to tribes and 2 non-tribal, and 4 men, out of which 2 are tribals and 2 non-tribals.

The different tribes contacted are Oraon, Kharia, and Munda.

Figures 21 and 22 show the origin of the Jesuit population.



Figures 21 and 22. Origin of the Jesuits in Gujarat and Jharkhand



Figures 23 and 24. Distribution of the non-Jesuit population in Gujarat and Jharkhand

3.5 Procedure

Here we will start a journey through qualitative research accomplished mainly with interviews and analysis based on grounded theory. The interviews as a selected data collection method help us understand the world of the others according to their own visions and perceptions; and not only these, because being as it is an interaction between the interviewer and the people interviewed, the knowledge generates as a result of such interaction.

The research design of the whole process in qualitative research mostly based on grounded theory begins with the need to gather the sample, that is, to know what type of data is most needed in accordance with the main concerns or topics. A second phase is the proper fieldwork when data collection takes places in the field. A third phase is a compound of several steps or times of data analysis which could be summarized as open coding: this work is done with the transcripts examination and identification of units of analysis, and “theoretical sampling as a means for the researcher to decide on analytic grounds the next data to be collected and where to find them” (Charmaz 2006; Strauss 1987); axial coding (codes organize around each category to find its properties and conceptual relationships between them); and selective coding, when core categories become apparent (Jones & Alony, 2011), and the saturated categories became clear.

The research will conclude with the fourth phase, confronting literature review and constructing the theory, that is theoretical coding, the stage in which the writing and theorizing take place. All along the different stages, constant comparison among categories is a crucial strategy. The grounded theory can finally be written up as a result of the data grounded.

3.5.1 Description of the main phases

Further to the phases stated above, here is an outline of the applied procedure to the data collected, where research design and data

collection processes are at the exploratory level; data analysis belonging to both textual and conceptual level, and finally confrontation of the literary review and the emergent theory.

3.5.1.1 Research design

Exploratory level

Within the research design, the main research question is formulated and the sample designed, this being the description:

- *Formulating the problem.* the Adivasi people of India suffer from discrimination, stigmatization, and oppression by other entities, such as the Hindu forces, government institutions and large corporations.

With the arrival of the Jesuits, significant changes have contributed to the betterment of their lives (social, economic, political relations, religious, etc.). However, there is a lack of knowledge considering the nature of this relation. Therefore, in order to further progress in all changes it is necessary to know the kind of underlying interdependence in the encounter between both identities.

- *Sample design.* Concerning the sample design, theoretical non-probabilistic sampling was developed along the whole process of the research.

3.5.1.2 Data collection process

Exploratory level

With regard to this section, special consideration to ethical issues has been taken, and with this we refer to a discrete approximation to people and anonymity, among other issues; so the informants do not fear the consequences of their views. The names of respondents who held official positions have been entered always respecting their wishes to remain anonymous.

Familiarity with the language and culture is an important factor for obtaining easy access to information; that is why through direct contact

with informants, as well as direct participation and interest shown in these cultural aspects among others, we hope to have approximated this issue. The communication language has been mainly English except when the informant spoke only tribal languages, therefore the need of a translator was necessary. Furthermore, all the material retrieved in the data collection process provides us with relevant data.

The different techniques applied in the fieldwork are shown below:

- Self-reporting techniques: in-depth semi-structured interviews
- Observation techniques: participatory observation
- Documentary techniques: document review

In-depth semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured and in-depth interviews contribute to a better understanding of how the groups fit in the current situation of their environment. The perspectives of the key informants are important for the analysis, yet they bring out personal changes occurred because of intergroup relationships. We consider that interviews are themes, processes and experiences.

Participatory observation

Immersion in the selected locations allows us to see, hear, and begin to experience the reality that participants experience. This ethnographic data collection technique enables us to take consciousness of everyday life, where interactions and activities can be translated into field notes.

Document review

The biographical material about the construction and development of the different institutions under study as well as the information provided by each of the participants will be an important source of knowledge, together with publications or files added in the form of books, local newspapers, pamphlets, articles, columns, gazzeters, etc. Noteworthy is a series of secondary type of information that can aid in the interpretation of qualitative data obtained to be susceptible of analysis,

among which we mention roughly the literary production of the study groups as well as audio-visual material.

This interviews recordings and their corresponding transcriptions, together with the field notes are to generate several codes and categories. The analysis of the contents will gather the attitudes, value system and ethos of the interviewees. This information will lead to the referential frame of the individual and the groups. All those statements uttered by the participants create the need of exploring them further until we can develop a conceptual analysis of all the data already codified.

3.5.1.3 Data analysis

After the transcriptions of the interviews and several revisions, we moved on to the next phase of data analysis, working at two main levels; textual and conceptual. The first level is the textual.

Textual level. This level includes:

- *Units segmentation*: the most significant units within the text have been identified in the primary documents. Once the most relevant data were identified, several revisions were carried out.
- *Open coding*: the concepts and ideas emerging of the unit selected have been identified and coded.
- *Memoing writing*: memos were written along the whole process of data analysis, both at the textual and conceptual level.

Following Saldaña (2009) and his coding classification in *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, several coding methods have been detected as a result of the participants' responses so to obtain the data properly classified. Due to the type of codes coming out of initial coding of data, the coding methods have been divided as follows:

- **Elemental Methods.** Within this method the recurrent codes worked out would classify into:
 - *Structural coding* (relates to a specific research question).

- *Descriptive coding* (summarizes the basic topic of a passage).
- *In vivo coding* (prioritize and honour the participant's voice).
- **Affective Methods**
 - *Emotion coding* (emotions recalled and/or experienced, either by the informant or by the researcher's perception of the latter).
 - *Values coding* (the participant's values, attitudes, beliefs, representative of their worldviews).
 - *Versus coding* (expression of dichotomies in groups, organizations, phenomena, individuals, concepts, etc.).
 - *Evaluation coding* (application of codes to data assessing programmes and policies).
- **Literary and Language Methods**
 - *Narrative coding* applies to text in the form of stories with their appropriate literary elements.

Conceptual level. This level includes:

- *Axial coding.* Codes have been linked inductively and deductively, so to allow a consequent grouping. All relations were reviewed.
- *Selective coding.* A central code was selected and linked to the others. Consequently, in order to formulate a narrative framework, a map of relations among conceptual elements was created.
- *Revision.* All the work carried out during the 56 interviews was then revised.
- *Elaboration of semantic networks.* The connections between codes compose codes families. Primary and secondary semantic networks are established.

- *Preliminary elaboration of the emergent theory.* The first attempt to write the conclusions is done integrating the memos and fieldwork notes. The first conclusions have been elaborated and the memos revised.

3.5.1.4 Confrontation of the literary review and the emergent theory

End of the analytical phase:

- *In this phase, the emergent theory went under revision, to continue with conclusions and discussion.* The conclusions had been written up and related to the literary review.

To conclude, table 6 summarizes the process of analysis for the qualitative research based on grounded theory.

Table 6. Process of analysis based on the grounded theory methodology
Source: author's elaboration

Phases of Grounded Theory	Levels of the process	Process
Research design	Exploratory	Formulating the research problem
Data collection		Sample design
		Interviews to the experts and observations
Data analysis	Textual level	Units segmentation
		Open coding
		Memoing writing
	Conceptual level	Axial coding
		Selective coding
		Revision
		Elaboration of semantic networks
		Preliminary construction of the theory
Confrontation of the literary review and the emergent theory	End of the analytical phase	Emergent theory revision. Conclusion and discussion

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have established the methodology chosen to carry out this research, i.e. the founding ideological bases behind it, the proceedings and phases; and the reliability of such a method. The methodology is called grounded theory, the qualitative technique that the sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss advocated in the early 1960s, as an alternative to all paradigms.

We have made it clear that it is not only a method but also an answer that the two researchers who developed the theory put forward to explain the necessity of a qualitative way of doing research.

Throughout the chapter, there has been an exposition of the general objective of the investigation together with the corresponding specific objectives, that is the relationships between two identities of the Adivasis and the Jesuits as a result of their interaction. The participants in the fieldwork belonging to different states of India, and the reason why we have chosen these geographical areas of India, precisely Gujarat and Jharkhand states, have been explained in the introduction and more in detail in this chapter.

After what has been mentioned above, there is the demographic details of the sample referring to issues such as genre, origins, dichotomy Adivasi/non-Adivasi, field of work, etc., to continue with an explanation of the main phases: the research design, the data collection process, data analysis (at the textual and conceptual level) and the confrontation of the literature review and the emergent theory, which later will become the final formal theory.

The depiction of the main phases which have been followed based on grounded theory methodology will clarify what will be exposed in the next chapter; i.e. the results of the analysis.

Chapter 4

Analysis and Emergent Theory

4 Analysis and Emergent Theory

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will be dedicated to data analysis and theoretical account. As the result of the research process, the emergent theory finally takes shape becoming the theory that responds to the main research question about the encounter between the Jesuits and the indigenous peoples of India. First of all, data collected will be displayed on the coding graph classified under their correspondent categories; to be followed by the presentation of the emergent theory, whose building process will be described in detail.

Two levels of work are to be highlighted, the textual and the conceptual, which will be explained on the following paragraphs.

4.2 Textual level analysis

In the first stage the coding was carried out on a textual level, which means the segmentation of units done along with the open coding and the memoing process, the latter being write-ups of ideas about the codes and their relationships. Then, we proceeded to the following phase of analysis.

4.2.1 Codifying and categorizing

The coding methods employed are divided into three types with their corresponding coding: Elemental Methods (descriptive and structural codes); Affective Methods (emotional, values and versus codes); and Literary and Language Methods (narrative codes). As a result, three main categories have emerged: *Adivasi Identity*, *Jesuit Identity*, and *Adivasi-Jesuit Identity*.

The categories and their corresponding codes are presented below.

4.2.1.1 Codes that define the “Adivasi Identity” category

From the textual analysis, the following codes have been obtained to define the “Adivasi Identity” category.

Elemental Methods

Descriptive codes (perceived)

- Union with nature (harmony), ecology, simplicity, hospitality, strength in communal way of life
- Peace loving people, sense of union with them, generosity, equality, honesty, deep and simple faith, good moral life, Christian values
- Women (more freedom compared with the rest of Indian groups, more equal to men)
- Tribal communities seen as a learning model
- Tribal ethos and identity related to land and forest
- Lack of political representation
- Invisibility, inferiority complex (except in tribal remote areas)

Descriptive codes (self-perceived)

- Post-modern values, happiness, non-profit making culture, against greediness and ambition, courageous
- Women (more freedom compared with the rest of Indian groups, more equal to men)
- Simplicity, honesty, collective unconscious, do not open easily
- Lax people
- No intragroup gender and caste discrimination
- Tribal ethos and identity related to land and forest
- Lack of political representation
- Invisibility, inferiority complex

Structural codes

- *Saliency*: slogans (*Jai Adivasi*, Gujarat), (*Johar*, Jharkhand)
- *Intragroup cohesion*: Indigenous day
- *Identity fight*: demand for rights
- Work for tribal identity
- Action-oriented motivation
- *Visibility*: unity provided by the “Adivasi” name
- Attention given to culture, scholarly works: encyclopaedias, grammars, audio-visuals
- Highlight the Adivasi symbols

- Give voice
- Vindication for rights
- Fight for the dignity of the Adivasi people
- Consciousness-raising
- Salience of the essential dimension of the Adivasi people
- Awareness campaigns abroad

Affective Methods

Emotional codes (perceived)

- Worthless, people of no use
- Stigmatization
- Inferiors in the eyes of the Hindus
- Adivasi women looked down upon
- Modernity
- Lack of resources
- Threats: government institutions, Hindutva forces, big companies
- Religious inferiority, lower in rank
- Abused, oppressed, subaltern, incapables

Emotional codes (self-perceived)

- Threatened identity
- “We are nothing”, battered people
- *Stigmatized women* (i.e. "Dilli return"), rejected (i.e. by Patels), and by non-Adivasi Indian women (i.e. religious congregations)
- Exploitation, violation of human rights
- Uneducated, backward, uncivilized
- They are ashamed
- Nobody bothered to insert themselves among the tribal areas in British times
- Prejudice
- Religious inferiority, abused, suppressed

Value codes (perceived)

- Union with nature (harmony), ecology, hospitality, strength in communal way of life, simpleness

- Peace loving people, sense of union with them, generosity, equality, good moral life, Christian values
- Women (free, more equal to men)
- Less inferior in tribal isolated areas
- Tribal ethos and identity are related to land and forest

Value codes (self-perceived)

- Postmodern values, happiness, sharing people, honesty
- Women (free, more equal to men)
- Tribal ethos and identity are related to land and forest

Versus codes

- Adivasis women versus non-Adivasi women (more freedom than non-Adivasi women, more equal to men)

Literary and Language Methods

Narrative code (an example)

Encounter

- I remember when we came to the tribal villages: people were running to welcome the fathers, with the garments; they were so happy. Then we had cultural programs; dance, food with them, the whole village coming together. Although I came from a traditional Christian family, this new experience attracted me; this is a very vibrant type of Church. I did not know whether they are Christians, non-Christians, they were there and we visited their houses. How they welcomed the guests, their hospitality, even when we left they came along with the vehicle half a kilometre or so; so I felt attracted to the people per se.

Figure 25 shows the coding graph for the category “Adivasi Identity”.

Rescuing the Identity of the Adivasis from their Invisibility.
The Encounter between Jesuits and the Indigenous Peoples of India

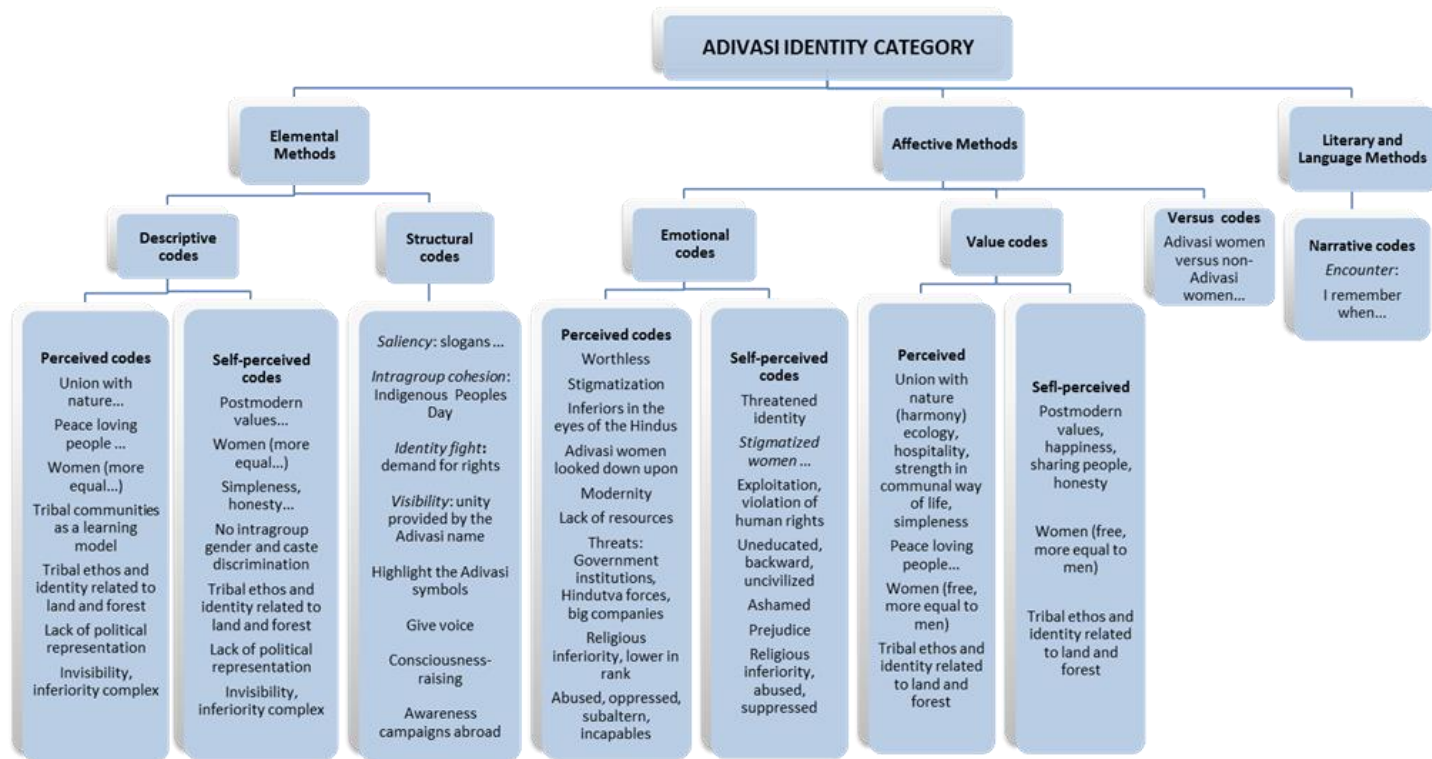


Figure 25 “Adivasi Identity” category. Author’s own elaboration

4.2.1.2 Codes that define the “Jesuit Identity” category

From the textual analysis, the following codes have been obtained to define the “Jesuit Identity” category.

Elemental Methods

Descriptive codes

- *Intellectual resources of high-level*: analysis and reflection, solid training
- *Leadership*: traits and skills
- *Austerity*: spiritual strength
- *Education*: key point
- *The power of talents*: the expert's power (demonstrating the talents leads to freedom of choice)
- *Commitment*: justice, mission, progress
- *Inculturation*: capacity to adapt to different cultural communities
- *Service-oriented*: inspiring and loving, humbleness
- *High level of openness* (understanding and compassion of others)
- *Caste-based discrimination* within the Company of Jesus
- *Inclusive and exclusive identities*
- *Pragmatic sub-identity*, utilitarian approach, facing challenges
- *Community group life*

In vivo codes (some examples)

Poverty

- I was just a novice when Pedro Arrupe said in 1972 General Congregation: “preferential option for the poor in all ministries of the Jesuits, no matter what you do, you have to give preference for the poor, the marginalised”.

Facing challenges

- We are more in human rights orientation, so we have child right to education, helping the adults and the villagers to be more conscious of their rights and children’s rights. Again is within the government, because you train the people: “This school is yours, you should be in the committee, you should be demanding. Why this school is not

running properly? Why the teachers are not coming?” So you see. We always get in confrontation.

Structural codes:

- Service-oriented
- Innovation in their relationship with the people
- Other Indian groups meet the tribals when becoming Jesuits
- Starting and developing missions, then handing over
- Instrumental and final power. Jesuit elitist status of education taken to the tribal peoples, democratisation of education
- Believe in the tribal faith
- Enter into tribal land
- Limit of the blurred identity
- Tolerance of poor working conditions

Affective Methods

Emotional codes

- Jesuits at the frontiers, taking risks
- Sinner, inner tension, fear of self-criticism, accommodated
- *Charismatic*: impact, impression and attraction

Value codes

- Justice, inclusiveness, utilitarianism (maintenance of power)

Versus codes

- *Conservative Jesuits*: institutionalized (whether evangelizers, activists or social workers)
- *Conservative Jesuit missionaries*: evangelizers, activists and social workers
- *Progressive Jesuits*: institutionalized (whether evangelizers, activists or social workers)
- *Progressive Jesuit missionaries*: evangelizers, activists and social workers

Literary and Language Methods

Narrative codes (some examples)

Intragroup prejudices

- Even among Jesuits, you see, when I was in theology, I was one of the better students, so my companions from other provinces all of the sudden asked me: “Do you have to go back to Ranchi?” “Of course, I do not know what you mean”. “What can you do among these people?” they said. They were Jesuits of my age, companions. Because I was one of the best students, for them it was a pity to waste my capacity among the tribals.

Sub-identities

- In one place, there was a priest, a Jesuit who was coming to the same village where I was working. He would go with the caste people and say mass. So one of the Dalit groups I was working with, he said: “Do you know him? He is a Christian priest He is working with them”. He did not know he was my companion. That was funny. So, I never told anyone, there is no need for me to say that I am a priest.

Figure 26 shows the coding graph for the category “Jesuit Identity”.

Rescuing the Identity of the Adivasis from their Invisibility.
The Encounter between Jesuits and the Indigenous Peoples of India

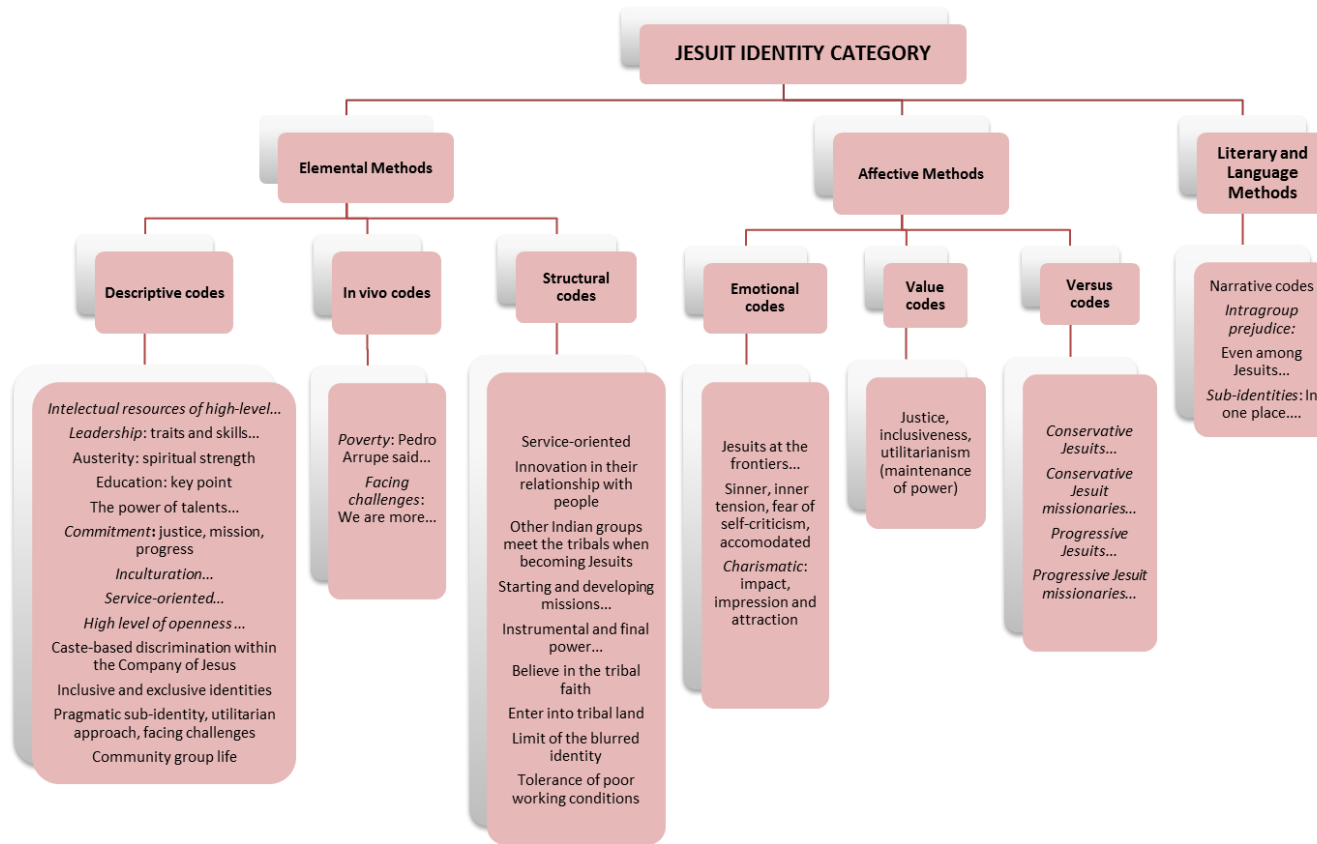


Figure 26. “Jesuit Identity” category. Author’s own elaboration

4.2.1.3 Codes that define the “Adivasi-Jesuit Identity” category

From the textual analysis, the following codes have been obtained to define the “Adivasi-Jesuit” category.

Elemental Methods

Descriptive codes

- They keep their tribalness, work with their people, not for them
- *Positive discrimination*: help Adivasis and the tribal Church
- Instrumentalization
- More commitment toward Adivasi people (whether Christians or non-Christians)

Affective Methods

Emotional codes

- Adivasi-Jesuit identity (young identity)
- Adivasi identity with Jesuit strength: transmission of the self-esteem
- Internalization of the twofold identity (absence of inner conflict)

Value codes

- Meaning found in tribal faith and Christianity at the same level, beyond nature
- Both identities valued the same, symmetrical identity

Versus codes

- *Progressive Adivasi-Jesuit identity*: institutionalized, social workers, activists

Figure 27 shows the coding graph for the category “Adivasi-Jesuit Identity”.

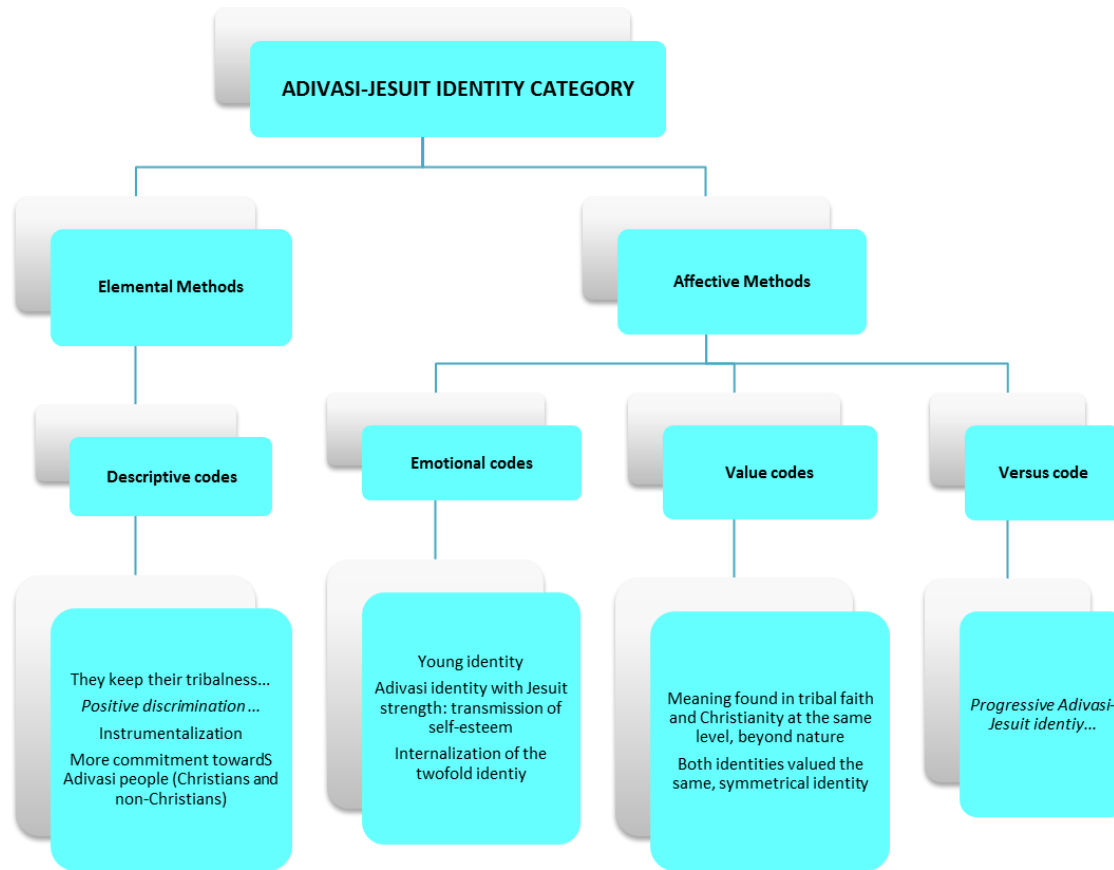


Figure 27. “Adivasi-Jesuit Identity” category. Author’s own elaboration

4.3 Conceptual level analysis

In the axial coding process, codes were linked inductively and deductively, and the relations between them was reviewed. Next came the selective coding, in which core categories were selected and related among them. What follows is the description of the data collected and their corresponding categories at the conceptual level. These categories are related to each other as a theoretical explanation of the actions that continually resolve the main concern of the participants in a substantive area.

4.3.1 Codifying and categorizing

The coding methods employed are divided into three types with their corresponding coding: Elemental Methods (descriptive and structural codes); Affective Methods (emotional, values and versus codes); and Literary and Language Methods (narrative codes). As a result, three main categories have emerged: *Jesuit Leadership*, *Adivasi Leadership*, and *Identity Relationships*.

The categories and their corresponding codes are presented below.

4.3.1.1 Codes that define the “Jesuit Leadership” category

From the conceptual analysis, the following codes have been obtained to define the “Jesuit Leadership” category.

Elemental Methods

Descriptive codes

- Social change (aims to eliminate the effect of the stereotypes and prejudices)
- Foster intrinsic motivation
- External recognition of their influence
- Innovators
- Organize the Adivasis, make them capable, awareness building
- Adivasis are “sheep without shepherds”
- Role models

- Dialectics between the conservative and progressive conception of human nature (charity goes along with empowering people through the talented)

Descriptive codes (self-perceived)

- Projects to train teams of Jesuits and lay people
- Jesuits' resistance to disempowerment
- Within the Ignatian spirit, it is difficult to receive disapproval from the superiors

In vivo codes (some examples)

Leadership

- Now, in 2000 they identified me for doing something different, creatively, innovatively, and what was I doing? I was probably one of the first guys in India to talk about the identity of Adivasis, I don't like to use the word tribals, that is the indigenous people.

Awareness building

- We realized that we do not want to be implementers, we want to move towards awareness building, and creating that kind of training among people, so people began to realize about their rights.

Structural codes

- *Ingroup*: fosters the local justice, family legal protection
- Tribal organisations
- Agents for the social change of the Adivasis

Figure 28 shows the coding graph for the category “Jesuit Leadership”.

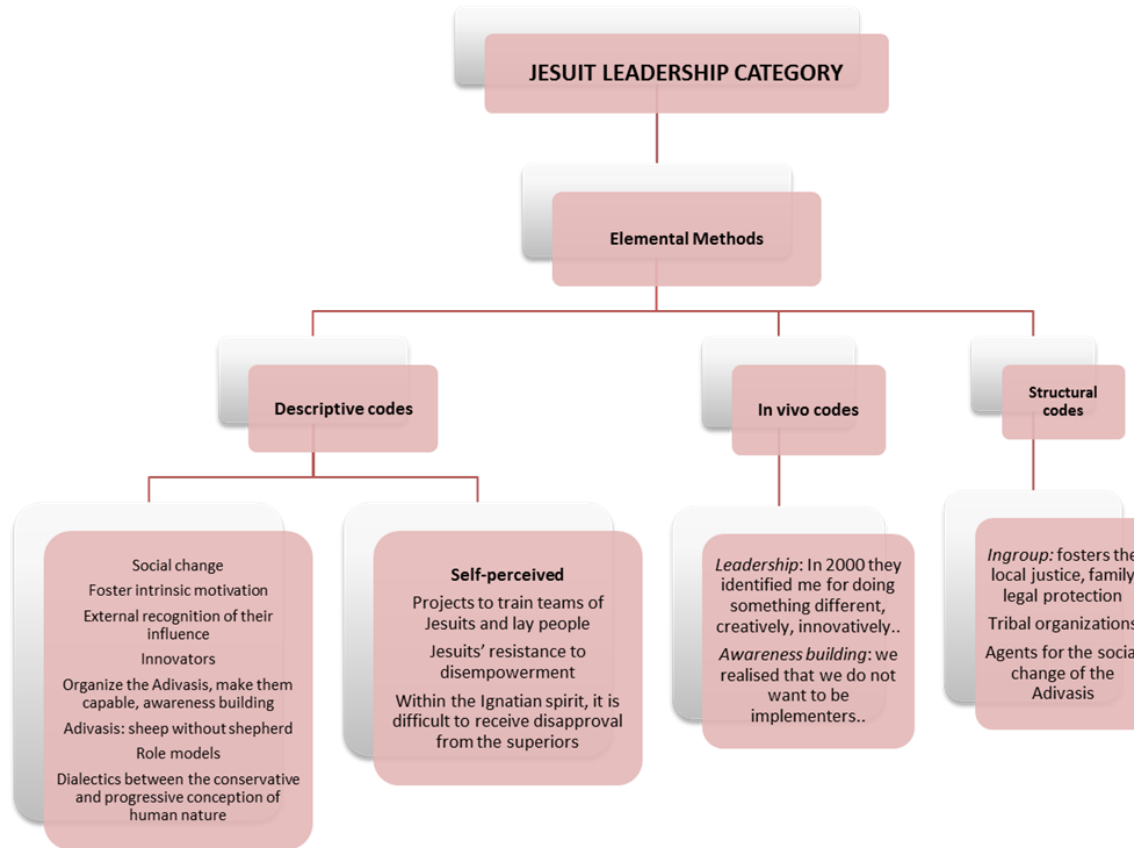


Figure 28. "Jesuit Leadership" category. Author's own elaboration

4.3.1.2 Codes that define the “Adivasi Leadership” category

From the conceptual analysis, the following codes have been obtained to define the “Adivasi Leadership” category.

Elemental Methods

Descriptive codes

- Presence of Adivasi leadership
- Community leaders
- Social activism
- Lack of leadership development among the young population
- Lack of political representation
- Lay leadership formation
- New programmes are necessary
- Training of middle-level leadership
- Leadership (intragroup and intergroup)
- *Women’s leadership*: domestic workers’ leadership, Adivasi religious congregations’ leadership, (anti-human trafficking, human rights advocacy, counselling, activism)

Affective Methods

Evaluative codes

- *Empowerment*: cooperatives run by women, women self-help groups
- Programmes: Adivasi women domestic workers

Figure 29 shows the coding graph for the category “Adivasi Leadership”.

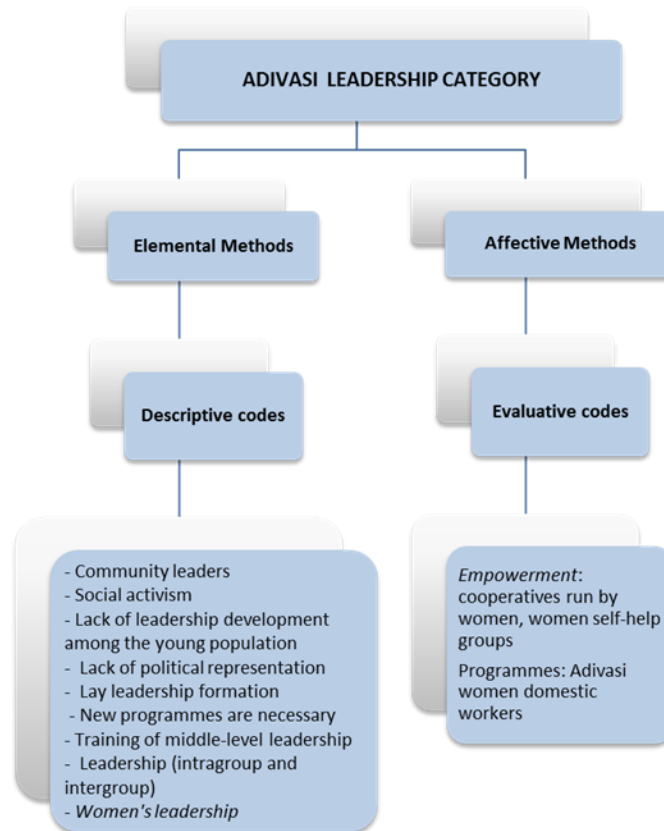


Figure 29. “Adivasi Leadership” category. Author’s own elaboration

4.3.1.3 Codes that define the “Identity relationships” category

From the conceptual analysis, the following codes have been obtained to define the “Identity Relationships” category.

Elemental Methods

Descriptive codes

- *Jesuit immersion in the Adivasi communities:*
 - Respect
 - Cultural visibility (cultural fostering and protection), respect to tribal ethos, started from down
 - Difficulties due to cultural differences (non-tribals in India)
 - Importance of interaction with the Adivasi people: motivated to interact in order to get to know them
 - “Realize” that they (tribal people) are in need (power/leadership relation), conscious of their needs
 - Evangelizing intention (currently not a priority)
- *Social action:*
 - Interaction with Christian and non-Christian Adivasis
 - Development projects
- *Adivasi response:*
 - Demand for education in the villages (girls not a priority in earlier times)
 - Passivity in the face of education
 - Openness

Structural codes

- Prescriptive meeting. The attentive relationship is an act of conscientiousness, love and compassion.
- *Jesuit influence on the Adivasis:*
 - Encouragement of proactiveness
 - Religious empowerment
 - Legal and justice empowerment (strengthen the local government system)
 - Political empowerment, legal training to vindicate human rights, fight for the Adivasi dignity

- Eco-financial empowerment (avoid money-lenders)
- Strategies for land-use profitability
- Awareness building
- Building of more assertive leadership, lay leadership formation
- Tribal leadership role in the fight for the creation of Jharkhand state (supported by the Church), autonomy
- Visibility, awareness-rising
- *Advocate internal change:*
 - Identity fragmentation: Christian and *Sarna* Adivasis
 - Consequence: loss of negotiation power
 - Make the Adivasi identity visible
 - Twofold identity: tribal-Catholic
- *Anthropology of religion:*
 - Transcendence of animism
- *Adivasi influence on Jesuits:*
 - Power of self-respect as a means of claiming the Adivasi identity (causing that Jesuits consider them worthy of respect and value)
 - Tribal Christian critical mass, Jesuits attracted by Adivasi identity
 - much to offer, not only receivers
 - make the Company of Jesus visible in India (power, relevance, maintenance of their presence)

Affective Methods

Emotional codes

- Adivasi response:
 - Acknowledgement of the Jesuit's modus operandi, positive response, impression, gratitude
 - Complete trust and openness, inspiration, love received by the Jesuits, Jesuit experiences of fulfilment and joy

Value codes

- Affinity between Christianity and Adivasi faith

Versus codes

- Identity fragmentation: tribal Christians versus tribal *Sarnas*
- Twofold identity: tribal Catholic. Jesuits make salient the tribal identity while other Jesuits make salient the Catholic tribal identity

Evaluative codes

- Positive evaluation about the projects and actions
- Gender issues (not given priority)
- Health field needed

Literary and Language Methods

Narrative codes

Eye-opener for a non-Adivasi

- I was with Adivasis. That was my first contact with them, Adivasi students; I found it difficult, ok? because I was getting exposed to a different culture, the thinking, the kind of ..., but in the end I was an entrust person, because during the holidays I used to make it a point to go to the villages and staying with them, to know the parents, the background, etc. For a non-Adivasi it was an eye-opener of simple life, close to God, close to nature, and then they were so open, so affectionate, so hospitable, treating you like their own, you know.

Figure 30 shows the coding graph for the category “Identity Relationships”.

Rescuing the Identity of the Adivasis from their Invisibility.
The Encounter between Jesuits and the Indigenous Peoples of India

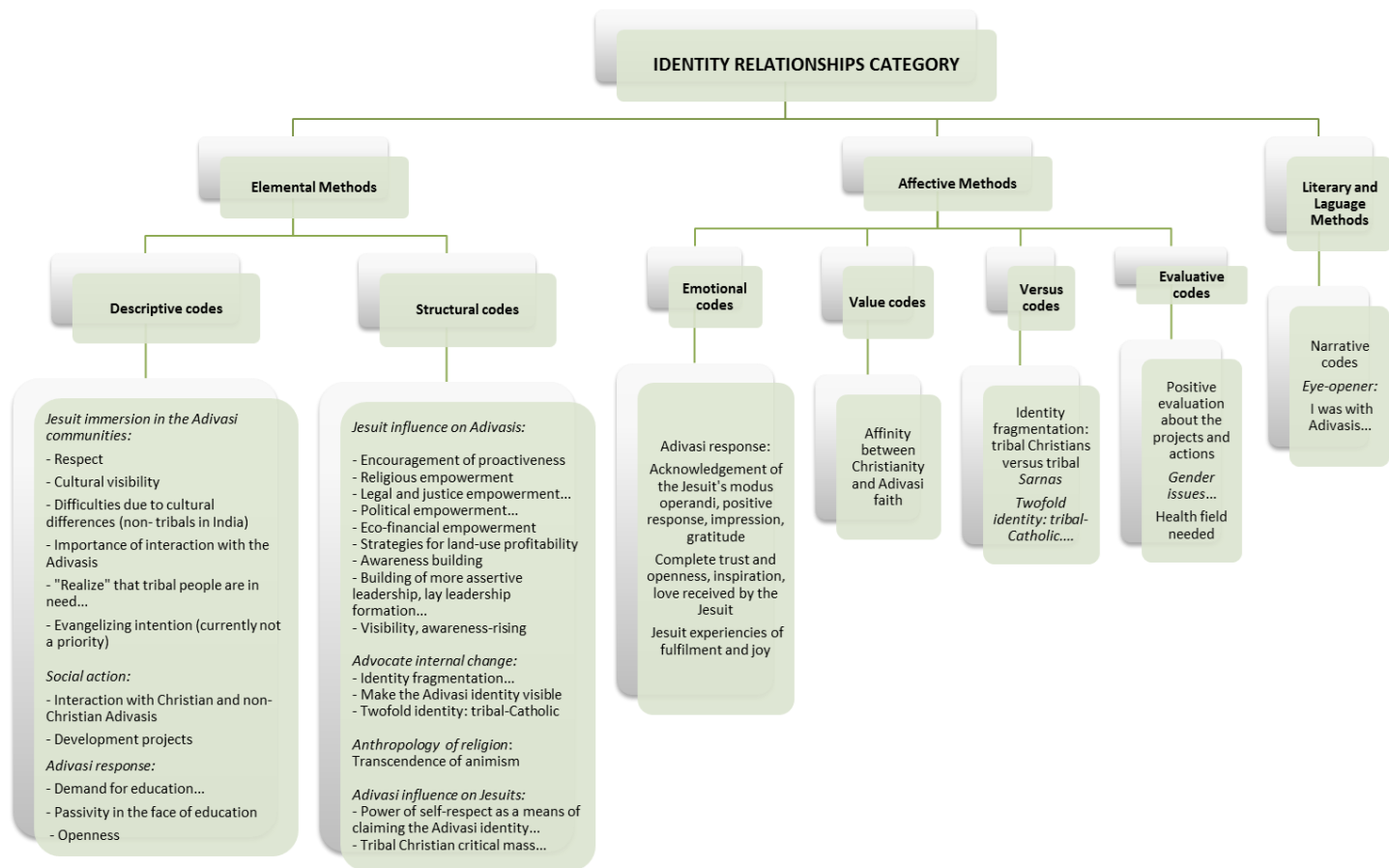


Figure 30. "Identity Relationships" category. Author's own elaboration

4.4 Emergent theory building process

In this section the building process of the emergent theory will be unfolded. A map of relations between the conceptual and processes categories obtained in the axial coding has been elaborated. These relations have been interpreted using the method of triangulation, which have taken us to the central theme of the emergent theory.

Through a qualitative analysis based on an estimated type -infer relationship instead of generating hypothesis- (Krippendorff, 1990), the themes that have been generated have also been revised by the authors jointly, in order to reach a common agreement about the findings. The validity of the method used in the current investigation is deeply rooted by performing the criteria described by Creswell and Miller (2000): a triangulation with data and researchers.

Nevertheless, it is a set of rigorous research procedures that lead to the emergence of the core subject which are related to each other. Data will be displayed following an inductive process, showing first of all identity categories, then influence processes, to end with symmetric and asymmetric relationships. These are accounted for below.

4.4.1 Emergent identity categories

Adivasi identity

This category clearly offers a depiction of the ethos that shapes the tribal people's culture, whether through self-perception or perceived by other informants. Therefore, at this point it is not difficult to become aware of the main problems, needs and values within the Adivasi society. The category responds to the following codes:

Identity description: "Philosophy of joy", cultural richness (social and gender egalitarianism), communal ownership, indigenous world view with animist elements (natural religion, harmonic and holistic relationship with nature, spirits appeasement...), solidarity-based groups.

Negative social identity: uncompetitive, reactive, *threatened identity* (oppressed, exploited, isolated, devalued, invisible ethnic minority, casteless).

Sub-identities: *Sarnas*, Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims.

Jesuit identity

Jesuit identity data provide us with relevant information of their nature and values. The following codes illustrate this fact:

Identity description: service oriented (humility), instrumental and final power oriented, excellence and education oriented.

Vision and mission of empowerment, innovation, proactivity, intellectuality, charism, practice of inculturation, elitism, tolerance of poor working conditions, high level of openness, empathy (understanding and compassion of others).

Sub-identities: evangelizing vs. social action; conservative vs. progressive, pragmatic vs. idealistic.

Adivasi-Jesuit identity

Regarding this category, it is of great importance to consider the topic of a new identity found as a result of the main encounter; that is, the Adivasi-Jesuit, a twofold identity, a young identity that has its roots in the meetings and exchanges between Jesuits and Adivasis since the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries in the 19th century. These are the codes:

Identity description: “young identity”. Adivasis with Jesuit strength, tribal assertiveness, Adivasi positive discrimination, internalization of double identity, transcendence of religious animism.

Sub-identities: evangelizing vs. social action, conservative vs. progressive, pragmatic vs. idealistic.

We bring to the fore this double identity, given its relevance; although this issue will be insisted upon in the final chapter which explains the

conclusions we have reached regarding this identity. Surprisingly, we have seen that related figures provide significance to this fact, as only seven tribal Jesuits have been found in Gujarat Jesuit Province while almost all the Jesuits interviewed in Ranchi province are of tribal origin, so this finding is relevant, bearing in mind that this double identity is not associated with these disparate numbers, i.e. it is not a consequence of this fact. We are in a position to corroborate how there are only seven Adivasi-Jesuits of the total Jesuit population (290) in the whole Gujarat Jesuit Province representing the 2,4% while in Ranchi Jesuit Province they are 98.4% of the total. We have agreed to denote the difference between provinces that later will be clarified in the discussion presented in Chapter 5.

The coding obtained from the three identity categories provides relevant data as far as facts and descriptions are concerned, to turn into patterns and processes coding by the data operating at a higher level, such processes being intergroup relations (Hindus, British, Adivasis, Jesuits, etc.). This level of analysis shows the existence of processes of identity influence: on the one side we have obtained the Jesuit leadership and the Adivasi leadership, and on the other, the Hindu pressure and the pressure of other identities.

4.4.2 Emergent influence process categories

At this level of the analysis, the data embedded in the Jesuit and Adivasi leadership, are as follows:

Jesuit leadership

Ignatian leadership.

Charismatic leadership skills and features.

Referent power and expert power (due to their influence).

External recognition of their influence (leadership awards).

Christian values put into practice (love, humility, morality, respect, justice, gratitude, faith, poverty).

Adivasi leadership

Lay community leadership (governance).

Sector-based intra-community leadership.

Fight for identity: political activism, Naxalism.

Women's leadership: cooperatives, self-help groups, advocacy, counselling, migrants.

Hindu pressure

Furthermore, relations of influence between the Adivasi identity and the Hindu identity and others have been found.

Denial of Adivasi identity and their condition of early settlers, fundamentalism, hinduisation.

Control, authoritarianism and structural hindering: repressive police; perverse governance (against tribal development).

Pressure of other identities

British colonisers: psychological impact.

Other non-Adivasis: Muslims, Parsee traders, businesspersons (usury and money-lending).

4.4.3 Emergent Symmetric and Asymmetric Relationships

Emergence of Symbiotic Relationships

The leadership gives identity value to the Adivasis, while coexisting with the pressure and harassment of other identities found on the previous level. In this dialectic, emerges what has been denominated *Adivasi dignity* on the one hand, and on the other the *Adivasi stigmatization*.

What follows is the description of the emergent categories.

Adivasi stigmatization

Unrecognized institutions, institutional damage, cultural annihilation, self-devaluation, land alienation, labour force, displacement, human trafficking, dishonoured women.

Adivasi dignity

Self-respect: the conferred value for an equal relationship.

Identity defence: preservation of the Adivasi essence over time. Fight for the Adivasi honourability.

Social mobility strategies: Naxalites, migration; conversions: Jesuits, Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims...

The influence relations described in the latter level between the Adivasi identity and the pressure of other identities (Hindus, British, Muslim, etc.), have resulted in the stigmatization of the tribal people. The respect of the Adivasis for their own identity makes them defend their essence; and when they use the strategies for social mobility, they do not lose their signs of identity.

In this dialectical process between stigmatization and dignity, in spite of the stigmatization pressure that Adivasis suffer, their dignity of being Adivasis confers them the capacity to keep symmetrical relationships in their encounter with the Jesuits' identity. We have denominated this capacity *Symbiotic Relationships*.

Transformational asymmetry

As a result of the relations of influence between Jesuits and Adivasis, emerges the central issue of the relation between both identities. In this sense, the data analysis reflect that Jesuits have followed what we have named the *Inculturation Process*⁷⁶ in their encounter with the Adivasis,

⁷⁶ According to the Jesuit Scheuer (1984) inculturation is defined as follows: "Inculturation is the process by which life and the Christian message are inserted in a specific culture, that is to say they incarnate themselves in a cultural community, in a particular society; and there they become so rooted that they produce new riches, unprecedented forms of thought, of action, and of rite..."

which shows that the type of relationship is both transactional and transformational.

Transactional Inculturation is understood as the relation of influence in which both sides, Adivasis and Jesuits obtain mutual benefit. In other words: the capacity to relate to each other symbiotically allows Adivasis to interact with Jesuits in a transactional manner. Next, we show the transactional inculturation data obtained.

Transactional Inculturation

Jesuit immersion in the community: transactional relationship with the Adivasis:

- *Mutual Adaptation*: relational exchanges based on mutual respect; democratization of Adivasi-Jesuit institutions.
- *Jesuits' achievements*: experiences of fulfilment and joy, power (ability to influence), status, visibility of the Society of Jesus.
- *Adivasis' achievements*: joining the Company of Jesus (affinity between Christianity and Adivasi faith), Christian tribal critical mass. Transcendence (go beyond animist practices), Jesuits believe in tribal faith.

The other dimension of the transformational asymmetry is described below.

Transformational Inculturation

Likewise, *Transformational Inculturation* is defined as the relation of influence in which the Jesuits, knowing their power and capacity for change and transformation, push the Adivasi people towards their growth and identity development.

Jesuit immersion in the community as catalysts for the development of the Adivasis:

Acosta, 19---. *Inculturation (definition, attributes, motives, theological bases)*. [online] Available at: <file:///C:/Users/equipo/Downloads/Acosta,_Inculturation_definition_attributes%20(1).pdf> [Accessed 19 January 2017].

- *Personal domain*: formation, impetus given to talents, empowerment, autonomy, awareness of the need to lead a change from within.
- *Community domain*: social proactivity, legal, economic and financial competence.
- *Societal domain*: psychosocial and religious liberation (fear of the oppressors and perception of being abandoned by their spirits), visibility and saliency of the Adivasi identity, give voice, fostering the expression of identity.

Give value to the Adivasi identity.

To conclude, once all levels of analysis have been revised and integrated, we understand that the emergent theory of the encounter between Jesuits and Adivasis can be called:

“Adivasis and Jesuits: An Encounter of Asymmetrical
Interdependence”

Figure 31 shows the entire process of the emergent theory starting with the coding from bottom to top to see how the core categories have been shown and related among each other to allow the emergence of the theory explained.

Rescuing the Identity of the Adivasis from their Invisibility.
The Encounter between Jesuits and the Indigenous Peoples of India

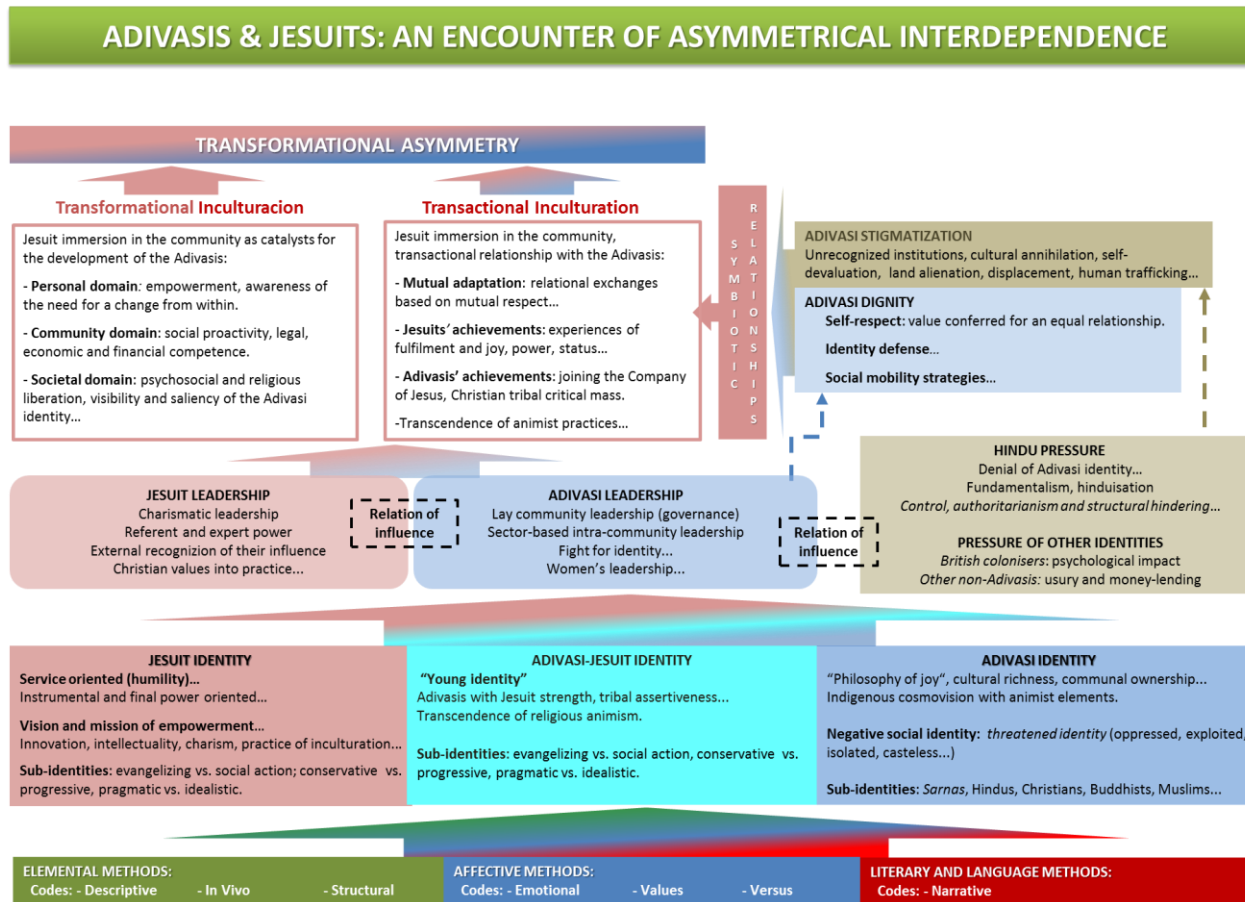


Figure 31. The emergent theory. An Encounter of Asymmetrical Interdependence. Author's own elaboration.

Conclusion

Grounded theory methodology has been explained in Chapter 3: their founders' approach, ideas and different phases proposed to deal with data collected during the fieldwork. Following these phases, we have carried out the entire analysis, which has been explained in detail in this chapter. Along with the development of the analysis, there has been the emergence of different groups of categories both at the textual and conceptual level, starting from data collected for the final analysis and elaboration of the emergent theory, to conclude with the formal theory.

Firstly, the data gathered in the fieldwork have been classified according to elemental, affective, and literary methods in which data are embedded as codes. At a textual level, the data have been defined in units of analysis under the following codes: descriptive, structural, emotional, values, versus and narrative; all of them carrying their corresponding meanings. At the textual level, these codes are organized around three main emergent categories: *Adivasi Identity*, *Jesuit Identity* and *Adivasi-Jesuit Identity*. These categories have approached the identities through the units of analysis in which there has been a depiction of features and characteristics.

At a conceptual level, the same types of coding have defined the following categories: *Jesuit Leadership*, *Adivasi Leadership*, and *Identity Relationships*. In this different level of abstraction, the categories have described processes and patterns and related among them, so as to let the emerging theory develop.

Further to the above mentioned codes and categories organization, the relationship between categories has given way to the appearance of the final categories associated with the inculturation process; and therefore we have given them the denomination of transformational inculturation and transactional inculturation. From these final categories, there has emerged the asymmetric and symmetric relationships, which have explained the emergent theory of the encounter of asymmetrical

interdependence, which will be confronted with the literary review in the next chapter, to give shape to the formal theory.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusions

5 Discussion and Conclusions

5.1 Discussion

The main objective of this thesis is to comprehend the nature of the relationship between the Jesuit identity and the tribal people's identity in Gujarat Jesuit Province and Ranchi Jesuit Province. We have followed the grounded theory methodology to achieve this objective in order to obtain the emergent theory.

Subsequently, the emergent theory already presented in Chapter 4 will be confronted with the literature review in order to conclude in the formal theory; the analytic framework develops a substantive theory. Therefore, we will explore the way in which the emergent theory adjusts to the reality that different scholars have reported as well as our direct observation in the field, so the substantive theory is to become a formal theory for a conceptual area of inquiry (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In order to facilitate its comprehension, the main emergent categories will be discussed.

Identity

Approaching the Adivasi and Jesuit identity has been a key point before going beyond this to formulate the encounter occurring in India between the two main groups of our study; the members of the Company of Jesus working in India and the indigenous peoples. We have found out that data are consistent with these two identities as totally consolidated; as well as relevant information provided in the literature review, all in contrast with the emergence of a young identity, the *Adivasi-Jesuit* identity.

In this sense, the majority of the literary review corroborate our results. Adivasi identity features and traits show their belonging to a specific community within the Indian society.

The adivasis live on the fringes of Indian society in areas that were generally not integrated into the states of historic India, often dwelling in forests, jungles, and hills. Adivasi languages and cultures differ from those of the dominant

Indian communities, and there is tremendous diversity among the adivasis across India. (Lefebure 2013, p.40)

In the same line of thought, we find the work of many researchers (e.g. Mullick, 2003; Dungdung, 2015; Kelles-Viitanen, 2010; Kujur, 2011b; Mundu, 2002; Xaxa, 1999). Nevertheless, in spite of tribals belonging to a consolidated identity, a contrasting view is just the opposite. Ghurye views the tribals as backward Hindus, a conception that was of great influence in the political leadership of denying the Adivasi identity (as cited in Bara, 2007).

For instance, according to the following analysis,⁷⁷ the question of the first dwellers is not accepted by everybody among the scholars, politicians and the like:

The reason why the Sangh denies Adivasis the status of the original dwellers is that it runs counter to its own claim that the Aryans, who brought Vedic civilization to the country, are the original inhabitants of the land.

The concept of identity is important. For example, according to Giménez (1997, p.4) “identity is not an essence, an attribute or an intrinsic property of the individual, but has an intersubjective and relational character”.⁷⁸ For him the individual has a self-perception in relation with the others. Identity is revealed in the contexts of interaction and social communication.

Considering identity as a social construct, the group and social categorization must be emphasized. For Tajfel (1978, 1979) and Turner (1987), the social categorization process has great influence on the formation of groups and intergroup behaviour. As such, the self-concept is the result of the self-categorizations at different levels of abstraction (Turner et al. 1987). When the tribal people categorize themselves as members of the Adivasi communities, the comparison is established at

⁷⁷ Outlook India, 2002. *Adivasi vs Vanvasi: The Hinduization of Tribals in India*. [online]. Available at <<http://www.outlookindia.com/website/story/adivasi-vs-vanvasi-the-hinduization-of-tribals-in-india/217974>> [Accessed 13 July 2013].

⁷⁸ Translated from Spanish by the author.

group level with the outgroups (British, Hindus, Jesuits, etc.), resulting in a salient tribal category.

The psychological group

Regarding the fact that social categorization is the basis of the group, it must be stressed that it is the psychological group we are referring to (Tajfel, 1981). We should not forget that for sociologists, group is a set of people who share an important sociological characteristic such as age, sex, profession, social class, nation, and other related features. However, from a psychosocial perspective, when speaking of a group it is essential to mention those who identify themselves with the characteristics of that group; with shared beliefs and emotions, and act by consensus, but it is necessary that identification occurs (Tajfel, 1984; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). To these authors there is no psychological group without categorization. In other words, the psychological group is created when a group of people consensually categorize as a group and each individual is self-categorized as a member of that group, whose members' behaviour differ from the interpersonal relationships.

To illustrate this point and moving to the beginning of an Adivasi assembly, the chief who presides it reminds all the members to bear in mind their own traditions, that all members express what they have to say, that decisions please the ancestors, and that everything is done to facilitate cohesion of the village (Corral, 2008).

Social categorization

In addition to what has already been said about social identity resulting from activating categorization of the similarities between the people who make the ingroup, and its consequent separation of the outgroup, one should note that the separation in the relation between groups is not necessarily the result of enmity. It will depend on the values of the group. From the group perspective, Tajfel (1981) states that social groups do not live in isolation in complex societies. Although some tribal groups in Indian history have lived in isolation, nowadays they share spaces with the different groups mentioned in this research, living in a society of

great complexity such as India. It is not the identity that generates war and aggression, but the values each group defend, or incompatible goals with which the identification occurs (Sherif & Sherif, 1979). Nevertheless, Tajfel writes that behind the excluding effects of identity there lies the cognitive process of activating “them” and “us”, the outsiders and the insiders.⁷⁹

Concerning the identity of the Society of Jesus, as it happens with the Adivasis’, we also note the work of many authors, (Lawrence Sundaram, 1991; Lefebure, 2013; De Mendonça, 2007; Menachery, 2002; Correia-Afonso, 1988; Tirkey, 2014; Valiamangalam, n.d.).

Among the multiple features ascribed to Jesuitical identity, the concept of power, both instrumental and final power⁸⁰ should be highlighted as a result of the influence process.

- a) The Company of Jesus, as is evident to those who know the European history of this order, is not a mere order among others.... the members’ formation is a new conception of the relations between secular and religious power. In America, it is extraordinary to realize how quickly the Company places its members close to the key of political power. (Caravaglia 1987, p.144)⁸¹
- b) Advocacy is the ‘silver bullet’ for the promotion of justice when it is focussed on the reform of social, political and/or economical structures and policies, and networking is the way to go in our globalised world. To take advantage of the huge potential of the Society of Jesus, with its involvement at the grassroots as well as in universities and its presence in

⁷⁹ See the minimal group paradigm in *Human Groups and Social Categories* (Tajfel 1981, p.268).

⁸⁰ From a psychosocial perspective, power is understood as the capacity of influence on others. Literature diferenciates between instrumental and final power. Power is instrumental when the individual uses his/her capacity to influence as a means to achieve a goal or objective. However, the final power entails that the individual has a great need for power, which means he/she shows a consistent and stable tendency to search for situations to influence, persuade and control the other, so as to achieve recognition. (Winter, 1973; McClelland, 1985).

⁸¹ Translated from the Spanish by the author.

the centres of power, was seen as a necessity, not an optional choice for the Society.⁸²

Adivasi-Jesuit identity

As we have mentioned, one of the most important results has been the emergence of a young identity, resulting from the interaction between Jesuits and Adivasis. By and large, the fact that Adivasis have become Jesuits themselves concerns conscious choices which have been made in a concrete situation, raising the question: What is it that makes an Adivasi an Adivasi-Jesuit? Maybe the best way to approach such a question is by depicting the main features that conform the articulation of this new identity.

The results show that Adivasi-Jesuits are reinforced with the Jesuit strength, meaning the Jesuitical nature being internalized in the tribal identity. In this process, we would say that the Adivasis have not lost their tribalness; on the contrary, their identity was reaffirmed, and they remain faithful to their tribe both socially and culturally. As an Indian scholar and one of the leading exponents of the young identity Adivasi-Jesuit, Kujur (2006a, 2012) bases his approach in this line.

This can be answered from the *Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Effects* (SIDE). Spears (2001) holds that from the meaning given by the social identity and self-categorization, there is a strategic dimension affected by the context in which the individual/group election is deliberate, conscious and motivated towards the formation of a new identity. In this sense, when trying to trace how this new identity is shaped, we agree with Spears who points to a dimension strategy in the identity formation process. In this case, for the Adivasi people the strategy has been to incorporate the Jesuitical strength into the tribal identity.

Further to this, the condition of a twofold identity should be added. In this vein, following Stets and Burke (2003), the self has more than one

⁸² Meeting at El Escorial, Spain, November 2008, Global Ignatian Advocacy Networks (GIAN). Ignatian Advocacy, 2008. *Ignatian Advocacy Workshop*. [blog]. Available at <<http://www.ignatianadvocacy.org>> [Accessed 15 December 2016].

identity. Each of them is largely expressed in the social contexts, which correspond to their roles. The identity is made up when a self is internalized as part of a social role, occupying a social position through interaction. Each social role, whether as product of membership in a social structure, or as aspiring to take part in it or being forced to respond as member of this structure; is expressed by the category of a self with a social significance appropriate to interact with this structure.

In this way, different parts of the self will manifest in accordance with the identity being activated in each interaction. However, in occasions more than one identity manifests independently of the social role. Therefore, the self can re-categorize itself in order to reformulate its identity in new contexts in order to affront interactions that represent social structures in which the self would not have a category from which to interact, integrating and incorporating new categories of the self without renouncing to the previous ones.

This process of reformulation of the self affects identity. From the process of affirmation and defence of the primary original identity there can emerge a configuration of a new identity that answers to the emergence of information to which the former identity had no solutions. Initially this new identity emerges as included and subjected to the former, but its development can absorb categories of relevant significance to the former identity, that the former identity had not fully assimilated.

As such, the new identity acquires a relevance of equality with regards to the former one which remains included, co-existing with it [the former identity] in such a way that it can be absorbed when the context makes the relevant meanings salient for both, but the new identity has been able to configurate and is more accepted. This solution can benefit both identities complementing them and giving the self a valuable and healthy sense for the individual. In this dynamics of configuration of this new identity, some categories emerge which adopt categories that can jeopardize the consistency of the identity as a basis, but it needs them, so it cannot reject them; therefore, the solution is to allow the co-

existence in parallel, being the new identity a useful tool in the service of the mother identity, but depending on it only when the context is ambiguous, and being independent when there is no ambivalence.

Thus, the constitution of a double identity is fostered as far as they are mutually supportive. A double identity may be shaped through the process of multiple identities formation, but they differ in that while multiple identities manifest or are activated in accordance with the social role to which the self has to respond to, the double identity would act as a predominant united identity within the set of social roles which could nuance their manifestation, but not change it.

In the historical context, “By the beginning of the 19th century, land alienation and injustices against the local people were acquiring critical proportions.” (Ekka, 2010, p.149). Concerning the whole of the Adivasi population, and their standpoint after meeting the Jesuits, the following lines describe an import socioeconomic factor that fostered the strategic emergence of this double identity:

And since this religion offered them help not only to save their lands but also to preserve their communal lives and tribal organizations, the Mundas and the Oraons thought that they had found the means to adapt to the new and changing conditions in their country. (De Sa, 1975)

One should not forget that the earlier missionaries arrived in India with the idea of evangelizing the local people. However, the presence and meaning of Christianity in India is a complex issue. Among the tribal people there is an original faith that has to be taken into account in the first place, among whom conversions took place later on. It will be the third generation of these converted people who will become Jesuits and therefore will acquire the double identity.

We do subscribe to Bara’s argument that Christianity did not become a social institution in large parts of tribal India due to colonial or missionary imposition, but it was consciously adopted by the tribals (2007). All these facts provide evidence of the strong motivation that tribal people had to acquire a new identity where survival, status, economy, respect, and liberation were at stake.

The founding principal of the social identity theory is that people define themselves on the basis of their social reference group. In this way, when this group becomes salient in a certain situation, the rest of identities remain relegated and subject to the salient social identity, guiding the individual behaviours and decisions (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The core idea that saliency of a unique identity guides the action has constrained the researcher's attention. The current investigation has moved towards the recognition that people are not moved by a unique identity (Ramarajan, 2014).

Scholars have accepted and discovered that is possible for two identities to be salient simultaneously (ibid.). One of the forms in which this double identity is presented is through the presence of a superior identity hierarchical or superordinate that coexists with a supraordinate within the reference group that defines the first one, creating a subgroup identity (e.g, Doosje et al., 2002). Another form of existence of the twofold identity is expressed by the interaction between the two identities equally relevant for the individual, and mutually integrated (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). In this sense, some empirical studies have shown how the simultaneous activation of two integrated identities can lead to a behaviour of compromise between them (Blader 2007).

These studies indicate that both identities can guide behaviour simultaneously, interacting between them and even modifying it (Ramarajan, 2014). In the case of the Adivasi-Jesuits there is a coexistence integrated by two identities. However, we find a new significance that is not reflected in the current literature, in which a compromise relation type is not produced but the dual relation identity transforms into an identity with its own objectives and compromises acting together as if it were a unique identity, and thus, qualitatively different.

At this point, there is an important issue that requires our attention. As far as tribal-Jesuits are concerned, there is a great difference in the reality of Jharkhand and Gujarat. From a total of 362 Jesuits in Ranchi

Province, according to the *Catalogue of the Ranchi Province of the Society of Jesus 2016*, 98.4% are of tribal origin, whether the numbers totally change in Gujarat being 2,4% from 290 Jesuits. As scholars point out, (e.g. Suriá, 1993; Díaz Gárriz, 2006), this difference is explained by the fact that the Jesuits' strategy in Gujarat was to start in a geographical non-tribal area, and more specifically in central Gujarat, working with the Vankar people, a Hindu group. During the sixties, Jesuit missionaries expanded their mission from Kheda district in central Gujarat to the tribal areas of south and north (Valiamangalam, n.d.).

However, if we move to the Chotanagpur tribal area, the earlier missionaries arriving there from 1845 lived in tribal land from the beginning. This means a process of total immersion of the Jesuits into Adivasi culture, religion and socioeconomic situation.

Also during the interviews, we have been told of substantial reasons to understand the difference between provinces. For example, taking into account the history of the Jesuit missions in each state, Ranchi province started at the beginning of 19th century with the Belgian missionaries. They established a mission that was going to work with Adivasi communities from the start, more than one hundred years ago. The population was almost 90% Adivasi so the Jesuit immersion was carried out fully, and with time the Adivasi-Jesuit identity emerged from these communities. Therefore, historically speaking the Jesuits in Ranchi started their work among the tribals earlier than in Gujarat, where the first encounter with the tribal people in north and south of this province (Gujarat) was around 60 years ago, although the beginning of Gujarat mission was in 1893 (Lewis, 2006; Valiamangalam, n.d.).

Extracts from interviews

- a) Here in Gujarat we began to work in the south and north approximately 45 years ago, then you have to take into account that it is at least the second or third generation where you can find a vocation in Jharkhand, and the massive movement of conversions in Jharkhand toward mid-19th century was bigger than in Gujarat in the last 40 or 45 years.

- b) I suppose the intervention by the missionary father Constant Lievens, the great Belgian missionary was to the tribal community. Ours [Gujarat] began with other community, the Vankars. Now the point is that we began our work with the tribals a little later, not as much as Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh.

Therefore, the strategies and circumstances of the Jesuits' modus operandi in each state are different. We should take into account sociopolitical factors as well as their specific history. If the first Belgian missionaries had entered a non-Adivasi land first, the results would have been different.

Jesuit leadership

As we become familiar with identities and self-categorization in groups, different elements from the results have been analysed that show the process of social influence crystallized in the Adivasi and Jesuit leaderships.

The relations of influence explain different types of human behaviour. The processes of change are a consequence of the exposure to sources of influence of different groups. In this vein, the Adivasi leadership being exposed to the Jesuit and Hindu influence triggers different responses as well, yet the Adivasis are the main target.

Both sources of influence are real and present in the Adivasis' everyday life whether they are conscious or unconscious. The latent Hindu influence cannot be ignored in order to understand the present reality in the tribal world. Hinduisation is an important phenomenon in Indian society that has caused the loss of Adivasi identity among tribal groups⁸³ becoming hinduised. Beyond these long-term processes, nowadays the rise of Hindu fundamentalism is creating an identity crisis among the Adivasis who will need to become aware of such a great threat in order to find the necessary strategies needed for its preservation.

⁸³ "the Bunyas were originally tribals so many hundreds of years ago, even now in some of their cultures and way in their dances, you see they are Adivasis.... they are now SCs, schedule castes, so they are fully hinduised, but actually are Adivasis." (extract from an interview, 2015).

This latent influence in the case of the Jesuits is reflected through the Jesuitical charism. Thus, we think that Conger's reference to leadership is important in order to approach the figure of the charismatic leader. For Conger (1991) it is not possible to become a leader based on cold analysis, that is, to be a leader, it is necessary to have passion, enthusiasm, zeal, and as Johnson called: the quality of having a *fire burning inside*.

Following this definition of what the charismatic leadership should be, authors such as Bass (1985) or Conger and Kanungo (1987) have carried out empirical works on this subject. The latter performed an in-depth analysis of the charism from which the majority of the principles of their theory emerged.

Another empirical approach can be found in the works of Friedman, Prince, Riggio, & Dimatteo (1980), who understand charism as the capacity to convey emotions through non-verbal communication.

Conger and Kanungo (1987), Conger (1991, 1993), defend the charismatic leadership as the agent for change necessary to adapt to what they denominate "new times". The authors point out that ordinary leaders are incapable of stimulating deep structural changes in the organizations. To Conger (1991), and following the synthesis done by Grandío (1996), the most relevant leadership characteristics present in the Jesuits would be: they are agents of change; they see the limitations in situations and have a great sense of opportunity; they take advantages of opportunities; they are always in search of new opportunities; are entrepreneurs; have a strategic vision, seem to always be looking for a bigger challenge; have capacity to solve defects and motivate the change through their strategic vision; somehow they look like the "preachers" of their particular "gospel".

However, as Conger himself points out (1991), these characteristics of the charismatic behaviour have to "find a sense" in the atmosphere where they develop, it is this meaning that will determine that the followers attribute to the leaders the quality of charismatic.

Bass and Avolio (1990) decided to term charisma as “idealized influence”, which means the influence that is exerted on ideals. The causes of the altruistic ideals to which leaders dedicate themselves are to be found in high levels of morality (Bass, Mendoza Martínez, Ortiz Arévalo, & Carlos Parker, 2007). The idealized influence is perceived by the Adivasis as an altruistic behaviour that leads them to recognize the Jesuits as agents of power.

It is worth noting that the Jesuit leadership is manifested through relations of power. In this context, we have found that the sources of Jesuitical power would be both the referent and expert power (French & Raven, 1959). As we have seen, the referent power becomes evident in the charismatic leadership in the same way as the expert power shows itself in the Adivasi’s recognition of the different fields of work of the Jesuits, as for example in the educational field.

The Decree 2, Jesuit General Congregation 35 celebrated in 2008, has the title *A Fire that Kindles Other Fires. Rediscovering our Charism*,⁸⁴ a Jesuit expression for a long-term process and never ending rediscovering of their charism: “being and doing”, “completely given over to his mission among men and women”, “perpetually in motion”. This would be the Jesuit pattern: “with Christ on mission, ever contemplative, ever active. It is the grace –also the creative challenge– of our apostolic religious life that it must live this tension between prayer and action, between mysticism and service”.

Leadership is one of the main topics in Jesuit *modus operandi*, a strong point. Lowney (2005, p.63) mentioned that Benedetto de Goes, Matteo Ricci and Christopher Clavius, did not follow any specific model to become leaders themselves:

.... none of them ever managed scored for subordinates, none of them rose far in the Jesuit hierarchy. They were neither the holiest, most prominent, nor most influential Jesuits in history. But they were leaders. And it’s precisely

⁸⁴ Society of Jesus, 2008. *A Fire that Kindles Other Fires. Rediscovering our Charism*. [pdf]. Available at: <<http://www.sjweb.info/35/documents/Decreets.pdf>> [Accessed 20 August 2013].

because they don't fit our conventional leadership mold that their lives raise important questions about what it means to lead -whether as a seventeenth century Jesuit or in any walk of life today-.

Adivasi leadership

In her perspective of social change in India, considering the tribal case, Devalle (1973) points to strong movements led by tribal people against external threats. The author highlights in these movements the strength of group solidarity as a resistance force or force tending towards adaptation; but the goal is always to find a group identity.

Deliège (1985, pp.160–161), in his work on tribals of Western India, recognizes that the Hinduisation process is taking place, but also adds that “tribals of Western India have not yet been completely integrated into the Hindu fold”. Their rebellions and movements, “quite common in tribal areas, may bear witness to the failure of the caste society in imposing its structure over tribal peoples”. This author continues considering the contrast of a tribal group becoming hinduised since it “denotes a loss of its dignity, its pride, its sense of equality and independence”. However, some tribals “acknowledged the basic principles of Hindu society and its hierarchical order”.

Another important point to understand the identity formation of the tribals in India and their responses to protect themselves, is the meaning of land. For Kujur (2001, p.19), “Land gives dignity, pride and identity”. Without land, the Adivasi is “helpless, subservient and subjugated like a bonded labourer without dignity”. Without land Adivasi truthfulness and simplicity has been lost to indebtedness, alienation, drinking, displacement and migration. Land is also the territory of their existence, given by the forefathers, the abode of the spirits and their dead, their livelihood, their religion and culture in a symbiotic relation with nature.

It is essential to understand which needs are fulfilled and what is threatened by outsiders, a fact that has triggered armed rebellions against them as well as the struggle to create a tribal state through the so-called “Jharkhand movement” (Beck 2002; Mullick, 2003), in which the tribal

political leadership was backed up by the tribal church and the Jharkhand state was created in 2000. In contrast with this, among many other struggles which took place in Gujarat, “In the mid-1940s, the Bhil raised a demand for the creation of a separate state but it was never well articulated” (Singh 1994, p.123).

It is this type of consciousness of the ‘distinctiveness’ of the Adivasiness that motivates the present generation of tribal leadership to articulate their identity as different from that of the ‘Hindu’. (Kujur, 2009, p. 262)

We have named this leadership: “self-transforming”. This type of Adivasi leadership provides them with strength creating an effect of internal cohesion, giving them will power, dignity and adding value to their identity.

Influence of other identities

The data collected in our research show a negative perspective of the Adivasi identity when this is perceived from the outside. On the one hand, members of other social groups perceive the Adivasis as exploited and utilized, which offers a negative image in a compassionate sense of their identity. On the other hand, for other groups (the Hindus), the image is negative in the sense of considering them as a threat, to disqualify them as a group to annihilate the categories that form the essential part of their identity configuration. These results are in line with the socioeconomic situation and the governance. Thus, the Adivasis have had to defend and retreat in different encounters with "the others", whether they were British, Muslims, Aryans, Hindus, etc., but in the 21st century new threats to their identity come from different contexts: the Government of India, immersed in the globalisation processes that leave no room for development of minorities, and whose integration policies require large losses of habitat and identity; the caste system entrenched in Indian population, the religious struggle, etc. For example, the tribal system of political organization is very different; and political-judicial encroachment shows how the Hindu laws interfere in the *Panchayat* system. Besides the Indian government, the globalisation and

“transnationalization of the border areas” (Giménez 1997, p.1) make it increasingly more necessary to strengthen the group membership.

De Sa (1975, pp.322-323) argues that the Adivasis of Chotanagpur suffered the consequences of the British rule that “helped in the disintegration of the aboriginal way of life”, but even before the colonization period, the Mundas and the Oraons lived in peace till the 17th century, when the disintegration of their socioeconomic system already began.

In the context of Gujarat, Devy’s reflections on “adivasi silence” remind us of the psychological impact that lead them to “submissive nature” or “revolts”.

The colonial impact was so powerful that from forest-lords they became paupers. Because of the British policies they were forced to move out. Today the psychological impact still persists and so they are not able to cope. (Devy 2006, p.109)

Mundu (2002) questions the protection of the Indian Constitution to tribals, as it denies the indigenous communities’ identity as such, which shows the control of the Government over who is or is not tribal and who belongs to the schedule tribes or a different category.

In the field of Adivasis converting to Christianity, Ekka (2010) concerning the first conversions in the 19th century, adds that the Indian political forces became furious about the power of conversion, now a rebellion against them, and began to persecute the new Christians. They probably perceived a new source of empowerment and therefore a threat to everything the Christian Adivasis represented.

In his work on hinduisation of tribals, Kujur (2009, p.258) analyses the contents of pamphlets by Hindutva forces:

The rationale for eliminating the Adivasis was the latter’s refusal to accept the mainstream Hindu religion. The circular revealed a plan to trap innocent, illiterate tribal girls and initiate them into drugs so that they would be barren forever. It recommended the ‘slow death’ of the tribals by poisoned medication.

There is enough evidence and facts to show an Adivasi negative social identity. In February 2014 a circular letter sent from the mission of Bardipada, Tapi district (Gujarat), narrated the contempt of upper caste traders and fundamentalists for the Adivasis, and how this contempt has spread to the Christian Adivasis to the point of being considered below the untouchable castes. This goes back to the fifties, when the first Adivasi Catholic priest, Chagan, ordained on December 1, 1953, suffered injustice and contempt to the extent that he was not given water because his lips were supposed to pollute the vessels.

Adivasis face prejudice (as lesser humans), they are socially distanced and often face violence from society. They are at the lowest point in every socioeconomic indicator. Today the majority of the population regards them as primitive and aims at decimating them as peoples or at best integrating them with the mainstream at the lowest rung in the ladder. (Bijoy, 2003)

Symbiotic relationship

In this unfavourable context, the Adivasis have not remained a passive group. In fact, they have had to cope with threats that may affect them physically, culturally, socially and psychologically. It is clear that, among other vulnerable groups in India, they suffer consequences very deeply rooted in the Indian society like permanent humiliation, frustration and the suffering that characterize the stigmatized identities.

The pressure that they suffer by other groups shows how nowadays the Adivasi identity is clearly a threatened identity: human rights violations, displacement, human trafficking, land-grabbing, anti-conversion laws, usury, structural poverty, persecution, etc.

According to Union Home Ministry figures, 13,657 persons were arrested all over the country between 2008 and 2014 on allegations of being part of the ongoing Maoist movement. This makes an average of 2276 persons per year or close to 200 persons every month. Most of the arrests were made in the Chhattisgarh and Bihar-Jharkhand, where the protracted people's war led by CPI (Maoist) is at its fiercest. However, the arrested persons are mostly villagers – basically landless and poor peasants – who either support of the

movement or have no connection with it whatsoever but are arrested by the police-paramilitary forces...⁸⁵

In spite of such obvious discrimination, we agree with Smith, Moreno, Román, Kirschman, Acuña, and Viquez (2010) in their statement about people's response. The authors claim that people are not passive victims of discrimination; on the contrary, they develop strategies to confront these situations. Thus, the psychosocial consequences of belonging to stigmatized social groups will depend on multiple factors. As a result of these facts and policies, given this reality, the results reflect the existence of what we have denominated "Adivasi Dignity", mainly explained from the confrontation strategies of the works on threatened identity.

In their *Rejection-Identification Model*, Schmitt and Branscombe (cited in Smith et al., 2010) report that stigmatized group members confront the negative consequences of the prejudice by identifying more with their reference group. Under certain conditions, the perception of prejudice leads towards greater ingroup identification, which at the same time allows for mitigating the negative effects of the stigma.

The Adivasi dignity is the expression of a narrative to accept the meaning of being Adivasi (self-respect) regardless of the external value given. This acceptance of what they are is developed in the self-transforming Adivasi leadership, through two dynamics. The first, associated with the self that the leadership allows for deploying and expanding; the second, related to identity, that the leadership provides categories linked with significance and respect.

The Adivasis' self-respect ensures their capability; as they rescue, recover what had been lost. That is, the Jesuits helped them to realize what they had already, they gave them value. This process has lead Adivasis to diminish the psychological problem of living with a contemptuous view of themselves; therefore, they are able to interact equally with the Jesuits.

⁸⁵ Central Committee Communist Party of India, 2015. *Over two thousand arrests every year to crush the Maoist movement*. [pdf] Available at: <<http://www.bannedthought.net/India/CPIMIB/MIB-32.pdf>> [Accessed 7 February 2017].

It is the dialectics between the “Adivasi Stigmatization” on the one hand and the “Adivasi Dignity” on the other, that prepares them to have a “Symbiotic Relationship” as a result of this confronting strategy.

For Tajfel (1969), both prejudice and discrimination, consequence of a negative social identity, are not explained considering the individual’s personality or interpersonal phenomena, but from the intergroup relations. Therefore, the groups who perceive the Adivasi identity as negative, make them [Adivasis] see themselves in the same way, which means that they no longer perceive themselves as they are. The reaction to this loss of freedom implies using strategies that deploy the most positive meanings of being Adivasi, favouring a more positive social identity. In this strategy of focusing, they are using the formation of a complementary identity that ends up shaping their double identity.

Therefore, the strategies of Social Mobility for negative identities proposed by Tajfel would explain the Adivasi behaviour within this context. Specifically, the strategies activated are two: *Social Competition* and *Social Creativity*.

Through the strategy of *Social Competition*, the tribal groups incorporate Jesuitical elements into their identity. In this sense, the Adivasis use social competition when empowering themselves through their relationship with the Jesuits in those dimensions in which they were evaluated negatively by the dominant society.

In the same way, we consider that a young identity Adivasi-Jesuit would foster the “self-transforming” leadership oriented to acclaim the adivasi dignity as first dwellers. Backed up by the recognition of this self-concept they would activate the strategy of *Social Creativity*, which would allow them a positive social comparison diminishing their negative identity.

Thus, the Adivasi negative identity turns out to be positive in this comparison frame within the Hindu society due to the collective mobility through the strategy of *Social Competition* and *Social Creativity*.

We propose that the result of these processes of change and identity transformation have brought about the possibility for the Adivasi people of establishing symmetrical relations that we have denominated “Symbiotic Relationships”.

Transformational Asymmetry

Throughout this thesis, we have defended the viewpoint that part of the Adivasi people, in the process of becoming aware of their threatened identity, beyond a passive stance or an option to become hinduised, adopt different strategies of social mobility.

The situation of the Adivasi population in Jharkhand at the beginning of the mission was pathetic: they were oppressed by landlords, by money-lenders, government officials, robbed of their ancestral land, and the British attitude did not contribute to enhancing their situation. Nobody could have managed to help them but the Jesuits, this is due to the way they related the conflicts and the people through -in our opinion- the inculturation process.

In this sense, in the identity encounter between Adivasis and Jesuits we have found based on supporting evidence, a relation of influence that may be explained in terms of the Jesuit process of inculturation.

Based on the results obtained, we can observe how in this inculturation; transactional and transformational interactions are taking place, which could be explained from the theory of Bass and Avolio Transformational Leadership (Bass & Avolio, 1990).

This model defends the so-called Transactional-Transformational paradigm, in which leadership has two different ways of carrying out its purpose: one whereby there is an exchange between the two parts (contingent reinforcement) -transactional relationship-, and another which is composed of a driving force for the development of the community -transformational- (Bass, 1997). It is important to emphasize that discussing transactional relations is to refer to the interactions in which both sides obtain benefits whether material or psychological.

However, in the transformational relation, the agent of influence (individual or group) aware of his/her power, works as a catalyst for the development of the influence domain (in our study, the Jesuits have been the catalysts of the Adivasi people's development in Jharkhand and Gujarat).

To Bass (1985, 1990), Bass and Avolio (1990, 1994) this model would explain the type of leadership that transcends the exchange and results in a change in beliefs, needs and values among the members of the group. As Crawford (1995) points out "a transforming leader acts by stimulating the whole organization so it moves by needs of a superior order".

To sum up the proposal by Hackman and Johnson (1991), we highlight six central characteristics of the transformational leader:

- Creative: manifests a constant challenge to the status quo, looking for new ideas to face the future.
- Interactive: to favour the development of the organization members he/she keeps an open stance with them. The leaders listen attentively and show interest without being involved with their ego. This type of interaction is not negotiable.
- Visionary: he/she is capable of anticipating and having a realistic and interesting vision of the future for the betterment of the group, fostering and sharing it with the rest of the members.
- Empowering: process by which the spiritual, political, socioeconomic strengths are fostered in order to create positive changes. Generally, it means for the empowered group, the development of trust in ones' capacities and actions.
- Passionate: they are as passionate with the people as with the organizational tasks. Their passion allows them to maintain a strong commitment with their vision.
- Ethic: they have higher ethic patterns. It seems they have the capacity to always do the right thing.

To conclude, we would like to remark that the genuine transformational leadership is manifested by the ability to act transactionally or transformationally according to the situation, bearing in mind that the transactional relationship is not placed in a lower position.

Transactional Inculturation

Therefore, incorporating the two dimensions mentioned above we see that in the process of “Transactional Inculturation”, Jesuits and Adivasis maintain exchange relations whereby both sides also benefit. In this sense, the results show a mutual adaptation.

As per the Jesuit identity, some of the benefits obtained have been the visibility of the Society of Jesus, extending their power and status in new territories, such as India. In addition, the encounter has provided them with many lifetime experiences of fulfilment and joy.

Extract from an interview

You cannot approach the Adivasis by pretending to love them and assuming a superior role; instead, you have to learn from them and to receive their love. Only then, will you be as happy as they are, because they are the most important. This is how it works.

The Adivasi identity has benefited from the possibility of becoming part of the Society of Jesus, existing nowadays as a Christian tribal critical mass. In addition, their relation with the Jesuits has had an important consequence in the field of the tribal belief system putting aside certain rituals and sacrifices in the relation with the deities and the emergence of a theological tribal religion.

Transformational Inculturation

On the other hand, the process of “Transformational Inculturation” accounts for the catalyst effects of the Jesuit presence in the development of the Adivasi people of Gujarat and Jharkhand.

Mullick is of the opinion that “identity of the indigenous peoples rests on two vital elements, space and speech” (cited in Kujur 2001, p.16). To our understanding these concepts are related to land and autonomy; land

as a means for their social, cultural, economic and ecological life where the need for autonomy has pushed them several times into political struggles. However, the influence of the Jesuits has contributed to channeling the Adivasi violence from being defensive to non-violent strategies of vindication avoiding conflict from spreading. This is carried out through their deeds, which are driven by a transforming impulse.

A good example of this is the expression “The miracle of Chotanagpur”. Chotanagpur Mission is one of the most successful, almost miraculous mission of the Church (Toppo, 2012).

Extract from an interview

I mean, this is how I see putting myself in the scenario where I belong, and what have been my roots, how far we have travelled; then I'm filled with gratitude and admiration for the Jesuits who have brought us from there to here; impossible otherwise, that is why this mission is called the miracle of Chotanagpur.

It would have been impossible, impossible otherwise, because at that time, since I was doing some studies with the fathers, the early times some of the witness that I get..., our ancestors were not supposed..., to give you an example: there is one *zila* school in the city, the first school in Chotanagpur, even the architecture was done by the British. It was actually established in view of befriending the “hostile tribals”, because the tribals neither they cared to understand and know and learn the language of the outsiders who came here, not did the other party bother, and their language was hardly understood, and nobody bothered to even learn the language. The British only wanted money, to collect and make them collect for themselves.

Kujur (2002, p.164) asserts that “No one has contributed to the progress of the tribals in areas of education, political consciousness, self-dignity, etc., as much as Christianity”, but one should take into account the cultural differences, i.e. “the continuous processes of adjustments and accommodations that paved the way for the prevailing ethos in a tribal-Christian community”.

Therefore, our results show that Jesuits have managed to empower the Adivasis mainly in the following domains:

Considering education, a hallmark in Jesuit's *modus operandi*, the intuition of the pioneers, acting as transformational leaders is much too important to be passed by indifferently without a deeper understanding. Since the very beginning all their mission stations have had a school. Education has been a way for promoting tribal leadership and empowering the Adivasi people.

a) When the missionaries came in with their schools, the tribals began to enter the education system and gradually the process of modernization set in. Modernization brought with it questions of identity and awareness of their exploitation. Bit by bit, the indigenous peoples developed a consciousness of themselves as a tribe. (D'Mello 2000, p.15)

b) Extract from an interview

For me, the most important Jesuit investment for the development of Gujarat has been education. What today is the Adivasi society in south Gujarat is due to the Society's achievements, and of course other congregations during the last 40 years. To have 20-25 secondary schools in the whole south is very impressive. It has raised a number of Gujarati educated people able to move forward in life. Now we have to move on to the following step, the university, so they can have a good quality university education. This stage has already arrived, and now we are implementing education in English.

We would like to emphasize the importance of Christianity, which has a complex role that needs to be approached from different angles. The evangelizing question is beyond the scope of our discussion, but there is no doubt of the evangelizing motivation of the first missionaries. However, if the missionaries would not have realized the main concerns of the tribal people their relationship would have probably resulted differently. In this vein, the main reasons for the tribals to change their religion are “the condition of the people, the attitude of the landlords and the attitude of the missionaries (sympathetic listeners)” (De Sa 1975, p.88).

“If the caste system cannot be eradicated (and experience indicate a failure in this area)” (Ramanathan 2007, p.179), we can infer that the converted tribals find in Christianity more than rituals, as they have never had the caste consciousness along with identity change.

Christianity removes the stigma and restores self-esteem through love. Becoming Christians is a psychosocial and religious liberation and places them at the same level in order to interface under symmetrical conditions.

Scholars emphasize the relevance of this subject; for example Ekka explains (2010, p.151) “One of the consequences of the gospel was that the new believers developed a new understanding of reality about themselves and their condition”. To this author, it was “a gift of truth and empowerment” (ibid., p.2) for the indigenous tribal. Not only has Christianity preserved Adivasi identity and culture, but also there is a powerful tribal Christian minority in Jharkhand nowadays.

Another relevant issue is the value of the term “Adivasi” as a tool for empowering and making the Adivasi identity salient. The term Adivasi is a sign of identity, which has found total acceptance among many tribals in India; the meaning of it highlights the self-identification of the common consciousness. The term adivasi “not only has become an important mark of social differentiation and identity assertion but also an important tool of articulation for empowerment” (Xaxa, 1999).

Extract from an interview

In my interaction during the last few years in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, when they realized the richness of this word, they say: “yes”, it gives a sort of body shift, “Yes I am, I am coming to know my history, the richness of my live, my forefathers”, then when we say: “Jai Adivasi” with the left hand like this, is like saying: “We are Adivasis, if we are united, victory is ours”.

All that has been said so far about the two types of inculturation presented include processes of influence between both identities. Nevertheless, a symmetry that places the Jesuit identity as an agent of change of the Adivasi identity can be observed, and that is why we have denominated this category “Transformational Asymmetry”.

Finally, we should point out that no criticism has been made as a result of the empirical research concerning negative aspects on the Jesuit presence in India. This could be due to a bias in the sample, although

some participants have stated agreement and disagreement within the Society as well as self-criticism; there are indeed caste-based discriminations within the church in practice (Kujur, 2012). However, from the literature review we have found critics to missionaries; as for example the missionaries in Gujarat after 1880 “competing to control and subordinate adivasis and win them to their own agendas” (Hardiman 2002, p.2).

Another question is the criticism received by the *Sarna* communities blaming the Church of going against their culture; and at the sociopolitical level the persecution of the Hindu forces (Hindutva) to Christianity in India that also targets the Jesuits. We find another example in Koenraad (cited in Sharan, 2015), a scholar who strongly opposes the essence of Jesuits and questions the presence of the Company of Jesus in India. To him “Francis Xavier’s greatest success, though he didn’t live to see it, was to have the Holy Inquisition brought to Goa”. On the contrary, “Xavier has helped to make of Goa a world-class sociocultural (classless and casteless) melting pot, for people of (quite literally) ‘every race, colour and creed’” (De Mendonça 2007, p.116).

The most general criticism is of a general type against Western dominance in Asia along with Christianity, but this is a different kind of question, which goes beyond our reach.

5.2 Conclusions

In conclusion, the research findings of this study will be summarized below. Our starting point and motivation was to study the interaction between two identities, the members of the Society of Jesus and the indigenous peoples of the Indian subcontinent, and more precisely those within the Gujarat Jesuit Province and Ranchi Jesuit Province. In order to deal with the issues involved in this analysis, we have had to approach these two identities within their own contexts.

Among the literature review on identity and identity formation, our principal focus has been the social psychology approach in which social

identity theory (Tajfel 1981) and self-categorization theory (Turner, 1987) emphasize self-identification with the group, the transformation of individual psychology to collective psychology, and the need for interaction between psychological processes and social reality; social identity is therefore explained through group membership.

As our starting point has been the Jesuits and the indigenous population of India, we have come close to both identities to have a clearer vision of them; mainly who they are and what their situation is in India. According to the literature review and our results, it seems that both identities are consolidated. Concerning the Adivasis, scholars such as sociologists, anthropologists, economists, social scientists, and social workers, are involved in research on their identity, but we have not found a similar study concerning the relationship between these two identities from the social psychology perspective; therefore, our study would be pioneer in this area of knowledge.

Following Tajfel's social identity theory (1981), as far as the social identity of the Adivasi people is concerned, the findings indicate that this identity is negative both in the past and the present times, although it might differ depending on the place and moment of their history. This research has found that for the Adivasis there are two main mobility strategies activated in order to transform the negative social identity into a more positive one. In this sense, we have found that the strategies proposed by Tajfel (*ibid.*) in his theory, namely Social Competition and Social Creativity, are applicable to the Adivasi's response to their situation.

A key finding from this study is the emergence of a new identity that arises as a result of the interaction and the immersion of the Jesuits among the Adivasi population; a twofold identity Adivasi-Jesuit. In this sense, if one compares this double identity formation with the multiple identities perspectives, there is a different factor in the double identity that was found, as it functions as a unique identity.

Among the scholars' notions of identity, a theme that is often debated nowadays, is that people do not have one but multiple identities (Gottschalk, 2000). Considering the social-constructivist approach to identity, Cerulo "rejects any category that sets forward essential or core features as the unique property of a collective's members" (cited in Rehman 2007, p.39). If we consider that the self has social statuses attached to identities, the selves take on different identities. To Stets and Burke (cited in Cinoğlu & Arıkan 2012, p.1116):

.... identity is not a set, concrete entity, on the contrary, it is very flexible and it can change according to the environment, context, and expectations from the counterpart, whether it may be the society, a group, or other identities just like itself.

Our finding shows the image of a people who realizing the threat to their identity, try to find the way to "rescue" it (Spears, 2001); and in order to achieve it as it proposes the *Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Effects (SIDE)*, do it in a motivated and conscious way, through the strategic dimension of their identity (Peris & Agut, 2007).

Moreover, the influence relations between both groups show the encounter between the charismatic leadership of the Jesuits (Conger, 1991) and a self-transforming leadership of the Adivasis.

Similarly, we understand that after the "revival of the Adivasi dignity", there would be the over identification with the ingroup, as Schmitt and Branscombe report (cited in Smith et al., 2010), as a response to reduce the negative effects of the stigma, allowing them to establish symmetrical relations with the Jesuits -Symbiotic Relationship-.

It should also be noted that the Jesuits pay important attention to the fact that the Adivasis are conscious of the correlation between their negative identity and the plundering of their resources for subsistence. In this way, by making the negative social identity salient, it then becomes more motivationally attractive, and through the transactional/transformational relationship, (Bass, 1985, 1990; Bass & Avolio, 1990, 1994), the Jesuits have been empowering them in the

different spheres of human development so they may be perceived by the rest of the Indian identities as a more positive identity.

That is to say, in the encounter between the Jesuit and Adivasi identities, a “Transformational Asymmetry” occurs, which through the inculturation process (Jesuit *modus operandi*), manifests in two dimensions: on the one hand, there are “Transactional Inculturation” processes in which both relate symmetrically obtaining mutual benefits; and on the other hand “Transformational Inculturation” processes in which the Jesuitical strength play a catalytic role in the transformation of the Adivasi identity.

Let us now consider a few lines written by Diaz Gárriz (2006, p.225) about the missionary effort that is worthy of being taken into consideration. He clearly narrates the why and how of the Spanish Jesuit presence in India in the state of Gujarat, and sees the imminent demise of the presence of foreign Jesuits in India in the next ten or twenty years. "Foreign Mission has become a local church with its own clergy, their own culture, their own vitality".⁸⁶

The Society is becoming local in India. Precisely in Jharkhand, this local population is of the Adivasi origin while in Gujarat the number of Adivasi Jesuits is likely to improve. The interaction has provided the local Church with a tribal critical mass with a double identity capable of working in many fields, but above all to be the voice and representation of the Society and the Adivasis in India.

To answer the research question that has guided this study, there is no doubt that the encounter between the Jesuits and the tribal culture has created a new community, the Adivasi-Jesuit community, and what is more, the Church of Jharkhand or better said the Tribal Church of Jharkhand, Jharkhandies being mainly tribals in their homeland. However, the Adivasi-Jesuit presence in Gujarat is scarce, yet the hinduisation process continues with the strength provided by the defence of Hindu values by the non-tribal population. Therefore, this

⁸⁶ Translated from Spanish by the author.

investigation shows that the Adivasi people will continue their empowerment guided by the double identity which is taking over to move forward in a more complex identity crystallization that allows them to be the driving force of their own destiny.

5.3 Limitations of the study and future lines of research

Finally, some limitations and future lines of research should be noted and discussed.

First, there are no theories that relate the Adivasi *Sarna* community and their interaction with the members of the Company of Jesus; also, there is no representation of these communities in the sampling. The sample shows that Christian bias is a concern yet the majority of the informants are Christians (whether Catholics or non-Catholics).

In the Adivasi sociological panorama, it has become clear how they remain somehow divided into sub-identities, the most relevant for us being the Christian's and the *Sarna's*. These sub-identities have had their own consequences as far as the binomial division and union among them is concerned.

It must be noted that our results do not deal with the *Sarna* community, although data provide evidence of the existence of Adivasis following their traditional faith, as well as Adivasis going through the process of Hinduisation under the social influence of the Hindu society. In this process of normative influence under the pressure of the Hindu majority, the tribal minority changes in order to be integrated with them.

But beyond the hinduised communities; between Christian faith and tribal culture there has been a different interaction. "The *sarna* community accused the Church of a conspiracy against the tribal religion" (Ekka 2010, p.142) and created division among tribal people based on the missionaries' policies; such is their feeling of dissatisfaction, anger, frustration, and discrimination.

As complementary research, in order to overcome such limitations, future investigations among the Adivasi *Sarna* population would be very interesting, in order to comprehend the *Sarna* perspective of their social reality in relation to the Jesuits' policies and behaviours as well as the Christian Adivasis'.

Second, there is an intellectual bias when considering the sample, as the majority of the people interviewed were able to communicate and express their perception of reality, the main social problems and concerns, and were capable of different types of analysis. This does not mean that we have not made use of some complementary techniques among other groups (such as children and rural illiterate women), and the results have also been interesting and taken into consideration for this thesis. However, we consider this as another future line of research.

Third, a general lack of priority for gender issues as far as the Adivasi population is concerned has been found. The Jesuit Conference of South Asia (JCSA)⁸⁷ has not been focused on this that much although at the highest level in the JCSA, different things are being done through the Secretariat for Jesuit Social Action (JESA)⁸⁸ and the Indian Social Institute.⁸⁹ However, we should add at this point how the first Adivasi women congregation was possible due to the strong support of the first missionaries.

Extract from an interview

The early Belgian Jesuits were remarkably open and so they allowed those young girls to start the religious family, the Daughters of St. Anne. It is very remarkable the very fact that they started that in 1897 or something like this; that means 20 years after father Lievens had started his mission work.

⁸⁷ Jesuit Conference of South Asia. [online]. (8 February 2017) Available at: <<http://www.jcsaweb.org/>> [Accessed 20 November 2016].

⁸⁸ Jesuit Conference of South Asia. *Secretariat for Jesuit Social Action (JESA)*. [online] Available at: <<http://www.jcsaweb.org/social-action-jesa>> [Accessed 20 November 2016].

⁸⁹ Wikipedia. *Indian Social Institute*. [online] Available at: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Social_Institute> Accessed 3 September 2013].

So early they allowed those girls, and when you see now these girls, I mean, they didn't have the qualifications of the European sisters, but when they saw that they were good they said: so why the boys cannot become priests?

Nowadays, there are many religious women communities working with the Jesuits, as well as lay women's organizations dealing with the Adivasi struggles, some of them are Jesuit-inspired organizations.

To conclude, we are conscious that this thesis has not apprehend all the complexity of the intergroup relations between the Jesuits and the Adivasis. However, the results obtained leave a door open to the necessity to continue studying in India and other contexts, the transformational and development processes which emerge from the encounter between solid and vulnerable identities.

Therefore, in these times where the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals advocate overcoming power relations between the North and the South, the rich and the poor, in the interest of a global citizenship, there is the need to leave spaces for the emergency of transforming relations among identities.

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Annexes

Annex 1

Extracts from interviews conducted in Gujarat state

(Non-Adivasi Jesuit from India)

29 July 2015

So they were not feeling happy about the fact of being Adivasis, “We are nothing, we are despised, we are downtrodden”, this type of things; and the message from the outsiders was: “You are this and that, you can’t do this, you can’t do that, you are all idiots, you won’t learn anything, you can’t, you can’t”. Then again it was purposely done by political authorities, religious authorities, and so on. If these people get into education and jobs, where would the others go? so give them these messages: “The only thing you can do is come and work in our land, the only thing you can do is manual work, you are good at sweeping; so become labourers”, so it was very well done, “You are good for nothing”. That time there was a good high school run by Protestants, but they [Adivasis] were not interested, because “What to do? Why go the school?” After education, what to do? Nothing”.

So all these things made me think: “Why am I here for? As a priest would it really make any sense giving the message of Christ?” You know. Just going to the villages celebrating mass. “Should I think something differently?” I was going around, you meet different people, many suspicions, some insult you, some think you are there to convert them, shamelessly I used to go, I always go with one of the elders, so he introduced me to the people.

We started in Gujarat. Of course, you know these things take time, each state has its own peculiarities. In Jharkhand they would feel more at home saying *Johar*. In my interaction during the last few years in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, when they realized the richness of this word, they say: “yes”, it gives a sort of body shift, “Yes I am, I am coming to know my history, the richness of my life, my forefathers”, then when we say: “Jai Adivasi” with the left hand like this, is like saying: “We are Adivasis, if we are united, victory is ours”.

Caste is more based on the Hindu system, this “tribal” does not imply anything very special, but the term Adivasi itself implies they are the original inhabitants of India, so it is a very emotionally loaded word, it gives certain identity, that “I am an Adivasi, one of the earlier settlers”; when you say tribal, tribal, ok, poor tribals, what does it mean? Also in the Bible there were twelve tribes.

In the beginning, it was difficult, because people were saying: “You keep us bread to it”.

I said: “Very good, I don’t need to give you bread because in the government systems there are many ways in which you can get your bread, you can get your water, electricity, road, your facilities, I don’t need to give you any money. I will support you, that I will do; so slowly they got interested”.

Then I thought of training advocates, lawyers from their own communities. So when I used to talk to the parents:

- Why don’t you send your son to do law?
- Law? It is not for us, this is for high cast people, my daughter cannot.

Now when they see their daughters or sons seating at home and functioning, people from far come to get her/his advice, they feel recognized, so I encouraged them. Then we selected 50-55 and finally we trained 43 lawyers, out of whom more than 60% are women and all Adivasi, except one woman, one Dalit, the rest Adivasis.

(Adivasi-Jesuit from the Vasava tribe)
11 October 2014

I feel there is meaning in tribal religion. Earlier I had the idea when talking of religion that trees, thunderstorm, and stone had life in them; now I have removed that, there is no life in trees, storms and stones. I go beyond nature. For many tribals religion comes from whatever is beyond their capacity, even they worship a tiger, because he is powerful, it is beyond their control, it is the god tiger. In the mass I try to inculturate, so people feel “this is ours”, not a religion coming from abroad.

(Adivasi woman from the Dungri Garasia tribe)
4 August 2015

What happens is that to Adivasis they say [the non-Adivasis]: “You people are like this”; they do not consider us according to their status, to us, to Adivasis. Ok, poverty is in all the district, but maybe we are more poor than them, but we have lands, our own animals, but when we are in need of some money, that it is not there, so in that way Adivasis are not much educated; they work in somebody’s field, or you go and do any other work like. Then, Adivasi girls..., you can play with them, abuse them, many girls are misused, many of the girls.

We are free in our thinking; you will not think any Adivasi girl or any people they will think badly about us. Many of the societies... their mind is not that broad, they are narrowminded, they say: "oh, these people are like that". Many of us, we are not like that, we think something else, we are grown in nature; even the sisters here when they come in the convent they say: "oh, these girls are like that", to Adivasi girls, "they roam here and there".

(Adivasi woman from the Dungri Garasia tribe)

4 August 2015

All the time with the British and the coming of the colonisation, when you think of a tribe, Adivasis, you think of backward, primitive, and uncivilized people. These are the terms that we use without understanding their culture, which maybe most postmodern in every aspect whether is the position of women, whether is the kind of agricultural practices, whether the kind of land, the common property they have, the way the whole community comes together. I think they are wonderful, I mean they lead a simple live, and there is peace in the community, there is happiness, a sense of satisfaction.

Interview 1 August 2015 (Gujarat)

NAME: J. D./Man

GROUP: Non-Adivasi Jesuit

FIELDS OF WORK: education, development research, human rights, social justice, social activism.

	Codes	Categories	Themes
<p>C: I would like to know why you are exactly now in this place within the Society of Jesus</p> <p>J: When I joined the society of Jesus, my father wanted me to join the Society with qualification. I thought of Jesuits because I was brought up in a Jesuit institute. My father wanted me to join the army and I got admission in the army school, but my mother did not want me to join the army, because army means war and this and that, ok?</p> <p>The principal of the school was a Jesuit and told my father: <i>I don't allow your son to leave the school.</i> My father respected the Jesuits so finally he gave up. And after one year I had an invitation to join the apostolic school, I came from Anand to Loyola hall here and did my studies. I did an engineering course. My father was a technician, my brother was an engineer so I had interest; and then I joined the Society of Jesus. And my idea when I joined the Society of Jesus was really to serve the poor, I did not have much idea but I wanted to help the poor people. Maybe I had seen my parents. When I was young my father and my mother were very helpful to people, so that was the idea. So I joined and I did my philosophy and all the studies that were necessary.</p> <p>C: Did you understand St. Ignatius' spirituality?</p> <p>J: No, I had a background of Christianity. After my ordination, since I was trained technically (there is a technical institute here), they put me there to</p>			

<p>teach because I was the only one qualified and I turned out to be a good teacher of Mathematics and design, and one of my students won the gold medal of the whole state. And he came and told me: “The medal goes to you because this subject is so tough and you made it easy”. It is for that particular subject and he scored highest in the subject I was teaching. I was very happy so I taught for 5 years.</p> <p>I was tired of teaching because in the evening I used to go to the villages to say mass; during the day teach, in the evening go to say mass. I realized there was a lot of poverty in the villages. Then I went for my tertianship. In the tertianship I began to think: “I want to change my line”; teaching is fine and I am a good teacher but I want to be engaged in social field, and I want to work for the tribals.</p> <p>Then my tertianship master said: “Don’t make decision now, think over it, go back to your field, start working and after six months see whether you are still called”. After six months I felt: “Yes I still feel the call”.</p> <p>C: But why tribals? Because there are many groups of people who need to be helped in India.</p> <p>J: Because tribals in Indian context are the poorest, even below Dalits. Dalits suffer from discrimination but tribals are economically and educationally very backward compared to Dalits, so then I wanted to work with the tribals. Then I talked to the provincial, and he said: “I am open, but knowing you, you will have difficulties with the bishop”.</p> <p>C: Because of your personality?</p> <p>J: My personality and my ideas. I did not believe in conversion. I thought conversion was wrong. Converting anyone to someone else spirit was not. . . I thought that is not Christ like. Christ was a Jew and he died being a Jew. To me, the values, the approach of Jesus was very important, the love, the compassion for justice.</p>			
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<p>For me life of Christ is important and I find it very inspiring but people are what they are, they are ok the way they are, they don't have to become Christians. So the provincial knew me and he told me: "You will have a lot of difficulty with the bishop, but if you want to go, I have no problem". So I was thinking and reflecting, "Should I get into conflict?" Still I wanted to go. Meanwhile in this place there was a Jesuit called J.M.H.; they had a conflict in 1916 and five of the Dalits were shot.</p> <p>C: By whom?</p> <p>J: By the Rajputs, and there was a crisis here of leadership. He wrote a letter to me. He said: "I would be very happy if you come and join us". One of the persons came here and spoke to me. Then, I want to go to tribal area, and this man comes and talk to me.</p> <p>C: Important turning point.</p> <p>J: Yes. Then I said to J.M.H: "I do not like just doing things. I want reflexion, intellectual work also, I need a combination of both". He said: "That's the right place, you come and we will see".</p> <p>C: This place where we are?</p> <p>J: Yes, it is good place for intellectual reflection, study and what we do is an outcome of the practice. I did not have any social background, no social qualification; my qualification was in engineering subject. He told me: "Don't worry", because when I was there I was attending one office training programme. He had seen me that I was one of the very articulate. "I have seen that your perspective is very good, you can come and develop"; so then I came here in 87 or something.</p> <p>When I came here I began to learn things. Then he told me: "Your first task here as a Jesuit, are you willing to be humble?" Things are not very good here, in this place, some of them might not even like us, they are reluctant to the Jesuits, "Who are these Jesuits? They come here and so and so".</p>			
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<p>I said I could try; I didn't know but I could try, so I began to stay in the villages, and the person who had come to invite, one of the lay persons here that invited me, he was not very pleasant to talk to me, he told certain things: "Don't think you are coming as a boss and this and that" so I was kind of listening to that.</p> <p>So I would spend weeks and weeks and weeks in the villages; J.M.H. told me: "It is good that you as a Jesuit set an example", so it was a conflict area, he placed me there where the killing took place, very conflicting area and he told me to go there.</p> <p>I have a lot of resilience, and physically I was very tough, I could take life with no difficulty, food no problem, where you put me to sleep, no difficulty, no toilet, no bathroom, nothing, so I remained, and that was a good formation for me. I began very sharp in observing the village and then I would come and report to this lay person and to J.M.H., and he helped me. Then I realized that he would take cognition of my perspective, to value my perspective.</p> <p>Meanwhile he said "You have a sense for capacity building, then why you don't have a good academic training in this?" I went to attend some training with Tony de Mello and he is very good. I had the privilege to see how they train in NLP. I was sent to ISFABS (Indian Society for Applied Behavioural Sciences), so I joined and somehow I also got the clear message that: "You are good".</p> <p>In 1904 I had my master's degree, but my interest was at the grassroots level, so I continued to work here. By then I was quite confident to do this, but "If you have a Ph.D. you will have more credibility in what you are saying".</p> <p>C: What was your main concern in your Ph.D.?</p> <p>J: My main concern was... I realized that NGOs did work but do not think, they do not analyse, they don't look at the culture of the organisation, because there is discrimination, caste system, etc.</p> <p>C: Are you talking of Indian NGOs?</p>			
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<p>J: Indian NGOs. In England I studied the British charity and I managed to do my Ph.D. here, both doctorate and work, because I know the area. There was no guide, because my subject was... I was looking at the NGO culture. One person agreed to guide me but after one year he died.</p> <p>In 2003 the provincial called me to Delhi, I was in ISI (Indian Social Institute) the head of the Dalit Department, then I went to Afghanistan in 2008 and then my provincial told me to come back to this place.</p> <p>C: Is this the place where you want to be?</p> <p>J: I am happy to be here. I'm happy to be in any place where there is a combination of intellectual work and action.</p> <p>C: Do I have to understand that Jesuits and NGOs are very much different in handling poverty and development projects?</p> <p>J: I agree with your view at least from this province, I don't know others. Gujarat is one of province where... because of the Jesuits social activists here the provincial has understood that this is a very important field and it has to be integrated in all the other fields. I personally, this centre in Gujarat has taken a leading role in fight against caste. You ask the provincials and they will tell you: "Yes, HDRC has taken a leading role", and no provincial has told us to stop it.</p> <p>Recently we had the secret police coming to our district from the Home Ministry, and reasons? Everybody knows why, the provincial and all, because this group is doing this, and no Jesuits has come so far to tell me: "Don't do this".</p> <p>C: Really?</p> <p>J: If you are within the spirit of Ignatius there is no way no one is going to say no to you.</p> <p>C: And obedience, doesn't interfere?</p>			
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<p>J: So far, it has not interfered in my case. People know my view and know that I don't go for conversion. In my villages people didn't even know that I am a priest.</p> <p>In one place there was a priest, a Jesuit who was coming to the same village where I was working. He would go with the caste people and say mass. So one of the Dalit groups I was working with said: "Do you know him? He is a Christian priest. He is working with them". He didn't know he was my companion. That was funny. So I never told anyone, there is no need for me to say that I am a priest.</p> <p>C: But they will it know because you celebrate the Eucharist.</p> <p>J: No, I don't. In the villages I don't celebrate Eucharist.</p> <p>C: So then I suppose you understand very well the Indian society, the caste system and the tribals. What about them?</p> <p>J: Yes, I would say quite well.</p> <p>C: How was your first meeting? How was your experience when you first met them?</p> <p>J: My first meeting with the tribals is from the south Gujarat, and when I was doing my studies at the noviciate I had tribal novices with me, so they are no different.</p> <p>C: Did they have problems with the non-tribals?</p> <p>J: No, no, it's a matter of how you look at it. I thank my parents more than the Society of Jesus, I thank my parents for that because they have an open mind. My father, if he had heard that I discriminate... Hindu, Muslim, everyone equal and respect for all, he realized I am a hot tempered, he said: "No problem in arguing with the priests but with respect".</p> <p>So that is my kind of short history, and now I am here mainly in the capacity to be the director of this place. I told: "I don't want to be a director, let a lay person to be the director. We believe in collaboration, so let a lay person be</p>			
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<p>the director”. So, immediately the provincial agreed and we had a process and had a director.</p> <p>C: Do you formulate development projects on education, agriculture, health care...?</p> <p>J: We do, we do, Yes, but health care we are not engaged, we are more in human rights orientation, so we have child right to education, helping the adults, the villagers to be more conscious of their rights and children’s rights. Again, is within the government, because you train the people: “This school is yours, you should be in the committee, you should be demanding. Why this school is not running properly? Why the teachers are not coming?” So you see? We always get in confrontation. Here now we are starting in the city also, right to shelter, you have equal right like other people, so “Why they are throwing us away?</p> <p>We are 24 hours there (in the villages, in the projects) and stay there the whole life, while NGOs have a centre here, they will go there for one day and come back to the centre. The missionaries in the village live there, so my hands up to them. They need to be critical of ourselves but we also realize there are things that we do that other people find very difficult to do.</p> <p>C: Please, tell me about your work with the Adivasis. Tell me how you call them: adivasis, tribals or indigenous peoples?</p> <p>J: We don’t use indigenous peoples because the government does not recognize it for political reasons, you know that; so we call them Adivasis or tribals.</p> <p>C: Could you tell me the main results or changes you have seen so far?</p> <p>J: Let me tell you what we have done. This centre began to work with Dalits first, then slowly we moved to work with Dalits and other OBC, do you know OBC? Other Backward castes.</p> <p>C: Who are they? If they are neither Dalits nor tribals...</p>			
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<p>J: They are in the caste system but in the pyramidal caste they are the last, the bottom of the caste system. The Dalits are out of the caste, OBD are the bottom of the pyramid.</p> <p>We had a director who was here who knew animal husbandry, so there was agriculture programme, animal husbandry, and we had experts in evaluation and assessment, so we were called to south Gujarat, in the tribal area, to train people, to train in management, so we had relation with them. Then we had training programs, lots of training programmes, we had students coming, then we started the classes here of development, we always insisted that it should be a mixed class of Dalits, of tribals and other social category.</p> <p>However, I know, because I have travelled much in South Gujarat, Dangs and Baruch, etc. I knew that their culture is different from ours but I began to realize and read that they had nothing, they are quite backward in literacy, there are no schools there, no education there, it's the Jesuits who took the trouble in providing schools and education, it is the sisters who began to take health care. The Jesuits called the sisters for dispensaries.</p> <p>C: Jesuits and sisters cooperate in many places, don't they?</p> <p>J: Yes, because for women is better if woman to woman talking instead of a woman to man takes place, they open up much more. There you have a large section of people coming in, so animal husbandry, milk cooperative began, good schools coming up. So this all began by Jesuits and then we began to take more study of the state, Gujarat state, which districts are very poor, etc.; and we realized that Dangs is a very poor state, and then we have Sabarkantha and Banaskhanta. Sabarkantha now has been divided in two: Sabarkantha North and Aravalli district.</p> <p>We realized in the census data it says these districts are very poor, so we began to say: "Let's go and work there", so we began, and it is predominantly tribal area; there are Dalits but predominantly tribal area, and they are very poor, education is non-existent. We realized that we don't want to be implementers,</p>			
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<p>we want to move towards awareness building, and creating that kind of training among people, so people began to realize about their right.</p> <p>C: You said before that you don't mention Christianity, but what about their own identity, the social identify?</p> <p>J: We encourage it and we have people who are from that community, they are tribals themselves. We began quite early, almost 20, 50 years back; in local language <i>asmita</i> means my self-image. "Who am I?", then we would begin with that question. Then they would say they are tribals. Ok, "This is your understanding of yourself, how do the outsiders look at you?" Then they would say how the outsiders look at them and their understanding of themselves, and then we say: "Ok, let's begin to compare, what they say is true or not?" Then they would say: "True, not true...", "But be logical, so what is true?" we asked. "That we are not literate". "Ok, that is true".</p> <p>C: And how is communication?</p> <p>J: I cannot speak their language but I use simple language, no sophisticated, simple Gujarati. I will draw a picture, I am very used to graphic and our staff has learnt to do that.</p> <p>"OK, so you are not literate, you don't know read and write, it's true. Have you thought of why? Why is that they are telling you this?", this sort of reasoning.</p> <p>"The people who say to you that you are not literate, they are the ones controlling the school, and are they allowing you to come to the school? No, so, do you realize the game they play? Do you realize the farce, the politics?"</p> <p>C: So if you don't open their eyes, they cannot do it themselves.</p> <p>J: You have to help. Some of them are sharp. You see? What helped us here was Pablo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed. How do you help people to move from the naïve consciousness to critical consciousness?</p> <p>C: But people don't want to know, they are afraid sometimes.</p>			
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<p>J: Yes, fear of freedom, freedom is very hard for all of us. We help to move in that direction, and we help to be logic. We tell them: “At the moment keep aside emotion, think, emotions are important but don’t get emotional charged at the moment”.</p> <p>C: But sometimes it is them looking for you Jesuits, asking for help and education, so they are aware somehow of their needs.</p> <p>J: They are aware and now there are things we can do more effectively with their help and their cooperation.</p> <p>C: Did you know that some Belgian Jesuits did not allow Adivasis to enrol in scientific subjects because they questioned their intellectual capacity? Is that true?</p> <p>J: Yes, yes, even in this province in this college. Pedro Arrupe said in 1972 General Congregation, I was just a novice: “Preferential option for the poor in all ministries of the Jesuits”, no matter what you do, you have to give preference for the poor, the marginalised.</p> <p>But some Jesuits say: “No, you have to have clever people to learn and this clever people will come to power and give..., we have to teach the clever”. Sorry for my language but this is bullshits, this is the British mentality, calculating. So there was a big class between some of the Jesuits.</p> <p>C: Also the income, because do Adivasis pay?</p> <p>J: They cannot. But now things are much better. There was a kind of split among the Jesuits at various levels. Some Jesuits who believed “Our primary vocation is preach the word of God”.</p> <p>C: Still now?</p> <p>J: Still now, other says: “No, our primary charism of Society of Jesus is to work for the kingdom of God”. And therefore, it doesn’t matter. Second thing, we cannot segregate; this is pastoral ministry, this is education... no, no, no, option for the poor. Slowly, slowly, things have changed. We keep and push, so in many of our schools you will have lots of tribals, lots of Dalits</p>			
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<p>coming into the college. This centre, I am the only Jesuit here, the rest are lay people, tribal, Muslims.</p> <p>C: And have you seen that tribals are reaching jobs that before were unthinkable?</p> <p>J: I think so, I would not take credit only by Jesuits, credit goes to them also, and credit goes to other people. I would say: “Yes, Jesuits have worked, we have provided the inputs, I don’t deny, but we cannot say it is only us”. People have made their efforts, so they are at government jobs, we have given them education, some of them are grateful today because the Jesuits have gone there, they are doctors, they are lawyers, they are in forest department. I can give examples of women who come here and have done very well. But to me if you compare the whole lot, they are 14% of people Gujarat’s population, they are still a large population which is very poor.</p> <p>C: Could you tell anything that surprised you in your relation with the Adivasis?</p> <p>J: It is a kind of happiness that more and more tribals begin to see and feel this country is their country, when I see that I feel very happy, it brings joy and happiness to me. And now they say it, they feel it, otherwise they have always felt like outsiders, always given the impression that: “You are of the forest, you are of the mountains”, so when they articulate that they have the right and the development...</p> <p>And these words used but the Hindu fundamentalist to refer to the tribals like <i>vanvasi</i>, and if you use that word that means that they are reduced to the forest. Now we have a tribal professor in the college and another lady also. I feel very happy.</p> <p>C: And one of the worst experiences you had?</p> <p>J: The worst experience is the Narmada dam; people sometime don’t realize that they are being deprived, still there is no water in some of those villages, and the water goes to Sabarmati river; and now this bloody government wants</p>			
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<p>to build a statue of Sardar Patel, and they are collecting money and it goes to Sabarmati river. And I feel sad because it is difficult to mobilise tribals now because this government has polarized, because they have given them the message: “Forget about Adivasis, you are Hindus”.</p> <p>C: And do they believe that?</p> <p>J: Upward mobility.</p> <p>C: And they feel they have more prestige.</p> <p>J: More prestige, more status. They don’t realize.</p> <p>C: And as a consequence of that, what are your main worries?</p> <p>J: My main worries are... if this kind of governments, if this kind of political parties become stronger, the right wing party, this kind of fascist state; then the chances for the poor to assert themselves are becoming narrow.</p> <p>So upward mobility will be continuing, the poor tribals will be marginalised more, the other tribals may feel quite ok, they won’t realize that “Our sisters and brothers...” this is number one. Number two, the poor will be marginalized not only in terms of dignity and self, but also economically, because the government will keep on claiming land, because development wants to have land, and it gives to private sectors more and more, so before realizing the land will go. We are fighting for forest rights; do you understand forest rights?</p> <p>J: We have put 1.7 nearly 0.2 million cases, that the tribals should get land because they are cultivating for a long time. The government is reluctant to give this land, so many tribals will lose their land. So the health and the education is becoming more and more privatized in India, and therefore government does not pay attention to primary schools at local level, village level, and does not pay attention to public health centres, and who are there in these rural villages? The Dalits and the tribals.</p> <p>C: Also the tribal culture will be destroyed, don’t you think?</p>			
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<p>J: My concept of culture is different. My point of culture is that today we are eating with our hands, tomorrow with fork and knife. That's ok, I have no problem, you speak English today, that's ok; but your values and your dignity, you take care of the nature and now you destroy, I have a problem with that, I have a problem with the habit to say this is bad and eat in a plastic bag and say it is good. I have a problem with that, culture in relation to your self-dignity, your relation with your fellows.</p> <p>C: But culture in terms of the relation with nature, how is it? How do Adivasis adjust to the cities?</p> <p>J: Cities also ban them. To give you an example; they don't need churches and temples to worship God, for them the nature is there. So if they live in the cities, they begin to go to the temple, no need, you have a tree in the compound, that's enough.</p> <p>So I begin to think from there. You realize that when you are there your source of water was clean, all your waste was degradable waste, and you also begin to be part of this waste that cities produce, plastic, this and that. So I am saying: "We need to learn from the tribals, can we learn? Let's learn from the tribals". To me, they don't have waste, so to me we have, India is such a multicultural group. Let's learn about other people. India is quite complex, and to me modern, politically it has become divisive.</p> <p>C: Ram Dayal Munda talk about <i>Adidharam</i>, a religion for all tribals.</p> <p>J: <i>Adi</i> is from the beginning, <i>dharam</i> is duty, is your responsibility, so we are talking of human nature.</p> <p>C: And, how do the Adivasis express their inner conflicts, their sufferings, their feelings? I have heard about the Pentecostals converting them and how they shout and hurt themselves, scream and so on, maybe is a kind of relief; or is it part of their nature?</p> <p>J: Not easily. The tribals will talk among themselves but not easily.</p> <p>C: Have you heard about the Adivasis when you were a child?</p>			
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Rescuing the Identity of the Adivasis from their Invisibility.
The Encounter between Jesuits and the Indigenous Peoples of India

<p>J: Not so much, I haven't heard much about Adivasis, although in the school, Jesuit school, in my class there were Adivasi boys because there was a hostel.</p> <p>C: And what was your perception at that time?</p> <p>I realized they were from Adivasi area and those boys very good in athletics, football players, god runners... they were the pride to the school, even now if you go to the college, or to Nana Kantharia the girls of ten and nine standards have a state award and national award.</p>			
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Annex 2

Extracts from interviews conducted in Jharkhand state

(Non-Adivasi Jesuit from Belgium)

16 August 2015

I want to feed the hungry, meaning the lay people, so I concentrate on lay people in the sense of contacting those who are already leaders, or those who have the inclination for leadership, either in their villages, or in the hospital, or in the school, or in the parish.

I came in 1967, I was the last one, the last of 529 Belgians who has come; during more or less a period of 100 years, almost 5 at an average every year, young people, which is tremendous.

The community is important for the Adivasis; communitarian, the community is first, the community has to survive, not the individual; so the individual growth, the individual asserting oneself, the individual coming forward, that mostly is not appreciated.

Their silence means many years of suffering: to your husband when you get beaten, to your neighbour, not to tell your neighbour that your husband is beating you, to your children, not to tell your children that... this miscommunications, this misunderstanding, a lot of fear, this witchcraft...

The church here has done tremendous work; father Lievens, you know that. He said "I will give you freedom", freedom from outside by giving back their lands, freedom from inside by taking away your fear, fear of the evil spirits. He said "I will give you the spirit in whom you can trust", freedom from without and freedom from within, and that has gone a lot deep already, and in that way I think the Adivasis here have grown more than the Adivasis in Gujarat.

(Adivasi man from the Munda tribe)

17 August 2015

And this is the contribution of the Jesuits in fact. I have studied in their schools, under their supervision, and one thing I can tell you: these fathers, Catholic fathers but especially the Jesuits, they give for the people, everything to the people, giving in the sense of their lives. When I was in the hostel, very small age I was, the prefect was there always ready to help the students. There are very well known schools, St. Ignatius School is there, St. Mary's, you maybe know some of these schools. They are committed to help out the children, so

that's the way I can come up this level, so I can speak fairly well English, I think you can understand me, my mother tongue is Mundari, so this is the result of the Jesuit fathers' studies throughout right from the schooling to the college. I have studied in their colleges and schools.

Jesuit priests are more reliable, in my opinion, I trust them more. Other priests are also very good priests, they work for others, but they have a reservation, reservation in the sense I find Jesuits are 100% for me, the time point view, and I think they are more student oriented.

(Adivasi woman from the Oraon tribe)

18 August 2015

I was working in slum areas and with domestic workers, I was the first one, and those days on Saturdays and Sundays, I was going to look after these domestic workers. They would come to ISI because our convent was a little far, maybe 10 kms, so I was coming, so at that time I was new and I didn't know. By seeing so many girls in the church, so much taken up, so simply I started, and there were so many girls, so many in those days.

It was impossible to talk to all of them, but those who were elderly a bit; I wanted to know how they came, what was the condition when they came and all of that. Many of them said because of poverty, "I wanted to earn a little more money". Really, it was so pathetic, so pathetic, because where they were working they were beaten, abused and all these things. Now our sisters are taking care, and then they come to ISI and we started the programme in Delhi.

(Adivasi woman from the Kharia tribe)

18 August 2015

Adivasi means those who are giving the right from the beginning of the real inhabitants of the place. Tribal, ok, but then we prefer to be called Adivasis, more self-identification. Then, when I was in Delhi, father S.B. used to correct me all the time when I was writing the word tribal, he used to write Adivasi.

(Adivasi Jesuit from the Kharia tribe)

28 July 2015

Naxalism is a result of the system we are in, where tribals, the poor people and others are neglected, so if we talk of Naxalism, to resolve the issue is not finishing them off, gunning them down. You need to understand this problem deeply and must go deep into the roots, what are the reasons of these groups coming up and becoming stronger and threatening. Today in the newspaper was given, yesterday one of the ssp (senior superintendent of police) was wounded in the encounter and one tribal was killed, one more companion has been admitted in the hospital. Today's newspaper reports what I'm saying.

I think government and all will have to rethink in terms of resolving the problem. Probably dialogue could be one, but basically we are thinking in terms of development; when the state starts talking about development, then things will be different.

(Adivasi man from the Oraon tribe)

22 August 2015

If missionaries would not have come, I don't think what I am now I would have been, because no doubt they have done lots of work in health and education, but it is lacking in terms of leadership development among the adivasis, so now we are mostly focusing on the youth, that is one of the reasons, it is a challenge because like me you will see few people.

I think is because the main problem is to feed your stomach; so many people come from a poor background like me, that's the main reason, so first one has to find a job, and then once they get the job there are many things they cannot do and it is very difficult to take up the challenges.

Culture alienation is a big thing, not only culture but language, everything. In the name of development, you are alienated from the land, forest, resources; once you are alienated from natural resources you are also alienated from culture, language, everything, and you are out. For me is good that I came back and I know my language, I know my culture, otherwise most of the people they adopt other's culture.

And it is not only just job or that; the problem is that the term adivasi has always been portrayed as negative. Adivasis means you are like uneducated, you are backward, uncivilized, devils, and so on. Almost through literature and

other things, the Adivasi society has been portrayed as garbage. When a community is portrayed as garbage, the young people want to run away.

It is also changing to positive because there are many programmes going on. Things are being positive, for example during the last three years we have done a lot of progress; even I could see young people who used to hide their surnames. Now they don't need to hide their surnames, openly they are using in writing and so, also young people are starting learning the language, etc., so it is turning but it will take time.

Interview 24 August 2015 (Jharkhand)

NAME: C. E./Man

GROUP: Adivasi-Jesuit from Oraon tribal group

FIELDS OF WORK: radio broadcaster, editorship, secretary

	Codes	Categories	Themes
<p>C: I will tell you about my research briefly. It is focused on Jesuits in India and their different fields of work and commitment to the tribals, this is the relation between Jesuits and Adivasis, the Adivasi's development and results of the interaction. Please tell me your experience since your childhood, how you met the Jesuits and became one of them; also your main mission within the Society.</p> <p>CE: I was born in a fairly religious and devote family, my three aunties are in religious congregations, one of them expired; and then in the clan also there are a number of sisters and priests, so the family circle, the atmosphere, was like that, and since I came very close to the parish from childhood, I was encouraged to go for daily mass, to be an altar boy; all that kind of things I used to do. Then when the time came, here we have apostolic school, earlier on from IX standard in the school that time... I was coming from a village so I didn't have much knowledge about the world, so I came there for study as a priestly candidate because I was a well-behaved boy.</p> <p>I was the only boy child in the family at that time, three or four sisters were there and then... nonetheless I came and there was no objection, and while I was studying there, it was run by the Jesuits both the school and apostolic school. I was quite impressed by the Jesuits working there, I had no prior contact with Jesuits before I came.</p>			

<p>C: What about your village? Jesuits were not there in the parish?</p> <p>CE: No, the parish was run by the diocesan priests, so only two kind of priests I came to know at that time, I didn't know about the Silesians or whatever other congregations, they were out of my focus; so when I was there I thought of joining the Society, indeed when I was about to go for the noviciate my father was still alive at the time, he asked me to consider as an option whether or not it would be good for me to become a diocesan priest.</p> <p>C: A diocesan priest but not a Jesuit.</p> <p>CE: Not a Jesuit, because diocesan priests can also earn money, they can support themselves or even the family, vow of poverty is not binding on them.</p> <p>C: And formation is not so tough, is that correct?</p> <p>CE: Yes, so since I was the second eldest in the family, my father said: "Your other siblings need education and all, but the time they will come to the high school level I would be retired", he was a teacher there, there would be difficult for us to support them, so even then I said: "Well, I have always been thinking in terms of becoming a Jesuit, not a priest, so if I am going to become a priest, it will be a Jesuit, not a diocesan priest, so if you say now to consider me becoming a clergy I would like to discontinue rather than continue". He did not insist: "I did not mean to say that", he said, "If you want to continue, continue, no problem", so that's how I went to the Society.</p> <p>C: I can see that it was a clear vocation, very clear vocation from the beginning, and it is very different in your case, because many people here knew the Jesuits from their childhood, and in your case is not like that. Do you remember the main things that were shocking to you?</p> <p>CE: When I came to the school, the high school, particularly a couple of Jesuits who made a very deep mark on me; one of them was my director of the apostolic school, a Belgian, he is not more now, very talented person, he knew Hindi just like this, he was very good at that, it is not the language only; the whole approach of him, the way he conducted himself, the way he guided us, since I was a small boy</p>			
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<p>at that time, I was basically a kid, 12 o 13 years of age, but he, he was a well learned person, so he would weigh things very nicely: what the children would like, would need, the things to be taken care of; so that way he believed in giving a push to the young people, so they come out of themselves whatever family background, or tribal background, a little bit of timid background, come out of themselves, to express themselves, so that kind of programs he used to intentionally make.</p> <p>C: What do you mean by “to express themselves?”</p> <p>CE: Because generally tribals are timid, shy, they don’t speak easily, they don’t express themselves easily, they don’t open up themselves easily, this is what we may call collective unconscious which has been like that for centuries.</p> <p>C: Centuries?</p> <p>CE: Yes, it has been engraved within us; that’s why the other day I was mentioning what generation we are... That is very significant, not many people really pay attention to it, but if you see the photographs, some of the very old photographs, very few are now available, it had not strike me at that time, but now when you go through these things, when you see the ancestors, the way they dressed, the way they looked, so reticent, expecting them to interact the way I am interacting, the way people are interacting in general among themselves in a widen society: impossible; so the missionaries have brought us from that stage to this stage.</p> <p>C: I did realize what you meant yesterday, a big celebration for the success of the third generation, such an important examination passed by this generation.</p> <p>CE: Although he is not the only one who has passed, several others have passed, but still is very significant, so on account of that, I mean, this is how I see putting myself in the scenario where I belong, and what have been my roots, how far we have travelled; then I’m filled with gratitude and admiration for the Jesuits who have brought us from there to here; impossible otherwise, that is way this mission is called the miracle of Chotannagpur.</p> <p>C: The miracle of Chotannagpur? I didn’t know that. But Chotannagpur is a natural area, isn’t it?</p>			
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<p>CY: Yes, Chotannagpur is the area where we are, it is an old name now, except us perhaps a few people call it like that, they call it Jharkhand, by the state's name.</p> <p>C: And this mission is called the miracle of Chotannagpur?</p> <p>CE: Yes, it is called the miracle of Chotannagpur precisely for the reasons I explained to you. It would have been impossible, impossible otherwise, because at that time, since I was doing some studies with the fathers, the early times some of the witness that I get... our ancestors were not suppose... to give you an example: there is one <i>zila</i> school in the city, the first school in Chotannagpur, even the architecture is done by the British, it was actually established in view of befriending the hostile tribals, because the tribals neither they cared to understand and know and learn the language of the outsiders who came here, not did the other party bother, and their language was hardly understood, and nobody bothered to even learn the language. The British only wanted money, to collect and make them collect for themselves.</p> <p>So, from that point of view they were interested in language, they wanted the tribals to get educated in this <i>zila</i> school, <i>zila</i> means district, to get them educated so that they may interact with them, and in the villages in different regions where they were deployed, they could collect revenues for them, because they could not go first of all and besides the whole area was impregnable of jungles everywhere and wild animals, plenty of wild animals, and even the missionaries had to brave all these jungles, forests and rivers; so that was the intention. So when you see those pictures and compare, it is not at all difficult for me to imagine that my ancestors would not go to that school, because even if they were there [since it was not a school at all], the district collector's child is also there, police superintendent or police generals' son and daughter are also there; all these people are rich people, so nobody went there, impossible, the experiment fazed a lot, the experiment went on for several years. I don't remember when was the first time a tribal could go there and study. Meanwhile the Jesuits came and before the Jesuits the Protestants came, Anglicans started a school called St. Paul's, the Jesuits started the school St. John's, which is</p>			
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<p>this one, it has been shifted but it was there originally, so these were two schools; for girls not yet, it would take even longer to start. These two schools rather predominantly started for the tribal boys, so more and more students enrolled there. What enrol? It was not enrolling actually; they were hauled from the villages.</p> <p>C: What, sorry?</p> <p>CY: Hauled</p> <p>C: Do you mean picking them up?</p> <p>CE: Exactly, “You have to come to Ranchi and get study” so up to VII standard, some of them, III or IV standard, and then send them back to the village as teachers. Even I was studying for instance up to VI to VII standard in the parish middle school, one or two teachers were educated just like that, just middle school passed, VII standard; since they were there from the beginning. Later on the government got them approval and also the salary accordingly. It would be very difficult to image at that time, that person who has not even cleared VII standard is teaching in that school, but that was that; even the predecessor of this cardinal was a Jesuit archbishop, he had formal education wise, he would speak the way (because of the Jesuits’ training, of course) the way he would carry himself, nobody would never imagine; so such has been the situation in the earlier times. To know our kids passing IES exam, it is a gigantic leap civilization wise, which is the miracle.</p> <p>C: Which concept would you use concerning the work of the Jesuits to help the tribals? Uplifting, raising, awakening, self-consciousness?</p> <p>CY: The expression as you said uplifting the tribals, this concept was not here. I mean, let us do something for them, this approach was never there in the Belgian missionaries who were here, in fact they did the same but the attitude was different; for one thing: their strategy was also bringing people together, mainly father Lievens, and his companions also. He realized that cases after cases they were losing, land cases, the land was being dragged by outsiders (anybody who is not a tribal to them is an outsider).</p>			
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<p>They were to be kept away and also this major problem: language, and nobody bothered to insert themselves among the tribals, even to learn if not the language at least the customs, nobody actually bothered, nobody, so when the missionaries came and began to see this kind of situations over and over again, the tribals losing their lands just like this, they began to think, at least father Lievens in particular, “Let us do something for them, let us liberate them from the landlord and money lenders”; and then started putting those cases to the court, right now I don’t remember the date, but I think it was the same date when St. John’s school was founded, the same year the first land case ever was won thanks to father Lievens in favour of the tribals, and you know? Jubilation everywhere despite the fact that communication in jungles was not what we have today.</p> <p>There were drums and dancing and singing the whole night, then people started thronging to father Lievens, that was the beginning, almost uncontrollable, and at that time they had their own strategy, mission strategy as to which place begin with, begin to cover that area or this area, very few people at that time, just ten to twelve Jesuits, or even five or six.</p> <p>They had to be very meticulous about what they do, they huddled together again and they thought: “It would be much better instead of planning this way or that way, let us respond to the requests that come”, and the requests were coming from the village headmen, the leaders of the <i>Panchayat</i> coming with the requests, that means it has the backing of the whole village, so instead of approaching this family, that family... the group mentality among the tribals is so strong, so it will be much better to respond to them, that so they responded to that, so incidentally the first group to approach is from <i>Barbey</i>, that area is also where I come from, cardinal comes from; the region and that area where I come from is not political area, it is a cultural name, then another group come to Jaspur, they came to father Lievens.</p> <p>They decided to respond to the first request first; that is how father Lievens came to my area, and probably, probably, one of my ancestors was baptized by him. In my village, although it is a big village, not many people have been baptized in</p>			
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<p>Lievens' time, four or five, there are some other villages where there were more people baptized.</p> <p>C: Do you mean nowadays or in Lievens' times?</p> <p>CY: In Lievens' time, as per the documents available; there are some other villages where there were more people baptized, and then with the baptism other things followed, they had to be sustained, they had to be kept together, so the non-baptized tribals may not overpower them, or begin to harass them, these sociological factors; so those things were very well handled by the Belgian missionaries, perhaps much better than in other places, much better also in their strategy, because they understood the tribal mentality of sticking together. It is both positive and negative, no? sticking together but then you don't have your own opinion, this is the hidden side, they read that very nicely and went accordingly, and that is the secret of the success, otherwise they would not have been so successful.</p> <p>C: What do you think is the main reason why this miracle would not have happened if the missionaries had not come? Does it mean that the society here was not capable of finding a way out? meaning that the tribals were harassed by whoever was taking their lands such as Hindus, middle men, zamindaris, etc.</p> <p>CE: Awful that matter even today; when you see the scenario, of course it is very difficult now to convert the non-converted tribals because of this Hindu fundamentalist propaganda machine, which has been in a massive way for years, they have put their own ideology and misconceptions into their heads, so it is very difficult now; nonetheless those of us who have been won by Christ, by the Church... our life style, thanks to education, our living standard in most cases even in remote villages they have a sense of hygiene, which in immediate neighbourhood is not there, so you would be surprised, how can they cannot think that they have to be clean?, they should not believe in this rotten traditions which are very oppressive, they don't think.</p> <p>C: Is this a difference between <i>Sarnas</i> and Christians?</p>			
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<p>CY: Yes, that is even today, and these forces make sure that they stay where they are so that they continue to exploit the way their ancestors used to complain.</p> <p>C: But these forces address mainly to the Sarnas.</p> <p>CE: Yes.</p> <p>C: Because Christians have a different formation and it will be very difficult to reconvert the Christians into Hinduism, do you agree to this?</p> <p>CY: Yes, very unlikely.</p> <p>C: Talking about the message of Christ, your ancestors together with the missionaries must have felt something else.</p> <p>CE: That should be underscored. Indeed, for my ancestors to transit from their ancestral religion to Christianity theoretically it was not a gigantic leap, it was not, because first of all they also believed (whatever they call) in god the father and they addressed him as such in their mother tongue, god the father, and everything good, benevolent is ascribed to him, and whatever wrong, bad, ailment, tragedy or calamities are ascribed to the spirits who are out to pounce on us, because the supreme creator has created us. There was a time he would play with our ancestors as if they were his children and teach everything to them, how to cultivate, etc.; there are stories about that, quite famous stories and well known stories, handed to us from generation to generation, but this link somehow has not been explained. He went out of the seven heaven, God the creator.</p> <p>C: Is it the symbol I have seen in the chapel?</p> <p>CY: Yes, like Jews uneven numbers are also auspicious to us because every uneven number assumes that the unstated number is actually God, articulated God, so that God the father concept is very strong even today among the non-converted Adivasis, that concept is there; in that we have no quarrel, but the quarrel comes in Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ also would not have made such a quarrel had these factors not been actively played by the Hindu fundamentalist.</p> <p>C: I don't quite understand it and I know it is important.</p>			
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<p>CE: God the father has a son who is Jesus Christ, the messiah; this concept may not be acceptable by the non-Christian tribals, not easily, they need to be catechized or educated, but since they have been already won over by the other faction, not only won over but vitiated, also they pick a quarrel with us, they cannot dare pick up quarrel with Hindus or high class, they never do it, and this is also part of the Hindu strategy, to keep us divided.</p> <p>C: Let me see if I understood. The policy of the Hindus is to address the <i>Sarna</i> people and try to reconvert them into Hinduism.</p> <p>CE: To make them believe that they are Hindus, no need of conversion, they have been insisting on and trying to impress upon their minds and many have been won over by them</p> <p>C: But let me say, or let me guess, maybe this is because they want to be like those who are higher than them, they want to emulate, because it takes time to know who one is, just hoping to become one of them; However, this is a tricky thing because they will never become one of them, I mean totally accepted.</p> <p>CY: True.</p> <p>C: I don't know how many generations will be necessary for them to realize that they don't fit in the caste system</p> <p>CE: Yes, even if they are incorporated into that system they will be at the bottom, that is given, but these forces, fundamentalists forces, they will always, what they call it, they blur the distinctions and this is their strategy, the wordings even in Hindi, the wordings they will use are fabulous, are very attractive, ok? now these tribal dances in front of the deities, the Hindu deity, the temple they build temporally, now this tribal dances: absolutely bizarre, no association with it.</p> <p>C: Identity crisis, confusion? As a Jesuit and a tribal, is it part of your mission to make them understand?</p> <p>CY: In fact we have been trying, we can only think of dialogue at the moment, that I think is the only logical approach we can take; first of all educationally in many respects_and financially Christians are a little better off, that's also a factor that</p>			
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<p>creates jealousy, so they are already disgruntled against us for no reasons, and those elements the Hindu fundamentalist elements, they would capitalized this kind of sentiments because their objective is obviously to maintain this rift that exists between the converted Adivasis and non-converted Adivasis, and that is actually a very big problem now, and the way Lievens and the missionaries did is just inapplicable at the moment.</p> <p>C: Do you think that now you [Jesuits] are very capable of tackling it because it is your own history?</p> <p>CE: Well, in pockets we have been successful, so long as these factors don't sense and come and spoil the whole broth. People are simple, tribals are generally simple, where Christians and non-Christians are living there are no problems till the outside elements come and begin to indoctrinate them and who otherwise would not care even to look at them, but the moment the Christians are approaching they will come in no time.</p> <p>C: So you are all the time under observation.</p> <p>CY: Every time, yes, and they have the machinery to put observation on us.</p> <p>C: I was told that this is happening in south Gujarat, not do much in north Gujarat, I think although they are in Christian mission stations they are Hinduised, they attend Catholic mass but at home they are Hindus.</p> <p>CE: Here, Christian majority is tribal, that's way it is also called tribal church. Psychologically, also for us as Jesuits working here is very easy to identify ourselves with the mission, with the people, with the problems, I don't know whether is the same in Gujarat, not many Jesuits come from that region, they are coming from elsewhere.</p> <p>CE: So these reasons for which it is called a miracle, this kind of miracle had been possible elsewhere particularly, where the tribals are in big numbers, but somehow the missionaries' strategy did not go in that direction in Gujarat.</p> <p>C: They did not focus on tribals from the beginning.</p>			
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<p>CY: Yes, so this has been a historical difference, different approaches, also the British colonizers were not unfriendly to the Belgian Jesuits who came here, hospitable they were, and accommodated in fact the first missionaries, accommodated by the British officers.</p> <p>C: You said not very much friendly?</p> <p>CE: No, they were not unfriendly, so the early Jesuits when they arrived they found the British officers, police officers quite friendly, so one of the police officers at that time said (he knew the concerns of the Jesuits, to spread the Gospel), he said: “If you want to win the tribals, win the land cases”, he knew, and that lit the lamp to father Lievens, they took it as strategy.</p> <p>C: Concerning your stay in Rome, how many years have you been?</p> <p>CY: Little more than four years.</p> <p>C: Let’s talk about the Adivasis; I happened to know about Adivasis because I went to visit a Spanish missionary, and he told us how the locals would discourage him from working with tribals, the local people would say that Adivasis are useless.</p> <p>CE: That’s what they told also here. I explained about Adivasis and photographs before.</p> <p>E: I am secretary of C.A. [church authority] at the moment, I do considerable amount of drafting and all that, at the moment he is considering to write a life story, he cannot write himself, I’ll be helping out, it could be an autobiography but spoken which I will record. He mentioned once he was in Delhi for whatever, he was flipping through a tourist guide compiled by some tourist agency on Ranchi and Jharkhand, and then he flipped through and said: “Where is the church here?” We are not even mentioned here. Even now it is also so old, it should have been included in the old memorabilia; they did not mention, everything else is mentioned, so he said, “That is the reason why St. Johns’ medical college project is being enacted here”.</p> <p>C: St. Johns’ medical college?</p>			
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<p>CE: Yes, we have one medical college in Bangalore, quite famous, one of the top, they want to begin another here, we have a lot of land problems, nonetheless the project is there, it has been sanctioned by the government, so that is it, we as insiders as people from here, this things might not strike to us, when he made this observation, right very true “We don’t count here, even today”, for admission they will put pressure, telephones, but when it comes to who we are and our contribution to the larger society and how much they are benefiting from it, individual capacity, etc., these kind of things are non-existent.</p> <p>C: And in Rome, what was your experience when you introduced yourself to many people? Did you feel like saying that you are tribal?</p> <p>CY: Yes, of course. I know there are tribals who feel ashamed, I take pride in it, this is not so. In Rome, also I would mention, for that matter I was historical even in the radio in a sense I was the section in charge, for the first time an Adivasi, a tribal Jesuit becoming the head of the Indian section. I was not 99 to anybody, I was 100 to everybody. I was equal to anybody in capacity, in ability, in proficiency, it was also a big surprise for the colleagues there, everybody there, because the tribals going there for studies, philosophy. I began to read, write, say things, it was so different, in fact my own colleagues, because I was also making programmes there, we had four languages, Hindi, Tamil, Malayalam and English. Initially I began in English but I switched over to Hindi because of the potential listeners, I wanted to contribute there. My Jesuits colleagues would say: “We have never seen an Adivasi speaking so well, writing so well, you are like us”.</p> <p>CY: I said “First you have to come to Ranchi for that matter, see for yourselves what we have become”.</p> <p>C: I am not a rare case; you will find plenty of people like this.</p> <p>CE: Yes, this is what I said, you have not come in contact with us.</p> <p>C: Did you broadcast anything concerning the Adivasis?</p> <p>CY: Every now and then. We had 20 minutes, for radio 20 minutes is not small in any case. So five minutes of news, everyday there should be some features including</p>			
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<p>reflections on Sunday liturgy, human rights programmes, radio plays, current topics sometimes. In the case of current topics, occasionally also being in Rome, you always have some visitors to interview, and those interviews would be broadcasted, so number of times also these issues on tribals, and since I was tribal, knowledgably produced those programmes, otherwise those two colleagues are absolutely not inclined about who the tribals are, even the terminology they would use is the terminology they used here for the tribals</p> <p>C: Which terms? <i>Vamvasi</i>?</p> <p>CY: <i>Vamvasi</i>. I had to tell them: “I am sorry, but you have not been in India for a long time, and even if you have been, you have been to your own ghetto, you have no idea of what you are saying”, that this it is a pejorative word, offensive word in fact, and they were using this <i>vamvasi</i> word for us.</p> <p>C: That means the Hindu manipulation of the word has reached far but most of them don’t realize the real meaning because <i>vamvasi</i> doesn’t apply to tribals; I could be a <i>vamvasi</i> myself.</p> <p>CE: That is the intention, again the blurring distinction.</p> <p>C: Tell me if there is some criticism of Adivasis against the first missionaries. I have not heard anything so far.</p> <p>CY: Very unlikely, rare cases like that fellow, I think he is a German, writing against mother Teresa.</p> <p>CY: Ah! I wanted to share also one thing. In the beginning I used to be ashamed of being even remotely recognized as an Adivasi, although it is not within my power or capacity to be born an Adivasi, nonetheless somehow I picked a kind of... but then later on during the juniorate, after noviciate there is juniorate, one of the subjects was tribal culture. One of the Jesuits who is here but his mind has completely gone now, he taught us and there was also another Jesuit, retired, Irish Burmese parentage, he was an avid natured observer, writer, photographer, he used to teach English, he had plenty of knowledge, insides and experience about tribals.</p>			
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<p>The way they taught us, I don't know how many people were impressed or influenced by them but they impressed me, and then from that disposition I came to take pride in being a tribal, and I still do. When I comparatively see I begin to realize there are so many things, it is there with us, innate. Why should I consider myself as... it is your fault if you do not notice it, I don't care, I know who I am and what my ancestry is, what my values are, how faithful my ancestors were towards whatever they knew of good at that time. Despite all these difficulties and all that, they went ahead, the way they pursued, they were always God fearing. Evil spirits, they never worshipped them and you teach us that we are evil worshippers; I also thought we were evil worshippers but now I know we are not, we have never been; that's the beauty of it, that you don't know and you don't care to know. These are some of the things which I began to discover for myself and I was filled with pride of my ancestry and all, that has been a big change in me, and many youngsters have not gone through this change, for many reasons, but they have not had opportunities.</p> <p>C: In Spain we have had our own questions of identity, different political communities and languages.</p> <p>CE: I have picked up when I was travelling in Spain, one Jesuit was a Basque and so proud to be a Basque; also this Catalonia, St. Ignatius was a Basque, but Francis Xavier was not a Basque,,,,,,</p>			
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Annex 3

Resumen

Este trabajo se puso en marcha para estudiar las relaciones entre la Compañía de Jesús y la población indígena de la India. Los antecedentes de esta investigación se remontan a la primera visita de la autora a la India en el año 1997 y a 2003, con el Trabajo Fin de Máster en el marco de la cooperación al desarrollo (TFM del MCAD/UJI). Así, el primer contacto con los misioneros jesuitas supuso también el primero con los habitantes autóctonos de las tierras de la misión, llamados genéricamente adivasis. Descubrir a una desconocida población indígena de la India, expoliada, vulnerable y olvidada, que había convertido a los jesuitas en un referente, despertó mi interés en comprender las relaciones identitarias entre estos dos grupos. De este modo, la investigación iniciada en el TFM tuvo su continuación en la presente Tesis Doctoral. En ella se profundiza en la relación entre las Identidades Adivasi y Jesuita, que resumimos a continuación siguiendo los capítulos de la misma.

En el capítulo 1 nos hemos acercado a la identidad de la gente tribal de la India desde una perspectiva histórica, finalizando con un breve diagnóstico de la situación actual. Se exponen los encuentros principales con otros grupos (arios, budistas, musulmanes, mogoles, y británicos) con el fin de poder entender mejor su origen y evolución. En este sentido, sus circunstancias no han sido muy favorables, ya que hemos constatado que son una minoría, un grupo marginado que sigue luchando en la actualidad para sobrevivir y recuperar su identidad.

Por otra parte, hay diferencias entre los dos estados donde se ha realizado el trabajo de investigación (Gujarat y Jharkhand) en lo que respecta al encuentro entre Adivasis y Jesuitas. Gujarat es un estado en el cual la población tribal ha recibido más influencia hindú (hinduización), en comparación con la población de Jharkhand. Esto se debe principalmente al hecho de que este último estado fue segregado del estado de Bihar en el año 2000 con objeto de crear un estado tribal, teniendo en cuenta que la mayoría de la población era tribal, y por lo tanto estos estaban en su territorio. Sin embargo, en Gujarat no ha

habido un aislamiento total para la gente tribal, a pesar de la existencia de una dicotomía entre la gente de las montañas y de las llanuras. Actualmente, en India es posible encontrar adivasis convertidos al cristianismo, hinduismo, budismo e islam, pero hay que dejar claro que no son hindúes en su origen.

Su sistema sociopolítico deja claro que no forman parte de la organización de castas de la sociedad hindú ni siguen los rituales bramánicos. A diferencia de estos, los adivasis forman parte de una forma de pensamiento y de estructuración de la sociedad basadas en la igualdad de todos los miembros de sus comunidades. Resulta impactante saber que la ambición y la codicia no tienen cabida en su economía, la cual está intrincada con su idea de la naturaleza. En este sentido, cabe destacar que en la actualidad los pueblos tribales tienen que luchar por sobrevivir, enfrentándose a desplazamientos forzosos, expoliación de tierras y recursos naturales; todo ello fruto de las políticas gubernamentales de desarrollo, la violación de sus derechos humanos y otras cuestiones relacionadas con su identidad.

En cuanto al otro grupo de estudio, la Compañía de Jesús, cabe decir que al igual que se hizo con los adivasis, nos hemos acercado a su identidad desde una perspectiva histórica en general y en la India en particular. También se ha hecho una breve mención a las dos provincias jesuíticas en las que se ha llevado a cabo el trabajo de campo, la provincia jesuítica de Gujarat y la de Ranchi.

El capítulo 2 está dedicado al constructo de identidad, y tras una breve mirada antropológica y sociológica, se estudia la identidad desde la Psicología social. En esta línea, se sigue la perspectiva psicosocial, exponiendo los modelos más relevantes sobre identidad social deteniéndonos en la Teoría de la Identidad Social (Tajfel, 1978) y la Teoría de la Autocategorización (Turner, 1987), por ser referentes en el área de estudio.

Nos hemos centrado en términos como identidad, identidad individual y colectiva, y expresiones territoriales de identidad tanto en sociología

como en psicología. En relación a este punto, se ha considerado la idea del “Mi”/“Yo” o “Ser” en sí misma, el ser en la interacción, el ser y la mente, el ser en sus relaciones con los otros yoes, y las diferencias entre el “Mi” y el “Yo”. A través de estos conceptos e ideas se aprecia una línea que nos ha llevado desde el estudio del ser humano como una realidad individual hasta el estudio del hombre en sociedad. El fenómeno de la identidad cambia para los psicólogos sociales con la emergencia de la propia imagen, la comparación intergrupala, el autoconcepto en dimensiones cognitivas, afectivas y dimensiones culturales, las categorías y los grupos sociales. En este sentido, hemos seguido esta trayectoria para centrarnos en los procesos de categorización y las relaciones intergrupales.

En el capítulo 3 se presenta la Teoría Fundamentada (Glaser y Strauss, 1967) como metodología cualitativa que ha guiado esta investigación. Asimismo, en este capítulo hemos establecido el objetivo general y los objetivos específicos, es decir, la relación entre dos identidades, la adivasi y la jesuita, como resultado de su interacción. También se presenta la muestra, participantes pertenecientes a las dos provincias jesuíticas donde se ha realizado el estudio, justificándose la elección de dos áreas geográficas de la India, los estados de Gujarat y Jharkhand. A continuación, se han expuesto las 4 fases del procedimiento: el diseño de la investigación, el proceso de recogida de datos, el análisis de los datos (a nivel textual y conceptual), y finalmente la confrontación de la teoría emergente con la revisión teórica dando lugar a la Teoría formal fundamentada.

El análisis en su totalidad se explica en el capítulo 4. A lo largo del desarrollo de este análisis, han emergido diferentes grupos de categorías tanto a nivel textual como a nivel conceptual, categorías que nos han llevado a la elaboración de la *Teoría Emergente* que posteriormente se ha comparado con las fuentes teóricas para dar lugar a la *Teoría formal fundamentada*. Primeramente, los datos recogidos en el trabajo de campo se han codificado a partir de códigos elementales, afectivos y literarios. A nivel textual, los datos se han dividido en unidades de análisis

codificadas según códigos descriptivos, estructurales, emocionales, de valores, versus, y narrativos; todos ellos portadores de sus correspondientes significados. A nivel textual, estos códigos se han organizado alrededor de tres categorías emergentes: *Identidad Adivasi*, *Identidad Jesuita* e *Identidad Adivasi-Jesuita*. Estas categorías responden a las identidades a través de las unidades de análisis en las cuales hay una descripción de las características. A nivel conceptual, el mismo tipo de códigos ha definido las siguientes categorías: *Liderazgo Jesuítico*, *Liderazgo Adivasi* y *Otras Relaciones Identitarias*. En este nivel diferente de abstracción, las categorías han descrito procesos y patrones, así como relaciones entre ellas, con objeto de permitir el desarrollo de la teoría emergente. Más allá de la organización de los códigos y categorías mencionados, la relación entre categorías ha dado paso a la aparición de las categorías formales asociadas con el proceso de inculturación, y por lo tanto las hemos denominado *Inculturación Transaccional* e *Inculturación Transformacional*. Estas 2 categorías, recogen relaciones simétricas y asimétricas respectivamente, y se agrupan en la categoría *Asimetría Transformacional*, la más abstracta de la teoría emergente. Finalmente, se propone la relación identitaria Adivasi/Jesuita como un encuentro de *Interdependencia Asimétrica*.

Se cierra el trabajo en el capítulo 5, donde se discuten los resultados de la investigación contrastando la teoría emergente con las fuentes de la revisión teórica, convirtiéndola por tanto en teoría formal fundamentada. Asimismo, se presentan ciertas limitaciones del estudio y futuras líneas de investigación.

Conclusiones

El principal punto de partida, así como nuestra motivación, ha sido estudiar la interacción entre dos identidades, la de la Compañía de Jesús y la identidad de la población indígena del subcontinente indio, y más concretamente delimitado a dos provincias jesuitas: la provincia de Gujarat y la de Ranchi. Para abordar el tema con rigurosidad, ha sido necesario aproximarnos a estas dos identidades en sus propios contextos.

De la revisión teórica llevada a cabo sobre identidad y formación de identidades, se ha adoptado una perspectiva psicosocial, asumiendo la perspectiva intergrupal propuesta desde la Teoría de la Identidad Social (Tajfel, 1978) y la Teoría de la Autocategorización (Turner, 1987). Estos modelos enfatizan la autoidentificación con el grupo, la transformación de la psicología individual en psicología colectiva, y la necesidad de interacción entre los procesos psicológicos y la realidad social. Por lo tanto, la identidad social se explica a través de la membresía grupal.

Siendo nuestro punto de partida la población indígena de la India y los jesuitas, nos hemos aproximado al estudio de ambas identidades para aportar conocimiento sobre quiénes son y cuál es su situación actual en la India. Según las fuentes documentales revisadas y los resultados obtenidos del estudio empírico, estas son identidades consolidadas. En lo que respecta al pueblo adivasi, existen múltiples trabajos realizados por antropólogos, sociólogos, trabajadores sociales, economistas, e investigadores de ciencias sociales. Sin embargo, no hemos encontrado trabajos que estudien las relaciones entre estos dos grupos desde la psicología social.

Según la Teoría de la Identidad Social de Tajfel (1978), en lo que respecta a la identidad social adivasi, los resultados indican la existencia de una identidad social negativa tanto en su historia como en la actualidad, aunque pueden haber algunas diferencias según el contexto y el tiempo. Esta investigación muestra que los adivasis activan dos estrategias de movilidad social para transformar su identidad social negativa en una

más positiva. En ese sentido, son las estrategias de Competición Social y Creatividad Social, propuestas por Tajfel (1981), las utilizadas por el pueblo adivasi.

Un resultado que queremos destacar, es la emergencia de una nueva identidad surgida de la interacción y la inmersión de los jesuitas en la población adivasi: la Identidad Adivasi-Jesuita. En este sentido, emerge una doble identidad, que funciona como una identidad única con naturaleza propia, la cual no debe confundirse con las identidades múltiples.

Según las nociones sobre la identidad manejadas por los académicos, un tema objeto de discusión en la actualidad, la gente no tiene una única identidad, sino múltiples (Gottschalk, 2000). Desde el enfoque del constructivismo social, Cerulo “rechaza cualquier categoría que exponga características esenciales o centrales como la única propiedad de los miembros de una colectividad” (citado en Rehman, 2007, p. 39)⁹⁰. Si tenemos en cuenta que el “Mi” o “Yo” tiene status sociales distintos que se corresponden con identidades, los diferentes “yoes” también adoptan identidades diferentes. Para Stets y Burke (citados en Cinoğlu & Arıkan, 2012, p. 1116):

...la identidad no es una entidad concreta y fija; por el contrario, es muy flexible y puede cambiar de acuerdo con el entorno, el contexto y las expectativas de la contraparte, bien sea la sociedad, un grupo, o otras identidad como ella misma”.⁹¹

Nuestros resultados ofrecen la imagen de un pueblo que, sabedor de la amenaza a su identidad, busca “rescatarla” (Spears, 2001), y para ello tal y como defiende el modelo de Identidad Social de los fenómenos de Desindividuación, lo hace de una manera consciente y motivada, a través de la dimensión estratégica de su identidad (Peris y Agut, 2007).

⁹⁰ Traducido del inglés por la autora.

⁹¹ Idem.

Por otra parte, las relaciones de influencia entre ambos grupos muestran el encuentro entre el liderazgo carismático de los jesuitas (Conger, 1991) y un liderazgo autotransformador de los adivasis.

Asímismo, entendemos que tras el “resurgimiento de la dignidad adivasi”, estaría la sobreidentificación con el endogrupo (Schmitt y Branscombe, citados en Smith et al. 2010), como respuesta para reducir los efectos negativos del estigma, permitiéndoles establecer relaciones simétricas con los jesuitas –Relaciones Simbióticas -.

Del mismo modo, cabría destacar que los jesuitas centran su atención en el hecho de que los adivasis sean conscientes de la correlación existente entre su identidad negativa y el expolio de sus recursos de subsistencia. En este sentido, hacer la identidad negativa saliente la convierte en un atractor motivacional, y a través de una relación transaccional/transformacional (Bass, 1984, 1996; Bass y Avolio, 1988, 1990, 1994), han ido empoderándolos en las distintas esferas del desarrollo humano, de modo que sean percibidos por el resto de identidades de la India como una identidad más positiva.

Es decir, en el encuentro entre la identidad jesuita y adivasi se produce una “Asimetría Transformacional”, que a través de la inculturación (modus operandi jesuítico), se manifiesta en dos dimensiones: por una parte, se dan procesos de “Inculturación Transaccional” donde ambas se relacionan simétricamente obteniendo beneficios mutuos, y procesos de “Inculturación Transformacional”, donde la fuerza jesuítica es catalizadora de la transformación identitaria del pueblo adivasi.

Queremos enfatizar el mensaje de Díaz Gárriz (2006) sobre el esfuerzo misionero, digno de consideración. Este autor narra el porqué y el cómo de la presencia de los jesuitas españoles en el estado indio de Gujarat, y nos hace notar la desaparición inminente de estos jesuitas en la India en los próximos diez o veinte años. “La Misión extranjera se ha convertido en una iglesia local, con su propio clero, su propia cultura, su propia vitalidad” (ibid. p.225).

Así pues, la Compañía de Jesús se está convirtiendo en local; concretamente en Jharkhand, donde esta población local es de origen tribal, mientras que en Gujarat esperamos que el número de Adivasis-Jesuitas vaya aumentando progresivamente. La interacción ha proporcionado una iglesia local con una masa tribal crítica de identidad doble capaz de trabajar en áreas distintas, pero, sobre todo, de ser la voz y representación de la Compañía de Jesús y los adivasis conjuntamente.

Respondiendo a la pregunta que ha guiado este estudio, no hay ninguna duda de que el encuentro entre los jesuitas y la cultura tribal, ha creado una nueva comunidad, la comunidad Adivasi-Jesuita, y, lo que es más, la Iglesia de Jharkhand o mejor dicho la Iglesia tribal de Jharkhand, donde sus habitantes son tribales en su tierra. Sin embargo, en Gujarat la presencia adivasi-jesuita todavía es escasa, ya que el proceso de hinduización prosigue con la fuerza que le confiere la defensa de los valores hindúes por parte de los ciudadanos no tribales. Así pues, esta investigación muestra que el pueblo adivasi proseguirá su empoderamiento guiado por esta doble identidad que está tomando el relevo para avanzar en una cristalización identitaria más compleja que les permita ser el motor de su propio destino.



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