

**IDEOLOGY, IDENTITY AND SCHOOLING: A STUDY OF CURRICULUM AND
PEDAGOGIC PRACTICES IN MIZORAM**

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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By

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DECLARATION

This is to certify that the data embodied in this study entitled '**Ideology, Identity and Schooling: A Study of Curriculum and Pedagogic Practices in Mizoram**' is based on my original research. It is carried out under the supervision of Professor Nagaraju Gundemeda, Department of Sociology for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology from University of Hyderabad. It is an original work of mine and to the best of my knowledge no part of this study has been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma at any University. My thesis can be deposited in shodhganga/INFLIBNET.

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Parts of the thesis have been:

A. Published (or accepted for publication) in the following publications:

1. 2015. The Making of Christian Ideology in Mizoram School Education, Pp. 64-67, Contemporary Social Scientist, Volume: VII-2, ISSN No: 2230-956X.
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Further, the student has passed the following courses towards fulfilment of coursework requirements for PhD.

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Place: Hyderabad

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List of Mizo Terminology

Arhnuai chhiah	A religious ritual among the Pawi tribe.
Bawlpu	A traditional village doctor.
Chapchar Kut	A traditional Mizo festival
Chawn leh sechhun	A religious ritual among the Zahau clan.
Chhinlung chhuak	It means Chhinlung origin.
Chhinlung	The name of the mythical cave from beneath which the progenitors of the present <i>Mizo</i> tribe are said to have come out.
Darkuang, Darbu, Darmang	Names of a Mizo cymbals.
Dawisa kilza thei	A two or more clan that can share sacrificial meat.
Dawrlem kawr	A traditional black cloth which have a stripe in the middle.
Duhlian tawng	It is one of the dialects of the Lusei tribe. It is also the official language of Mizoram. It is the most widely used language in Mizoram.
Fanai	Name of a Mizo clan.
Fathang/Lal buh chhun	A revenue or tax given to kings/chiefs of the village by villagers in the form of rice.
Halkha	Name of a Mizo tribe.
Hauhnar	Name of a Mizo clan.
Hmui, Herawt	A spinning wheel.
Hnamte	Name of a Mizo clan.
Hnawkhal	A cloth made from trees and is worn by men.
Hnuaipui	A religious ritual among the Kawlani clan.
Hrenpereng, hnawkhal	Name of a clothes made from leaves of a tree for man.
Hrichhun	A religious ritual among the Tlau clan.
Hruikhiau	A name of a tree used for its fibre
Khawkhawm	Groupings of clusters of villages into one village due to insurgencies in the 1960's
Khiangte	Name of a Mizo clan.
Khuangchawi	The name of public feast given by chiefs and other well-to-do Mizos.

Lal sa chhiah	A revenue or tax given to kings/chief when a person killed a wild animal. The left shoulder is given to the kings/chief in this.
Lal Upa/Khawnbawl Upa	A group of ministers who help the kings/chiefs in village administration.
Lal	A king/chief of the village.
Lehchhun	Name of a Ralte clan.
Lentlang	Name of a mountain where the Mizos settled at around 450 AD.
Lusei/Lushai	Name of a Mizo tribe. Lusei is from which the English word Lushai is derived.
Mim Kut	A traditional Mizo festival
Mizo	Mi means people and zo means hill. A term used to denote the inhabitants of Mizoram. Literally means highlanders.
Ngente	Name of a Mizo clan.
Pachauau	Name of a Mizo clan
Paite	Name of a Mizo tribe.
Parte	Name of a Mizo clan.
Pawi	Name of a Mizo tribe.
Pawl Kut	Traditional Mizo festival
Pawnto hla	A children playground song which children used to recite while playing.
Pialral	A place for the soul to rest after death. It is equivalent to modern notion of paradise.
Punte	Name of a Mizo clan.
Ralte	Name of a Mizo tribe.
Ramhual	A family who choose the land for cultivation earlier than other families.
Sadawt	A priest.
Sailo	Name of a Mizo clan.
Saphun	To adopt a new religion, a proselyse or a convert.
Siapsuap	Name of a clothes made from the leaves of a tree for woman.

Sumchawng	A religious ritual among the Paite clan.
Thangchhuah	The title given to a man who has distinguished himself by killing a certain number of different animals in the chase or by giving a certain number of public feasts. The wife of such a man also shares his title.
Thantlang	Name of a mountain where the Mizos settled during 1250 -1400 AD.
Thingfawm naupang	A junior members of the zawlbuk.
Thingfawm hotu	A head of the junior group.
Thirchher	A blacksmith.
Tiau	Name of a river where the Mizos settled at around 1450 AD.
Tlangau	A messenger.
Tlangkhua	Name of a village where the Mizos settled during 1580 - 1600 AD.
Tlangval	The senior members of zawlbuk.
Tlangval upa	The head of the senior group
Tlawmngaihna	Chivalry and sacrificing oneself for the service of others and community
Tualsa hem	A religious ritual among the Zahau clan.
Vai	A term used to describe a non-Mizo.
Val Upa	A senior bachelor or a middle aged man who commands respect in the village due to their good leadership nature.
Zawlbuk	A men's dormitory.
Zosap	A caucasian missionary.

List of Abbreviations

ACE	Accelerated Christian Education
ADHD	Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder
B.A	Bachelor of Arts
CBSE	Central Board of Secondary Education
CCE	Continuous and Comprehensive Education
D.P.I.	Director of Public Instruction
ICSSR	Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR),
IQ	Intelligent Quotient
ISA	Ideological State Apparatus
ISC	Indian School Certificate
KTP	Kristian Thalai Pawl
M.A.	Masters of Arts
MASE	Maths, Art, Science and Environmental Studies
MBSE	Mizoram Board of School Education
NCERT	National Council of Educational Research and Training
NCF	National Curriculum Framework
NCFSE	National Curriculum Framework for School Education
NEUPA	National University of Educational Planning and Administration
NIEPA	National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration
NPE	National Policy on Education
OCD	Obsessive Compulsive Disorder
PACE	Packets of Accelerated Christian Education
SAY	Salvation Army Youth
SCERT	State Council of Educational Research and Training
TISS	Tata Institute of Social Sciences
TKP	Thalai Kristian Pawl
UGC	University Grants Commission (UGC)

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Textbooks and school curricula are a fundamental component in the teaching-learning process. It is a place where diverse national identities are represented. However, it usually does not represent all identities equally. Jamatia & Gundemeda (2019), in their study entitled *Ethnic Identity and Curriculum Construction: Critical reflection on School Curriculum in Tripura* states:

“The curriculum has the potential to cultivate the spirit of socio-cultural and politico-economic solidarity. However, it also has the potential to perform the dysfunctions. The use of textbook knowledge as a means of representation of multiple identities brings simultaneously the sense of inclusion and exclusion. As the language, culture and religion are employed as major vehicles of identity construction, it is pertinent to examine the construction of the curriculum not merely through the positive glance but also through the critical lens to understand the politics of identity construction.”

The present *Mizo*¹ society is a society in transition. The people of Mizoram entered the twentieth century living in areas of remote and obscure hilly tracts, practising an animistic faith, and completely unlettered. Today, modernisation, Christianity, education, urbanisation and political awakening have swept across all the corners of Mizoram and recently, the forces of globalisation are all set to transform the *Mizo* society further. At such historical juncture of social transformation, it is vital to understand the role played by the education system and it is imperative to further contextualise this understanding of the linkage between the culture of learning at schools and the wider society (Lalhruailiana, 2016).

In the traditional *Mizo* society, the family served as an agent of learning by handing down customs, laws, legends etc. from generation to generation. There is also an institution called the *Zawlbuk*² in which a young man receives training from the elders. At this place, one

¹ ‘Mi’ means people and ‘Zo’ means hill. Mizo literally means highlanders.

² Zawlbuk is a men’s dormitory. It is an organised social institution for young men.

learns to be a responsible member of society. All the instructions and transmission of the indigenous knowledge in these social institutions were verbal. However, this changed when British rule got established in Mizoram in 1891. In January 1894, two Christian missionaries namely- Rev. F. W. Savidge and Rev. J. H. Lorrain of London Baptist Missionary came to Aizawl. Besides showing interest in proselytising the locals, they also showed great interest in spreading literacy among the locals. They developed the Mizo alphabet and started a system of formal (western) education. Ever since, other missionaries have also shown an interest in spreading literacy and Christianity. Another missionary Rev. D.E. Jones opened the second school in 1898. They understood that spreading literacy was an effective process in converting people. So, in 1901, schools were opened in *Khawrihnim*, *Phulpui* and *Chhingchhip* villages. In 1903, three primary schools were opened in *Khandaih*, *Maite* and *Phulpui* villages and seven more schools were opened in 1904 (SCERT, 1999).

In the same year, Sir Bamfield Fuller, the Chief Commissioner of Assam handed over all the affairs of the schools in Mizoram to the missionaries. Since then, with the approval of the superintendent of Lushai Hills, the mission authority opened more primary schools. In 1909, the first Middle English Examination was held. The first High School was opened in 1944. The first Matric Examination was conducted in the year 1948 (Lalhruailiana, 2016). In short, Mizoram experienced the expansion and steady consolidation of the first and secondary levels of education during the colonial era. It can also be said that the culture of learning in Mizoram has been altered by colonialism through the Christian missionaries which further cause a transformation in the socio-cultural life of the *Mizos*.

For a society to be transformed, Bhatia (2010) in the book *Education and Society in a Changing Mizoram* stated:

“In drawing a relationship between education and society, access to schooling, an adequate teaching-learning environment, an appropriate school curriculum and an empowered and inclusive teaching community are four crucial prerequisites of a school system that are considered to enable a social transformation.”

Apart from these, the inclusion of Christian values as a form of moral education is also considered to play a key role in the social and cultural transformation of the *Mizo* society. Hence, the way how these processes intersect with one another in creating a specific culture of learning in Mizoram is found to be worth investigating and the role played by education, schooling and Christianity in transforming the social and cultural life of the *Mizos* needs to be further inquired upon.

Secondly, in order to understand the role of schooling in enabling social change, one must analyse the content that are taught to students, the textbooks and syllabus used at schools and the curricula design behind it. Designing and framing a curriculum requires the interaction of several participants with several agendas to reach a consensus of finding a knowledge that is worthy of being taught and learnt. Students would not be able to meet or comprehend societal challenges without an effective curriculum because education provides people with the skills they need to succeed, feel confident, and act as responsible citizens. At the same time, our sociological imaginations tell us that the school curriculum is not only social but cultural sites as well, where significant battles over ideology, politics, language, land, history and religion are waged. In this context, Bernstein (1977) stated,

“The linkages of the school with settings outside the school system such as religion, family, ethnicity and local community and the State, need to be analysed [...] for these offer arenas where selection and socialisation occur and also amorphous spaces where identities are created, re-created or altered.”

Therefore, this study felt the need to critically appraise the ‘politics of mention’³ adopted by the Mizoram Board of School Education (MBSE) as well as the State Council of Educational Research and Training (SCERT) in framing the school textbooks. What is considered legitimate knowledge needs to be analysed.

³ Politics of mention is the contestation of ideologies during the framing of the curriculum and syllabus

Thirdly, teachers play an effective role not only in imparting knowledge but also in guiding the morale of the students. This is believed to have a meaningful impact for enabling social change. This raises questions about the culture of learning at schools and the pedagogical practices of the teachers inside the classrooms. Research questions such as what are the various methods and techniques of teaching at schools, how do teachers mediate the textbooks and what are the issues discussed inside the classroom that are outside the textbooks must be addressed to assess the culture of learning at educational institutions.

Fourthly, it is often commented that there is a lack of objectivity and reason among the present on-going school students. There is a need to debunk what goes on behind the submergence of school-going students in the ‘culture of silence’⁴. This according to Freire (1968) in the book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* creates a ‘banking model of education’ i.e. through a process of discourse with others, a person can progressively come to understand his/her own personal and societal reality and then take appropriate action in response to it. The reason for this is that education at most times is suffering from ‘narration sickness’. This means that in an education set-up, there is a narrator i.e. the teacher and a listening object i.e. the students. This reduced students’ creative power, and ‘serves the interests of the oppressors, who care neither to have the world revealed nor to see it transformed’. Hence, to address these issues, it is necessary to have an ethnographic study of the culture of learning at schools i.e. classroom teaching and learning process must be observed and sociologically appraise.

Moreover, since North-East India was not included in the mainstream imagination of India for a long time, Mizoram is often left out in tribal studies. Danda (1996) points out that only three of the 106 studies on North-Eastern India that were conducted in the decade 1979-1989 focused on Mizoram. Even though other tribal groups have received greater scholarly

⁴ The culture of silence is the phenomenon of training students in educational institutions to be a submissive and obedient follower by not raising questions or talking back at their teachers.

attention since then, not much has changed with Mizoram. In fact, articles on and related to Mizoram occupy only a small portion of academic interest. For instance, articles related to *Mizo* issues form only a few sections in some of the well-known journals like the Economic and Political Weekly and the Journal for Asian and African Studies. In the interest of giving Mizoram academic attention and bridging the missing gap, this study aims to study the *Mizo* society by studying the relationship between schooling and society in Mizoram and it is the wish of the researcher to place the discourse on Mizoram at a more profound academic level through this study.

1.2 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Since the introduction of formal education, *Mizo* society moved from a society that used to rely on ‘particularistic standards’ where status is ascribed and fixed by birth to rely more on ‘universalistic standards’ where status is based on achievement because the school remain as the only institution to assume the role of a local socialising agency after children receives their primary socialisation in the home and family. In this way, school serves as a link between families and society and then helps children to prepare for their adult roles. Besides, education is often viewed as a passage for attaining self-discipline, maturity, independence and earning a livelihood in *Mizo* society. In other words, attending a school is considered a necessity for societal progress. In this context, Pathak (2009) commented:

“People believe that formal schooling is the only agent for social mobility because schools with their organised structure and disciplinary devices, legitimate knowledge and certified text, examinations and hierarchies, systematise one’s mind as it evolves a scientific way of looking at things. For a person to be certified as ‘educated’, one must attend school, study the prescribe textbook and pass examinations at different class.”

To have an understanding on schooling as an agent of social change that leads people to development and modernity, the process of dissipating knowledge at school is worth examining as it forms an important component of nation-building. Today, children spend most of their formative years at school. In this way, the school is considered a secondary socialising

agency and a place where one learns to interact with the world outside of his family and home by using a fixed set of universalistic standards. And as class increased, knowledge becomes more detailed and complex especially in the Social Science subject as it deals with the history and freedom movement of one's country. Thus, the production and transmission of education acquire more and more importance. In this way, schools are responsible for shaping a student's life in terms of how he/she perceives and relates to the world in which he/she lived and this must be sociologically determined.

Secondly, education is understood to be a process of communication through which schools pass on to the children their skills, knowledge and social heritage and prepare them for adult roles. Also, education is considered to fulfil functions like passing along societal values and norms to the students, preparing them for their adult roles, choosing and categorising students based on their talents and abilities for the right adult roles, and providing the knowledge, skills, and training required for successful workforce participation. Here, Pathak (2009) commented:

“Formal schooling gives one the necessary information, the required skill, and the much needed specialised knowledge. It is a measure of one's level of education; a deciding factor in the selection or rejection of people for professional roles. It trains the mind to adapt to a modern, technologically advanced civilisation.”

Therefore, it is important to analyse how schools teach children the specific skills necessary for his/her future occupation.

Thirdly, it is assumed that education elevates us by bringing us nearer to what our society considers it to be ideal. Nevertheless, with sociological imagination, one can witness the existence of a huge gap between the perceived ideal and the actual reality. Apart from learning at schools, one must acknowledge that there may be other sources which can influence a student's worldview that may neutralise the effect of learning at school. Besides, there are limitations to what a school can do, because school knowledge is often delegitimised by other forces from the home environment. And sometimes, for some, there is no correlation between

the objectives of education and its outcome. For example, schools can teach the child all the good principles: morality, secularism, tolerance, human dignity and so on. Yet, one may end up becoming violent, intolerant and communal. This means that schools cannot dictate the way how a student chooses to lead his/her life. Moreover, a student may study all things that the teacher taught just to clear the examination or get a degree, and then, forget everything after the examination ends. So, education sometimes form only one aspect of the character building of an individual and the outcome of a person cannot be the responsibility of the education system alone. There are other factors such as family, political, cultural, economic and social milieu in which may guide the child's lives and morality even more so than his/her school. In this context, it is necessary to understand the intended purpose of schooling- the values it tries to inculcate and the knowledge it tries to establish as legitimate to the child. In contrast, it is also necessary to understand that there could be a gap between educational values and the dominant societal values. Thus, it is necessary to have a sociological inquiry on what do students learn at school? who framed the syllabus? Could there be any hidden agenda behind the lessons taught at school? Is there any exercise of power in schools by the dominant group of society?

Fourthly, there is a lot to learn about schooling, including its many different forms and practices, caste/class/gender problems regarding curriculum and knowledge and the economics of education. In par with this, this study looks at the social meaning of schooling: its relationship with the larger society; its social function; the way its functions change in the process of social transformation; the social construction of school knowledge and its politico-ideological implications. Hence, this study is an enquiry into the sociology of education, the ideology behind curriculum framing and the pedagogic implications of teaching and learning.

On the pedagogical aspects, it is necessary to examine the nature of knowledge dissipated at schools. Questions such as what kind of knowledge is included in textbooks, who

constructed the texts, the hidden agenda behind the texts, the political and social functions it tries to serve and its intended outcome must be examined carefully from a sociological lens. In this light, Kumar (1992) argued that two routes can be distinguished for solving this problem. The first step entails determining the value of what we want to teach in light of the requirements and aptitudes of the learner. The second step entails assessing the intrinsic value of what we intend to teach. Therefore, based on this scope, this study will examine the process of schooling in the state of Mizoram and the study is titled ‘Ideology, Identity and Schooling: A Study of Curriculum and Pedagogic Practices in Mizoram’.

1.3 OBJECTIVES

The following are the objectives of this study. They are:

1. To study the role played by education and Christianity in transforming the social and cultural life of the *Mizos*.
2. To study the ‘politics of mention’ adopted by the Mizoram Board of School Education (MBSE) and State Council of Educational Research and Training (SCERT) in framing the school textbooks.
3. To study the mediation of curriculum by teachers inside the classrooms.

1.4. METHODOLOGY

Research methodology is the systematic, theoretical analysis of the methodologies employed in a field of study. It is a methodical approach to conducting research. A researcher can draw on a variety of both qualitative and quantitative research methods, including experiments, survey research, participant observation and secondary data (Saunders, 2009). Since the nature of study in this research is on the culture of learning at schools, this study adopts a qualitative study and the design of the study is descriptive in nature.

1.4.1 The field setting

This study conducts a case study on the following schools:

1. Holy Heart School, Republic Veng (School A)
2. La Montessori School, Mission Veng (School B)
3. Faith Learning Centre, Tuikual North Veng (School C)

The case study data was collected from these three schools in Aizawl city through an intensive fieldwork. There were two main considerations that led to the selection of the first school (School A). Though a private school, the fee is not expensive i.e. Rs. 1500/- per month which attracts students from the different socio-economic backgrounds. Besides, the teacher in School A forms a heterogenous group in terms of age, ranging from the early twenties to sixties and above. The second factor is that the school follows the textbooks framed as per the National Curriculum Framework, 2005. Conducting field work in this school provided an insight into the implementation of government policy. The choice of School B is because it follows Maria Montessori's guidelines and the choice of school C is because it follows the Accelerated Christian Education curriculum. In this way, it was felt that the different curricula and the difference in approach towards learning in these schools would highlight the different culture of learning in Mizoram.

School A was established in 1989 and had both primary and middle sections. The motto of the school is 'Kindle Thy Light'. It is an English medium school. It is one of the most popular schools in the southern part of Aizawl. The headmistress and owner Mrs. Lalbiakzami remain the head of the institution since the establishment of the school.

School B was established in 2013 and had classes from pre-school till class 4 during the time of conducting the fieldwork. The motto of the school is 'Preparing for Life'. As it follows the Montessori's system of learning, it is one of the most popular schools for the middle

and upper sections of the city. The headmistress and owner Mrs. Hannah Lawmpuii remain the same since its establishment.

School C has class till class 2 during the time of conducting an interview. Its primary goal is to transmit academic achievement with a strong biblical foundation as it follows the Accelerated Christian Education curriculum, which aims to equip students with literacy, numeracy, research, critical thinking, moral reasoning, faith, and knowledge of God and His Word. The head of the institution Ms. T. Lalmachhuani. She is also a gospel preacher in the church.

1.4.2 Tools of Data Collection

For primary sources, an interview was conducted with the Director of the Mizoram Board of School Education in 2017. This interview is mainly to assess the nature of curriculum construction from class 9 to class 12 in Mizoram. Issues such as the process of selecting academicians for framing textbooks, who decide the content of the textbooks, do the Mizoram textbook follow the framework set by National Curriculum Framework, is there any modification of contents with the textbook framed by National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), is there any addition of culturally relevant topics in the textbooks which are not there in the NCERT textbooks etc. were discussed.

Secondly, an interview was conducted with the Assistant coordinator of the Mizo subject Committee and Social Science Subject Committee in 2018. The purpose of this is to assess the nature of curriculum construction from class 1 to class 8. Issues such as the importance of teaching in the mother tongue in the primary section, the process of framing textbooks in the Mizo language in Mizo and Social Science subject and their intended outcomes, the importance of constructing textbooks which are inclusive for tribal children for national integration and the importance of moral education were discussed.

Thirdly, an interview schedule was conducted with hundred school teachers who taught Social Science and Mizo subjects from 2015 to 2018. A sample of hundred teachers was chosen for this. The nature of this sampling was non-purposive sampling in nature and respondents are chosen based on convenient sampling. The purpose of this is to analyse the mediation of curriculum inside classrooms and to ascertain the values and principles taught inside the classroom that are outside of the textbook. Issues such as the values that they feel important for imparting to students, do they feel the necessity to include religion as part of education, do they feel the school need to have religious devotion and whether they (teachers) feel the need to separate religion and education were discussed.

Fourthly, a non-participatory observation on three schools was conducted in the year 2018 that follow the National Curriculum Framework 2005, Mariah Montessori Guidelines and Accelerated Christian Education respectively to map out the differences in the approach to teaching and learning at schools in Mizoram. This is hoped to highlight the different cultures of learning at schools in Mizoram.

Fifthly, to analyse the insider's perspective of church activity participation, a focus group discussion was held among the *Kristian Thalai Pawl* (the youth group) in 2018. Issues such as the relationship between church activities with studies, work and family life are discussed.

For secondary data, this study did a review of literature on sources that are available in the realm of the sociology of education, articles, essays, journals, books and other sociological writings which relates to the topic. This study uses the technique of content analysis on the school textbooks used by the Mizoram Board of School Education in Mizo subject and Social Science subjects of both English medium schools and Mizo medium schools.

1.4.3 Key respondents

For obtaining information on the nature of textbook construction, an interview was done with Mr. David Lallawmkima Fanai who is the Director (Academic) of Mizoram Board of School Education and Mrs. Zoramthangi Ralte who is the Assistant coordinator of Social Science subject and Mizo subject Committee from the State Council of Education Training and Research. For case studies on the schools that follow the three curriculum framework in Mizoram, an interview was done with the head of institutions of each school. For obtaining knowledge on the values teachers taught inside the classroom, a hundred teachers instructing social science subject and Mizo subject were interviewed from ten schools. The name of the schools are:

1. Holy Heart School: It is an English medium private school that follows the National Curriculum Framework 2005. It has classes from kindergarten to class 8.
2. Springfield Higher Secondary School: It is an English medium private school that follows the National Curriculum Framework 2005. It has classes from class 9 to class 12.
3. Synod Higher Secondary School: It is an English medium run by the Presbyterian church. It follows the National Curriculum Framework 2005. The school has classes from class 9 to class 12.
4. Modern Higher Secondary School: It is an English medium run by the Salvation Army church. It follows the National Curriculum Framework 2005. It has classes from kindergarten to class 12.
5. Government Central Higher Secondary School: It is an English medium run by the government. It follows the National Curriculum Framework 2005. It has classes from class 9 to class 12.
6. Government Primary School I: It is an English medium run by the government. It follows the National Curriculum Framework 2005. It has classes from nursery to class 4.

7. Government Primary School II: It is an English medium run by the government. It follows the National Curriculum Framework 2005. It has classes from nursery to class 4.

8. Government Aizawl High School: It is an English medium run by the government. It follows the National Curriculum Framework 2005. It has classes 9 and class 10.

9. SSA-Model School: It is an English medium run by the government. It follows the National Curriculum Framework 2005. It has classes from kindergarten to class 8.

10. College Veng Middle School: It is an English medium run by the government. It follows the National Curriculum Framework 2005.

Table 1.1: Educational qualifications of the respondents

Educational Qualifications	Number of teachers
Masters and above	36
Bachelors	42
Class 12	14
Class 10	8

Table 1.2: Sex composition of the respondents

Male	Female
45	55

Table 1.3: Age composition of the respondents

Age	Number of teachers
50 years and above	15
40 - 50 years old	22
30 - 40 years old	28
20 - 30 years old	35

1.4.4 Experience in the field

My fieldwork was an attempt to primarily understand the impact of schooling in *Mizo* society and secondarily to study the relationship between school and society at large. Before starting my actual field work, as a form of a pilot study, I visited the office of The Secretary of Department of Education where we discussed on issues such as the nature of school education and the framing of a textbook. I asked the secretary about the nature of education in Mizoram. When she finished her answer, I was able to understand the importance of education for social transformation in Mizoram. It was at that moment that I was clear on what I wanted to study for my PhD research i.e. the role of schooling and religion in bringing social change and the importance of teachers inside the classroom in motivating the students. Then, I asked the secretary questions like- who framed the textbooks? and what is the process that involved in forming a board for framing textbooks? The secretary advised me to go to the office of the Mizoram Board of School Education as they are the organisation that frames the school textbooks for class 9 to class 12. The secretary also advised me to go the office of the State Council of Educational Research and Training as they are the organisation that frames the textbooks for class 1 to class 8.

After this, I proceeded to the office of the State Council of Educational Research and Training where I asked the receptionist to direct me to the concerned person that knows about framing Mizo and Social Science subjects for interviewing. Then, she directs me to the Assistant coordinator for Mizo and Social Science textbook committee. Upon letting her know the purpose of my visit, I could build a good rapport with her. The main topic discussed was the nature of framing primary school and middle school textbooks. The themes that were discussed under were the core curriculum of Mizo and Social Science textbook, secularism and education, saffronisation of education, communalisation of education, religion and education and moral education. I was happy with the interview as I could get the necessary information

on what was asked of her. After the interview, she presented me with the primary and middle school syllabus along with the newly framed Mizo textbook which is titled *Kumtuang Bu*⁵ from class 1 to class 8. This became one of the main sources for doing content analysis. She advised me to go to the Mizoram Board of School Education to inquire about the textbook for high school and higher secondary schools.

Then, I went to the office of the Mizoram Board of School Education. Upon inquiring who to interview, I was directed to the Director of the office. Again, since I am an insider of the community, building a good rapport with him was not difficult. Once I stated the purpose of my visit, the interview started. Topics such as the core curriculum of textbooks, whether they are changing/altering the textbook framed by NCERT, why there is a modification of contents, what are the topics that are included in Mizoram textbook which are not there in the NCERT textbook, the need for the inclusion of culturally relevant topics, how is the selection of textbooks from different publishing house done etc. are discussed with him. Again, I was happy with the interview as I could get the information that I needed for my study. After the interview, he presented me with the high school and higher secondary school syllabus which later became one of the main secondary data for doing content analysis.

To know more about the culture of learning at school, I did a case study on three schools in Aizawl city (School A, B and C). These schools were chosen as a sample for schools that follow the three curriculum frameworks that existed in Mizoram i.e. The National Curriculum Framework 2005, Mariah Montessori Guidelines and the Accelerated Christian Education Curriculum respectively. Also, the case study includes a classroom observation of each school to ascertain the different approaches to learning at these schools.

After getting permission from the Headmistress of school A, I visited the school two times a week. Here, I interviewed the Head of the institution regarding the motto of the school

⁵ Kumtuang Bu is the title of Mizo subject textbooks framed by SCERT.

and the specific culture of learning at her school. Issues such as the importance of education in *Mizo* society, the need for a culturally relevant curriculum for building national integrity, the phenomenon of communalisation of education, whether is there a need to teach moral education from religion and the way how school devotion took place were discussed.

Regarding classroom observation, getting inside the classroom was not difficult since I had obtained permission from the authority in advance. However, building a rapport was somewhat difficult at the beginning as I could sense that teachers felt uncomfortable due to the presence of another adult inside the classroom. I also feel that teachers also felt I am somewhat spying on them and that I would report them to the Headmistress. So, in the beginning, the flow of the classroom lecture was not normal. Also, for my non-participatory observation, as I have to sit with students at the back bench, students first hesitate to sit with me as they fear I would make their seats congested. The bench was made for three students to sit comfortably and adding a new adult member to the bench was not welcomed. At the very beginning, my mere presence causes disturbance in the class. So, to build their trust in the class, I often gave positive feedback about the class to the Headmistress. After around one and a half weeks, both the teachers as well as students were acclimated to my presence and when teachers learn that I was not providing any negative comments towards them, I could manage to break the ice only from this point.

Soon after this, the teacher's community realised from a word on the street that I am a teacher at Mizoram University and the understanding towards me by some teachers was that I am sent by the government to investigate their classroom teachings. This was not liked by some teachers, especially the elder teachers. So, I have to convince them about the genuineness of my intent and effort all over again. At this time, some teachers even asked me to take a class for them. Since that would provide me an opportunity to do a participatory observation inside the class, I started to get involved in the everyday life of the school and occasionally attended

the Social Science class. In Malinowski's (1996) words, these are 'the occasional ripples of excitement' in the life of the school.

Here, I found out the difference between handling a Post Graduate class with that of a school-going students. I also found that in teaching school students, the use of audio-visual aids such as pictures, photographs and slides are much more essential to foster their imagination for further developing an experimental bent of mind. Regarding classroom participation, I found that school-going children are more inquisitive and are ready to give answers when questions are asked inside the class. However, classroom participation in terms of interaction between teacher and students inside the class is not there even when tried. When I raised the topic of 'My aim in life' for discussion, the whole class was quiet. But, when I switch and change the subject in Mizo, classroom interaction flows very well. Here, I found out that sometimes students are unable to perform because they are culturally deprived. In the case of this situation, students were linguistically deprived of English. This proves why a more culturally relevant curriculum is the need of the hour in Mizoram schools.

After getting permission from the Headmistress of school B, I visited the school two times a week. Similar to that of school A, I interviewed the Head of the institution of school B regarding the motto of the school and the specific culture of learning at her school. Issues such as the importance of education in *Mizo* society, the need for a culturally relevant curriculum for building national integrity, the phenomenon of communalisation of education, whether is there a need to teach moral education from religion and the way how school devotion took place were discussed.

I learnt from my experience that wearing a semi formal shirt helped in building a good rapport faster. So, for doing my non-participatory observation, I wore a polo t-shirt, a chino-trousers and sneakers as these style of clothing fits the dress code usually worn by teachers in Mizoram. Also, I learn from my past experience that coming clean and honest is the better way

to approach a teacher. So, I let the teachers know that I belong to Mizoram University and this study is a private study for obtaining my doctoral degree before starting the observation. This was accepted by the teachers. For the purpose of classroom observation, it was not hard to get access to the classroom as the Head introduced me to one teacher that would facilitate my non-participatory observation.

Upon entering the classroom, I sat at the back of the classroom on the floor where there was a reading pad. I tried my best to be non-distracting as much as possible. Nevertheless, I must admit that I somewhat obstructed the normal flow of classroom teaching just by being there. Though one may exercise caution not to disturb the people, “the very presence of the field worker does have an influence upon the field” (Srinivas, 2002). After around a week, most of the students and the teacher were familiar with my presence and classroom observation was done twice a week. I did not use any conventional aids like a video or a tape recorder. The main method of collecting data was sustained and intensive observation of the actual behaviour of the teacher and students in the school environment. In this process, I followed Malinowski (1996), who stated, “behaviour is in fact, a relevant fact and one that can be recorded”.

After getting permission from the Headmistress of school C who used the Accelerated Christian Education Curriculum , I visited the school one time a week. Similar to the of school A and B, I interviewed the Head of the institution of school B regarding the motto of the school and the specific culture of learning at her school. Issues such as the importance of education in *Mizo* society, the need for a culturally relevant curriculum for building national integrity, the phenomenon of communalisation of education, whether is there a need to teach moral education from religion and the way how school devotion took place were discussed. Through the interviews and discussions, I was able to understand the perspectives of the Head of institution on issues pertaining to the nature of education, the school they run, the curriculum, the pedagogical aspects, the process of evaluation of students and self-identity.

Upon entering the classroom, I noticed that there were Bible verses framed on the walls. I sat in the corner of the room and each child was having their own separate cubicle. This is called their own personal office. In each office, I observed that there were two flags, one is the Indian National Flag i.e. the tri-colour and the other is a blue and white parted cross which is labelled as a Christian flag. The child is expected to raise the flag when in doubt. If the child raises the Christian flag that means the child has some problems or doubts, to be asked to the teacher. The Christian flag is related only to the problems related to the paces. The Indian flag is raised only when the child needs to clear his or her doubts with a yes or no answer from the teacher. In this school, the interaction between the teacher and student was not much as students were taught to study on their own. Since everyone was in their offices, my presence didn't cause much of an alarm.

Apart from the classroom, I have also observed the morning devotion of schools A, B and C. It was a combination of group singing, reading bible verses followed by prayer, head of institutions preaching to them about good moral values which are taken from the Bible, recitation of the Lord's prayer and cleanliness checking at the end. Here, I could manage to understand the connection between education, Christian values and *Mizo* society.

I also distributed questionnaires to teachers who taught Social Science and Mizo subject to find out information on their socio-economic background. Here, I found that many teachers that I approached did not have the extra time to respond. In some cases, they would tell me to keep the questionnaire and to collect the questionnaire after two to days. Upon, going to collect the questionnaires, they still would not be answering it stating they are busy and would ask me to come back after another two to three days. When going back to collect it, they sometimes would not still fill it up and others would lose the questionnaire. Hence, the return rate of the questionnaire was just 27 percent. It was at this point that I decided to drop the technique of questionnaire and instead decided to use the technique of interview schedule.

For conducting interview schedules, I went to ten schools for the collection of data. The schools are both public and private. I interviewed a total of 100 teachers. Issues such as how they mediate textbooks inside the classroom and what are the things that they taught to students that are outside the syllabus were discussed. This helps me to develop a broad overview of the culture of learning at their school. This according to Malinowski (1996), constitutes “the third commandment of field work”. These “ideas, feeling and impulses are conditioned by the culture in which we find them, and are, therefore, an ethnic peculiarity of the given society”. As I am an insider of the community and as I could speak the language, getting in and obtaining permission from the head of each institution was not difficult. For selecting respondents, teachers would often suggest their colleagues and not themselves. Since questions were framed in English, teachers sometimes asked me to translate all the questions into Mizo so that they can understand the question better. This was done and a good discussion was held each time. In government schools that serve mid-day meals to their children, they would offer and insist me to eat the mid-day meals along with them. In the process, during my fieldwork, I gained around 2 kilograms of weight.

Upon self-reflecting, it was these teachers that made my fieldwork enjoyable. We exchanged phone numbers and I still maintained a good relationship with some of them up to this day. They have even wished me congratulations when I got married and at the birth of my son. To conclude, my journey from being an accused spy of the government to later becoming a lifelong friend during conducting my fieldwork was a long and arduous one which enabled me to understand the relationship between education and society in Mizoram in holistically.

1.4.5 Limitations of the study

The first limitation faced in this study was administering the questionnaire to teachers. As stated earlier, many of the teachers I approached did not have the extra time to entertain me. They would sometimes instruct me to leave the questionnaire and to pick it up in two to three

days' time. Then, they would refuse to fill it when I went back to collect them, claiming they were busy, and would urge me to return in another two to three days. Sometimes, upon returning, they would forget to complete it, and other times, they would misplace the questionnaire. Consequently, the questionnaire's return rate was only 27%. Hence, I switch to interview schedules for collecting the primary data. I wasted around 4 months in my attempt to conduct a questionnaire.

The second limitation faced in this study is that since Mizoram is a Christian-populated state, the people are somewhat biased towards Christian values. Hence, taking up a research topic that tries to appraise education and Christianity critically are often not welcomed by the general public. Also, it was noticed at first that the respondents were reluctant to express any negative views towards Christianity. It was only after several visits to the field that the respondents were opening up to me. The point here is, building a good rapport with the respondents takes a very long time.

The third limitation faced in this study is the absence of previous studies in this area. Though many research papers exist that highlights the development of education in Mizoram. I found no study that does a content analysis of colonial school textbooks and contemporary Social Science and Mizo textbooks used in school that is analysed using a social theory. This initially distorted my judgement in framing the objectives of this study.

The fourth limitation faced in this study was the Covid pandemic. As this study did a classroom observation to ascertain the culture of learning at schools. It was impossible to visit the field site after the March of 2020 due to the total lockdown in Mizoram. Of course, online classes were held by the schools but access to them was not possible due to technical reasons and institutional restrictions. So, teachers reserved the limited zoom link for the students only. Due to this, the culture of learning during the total lockdown days is not included in this study.

1.4.6 Structure of thesis

This thesis has six chapters. Chapter I is titled ‘Introduction’. It contains the background of the study, the significance of this study, the research objectives, the methodology which includes the adopted technique in collecting data, the key informants, experiences of the researcher in the field and chapterisation scheme of the thesis.

Chapter II is titled ‘Sociology of Schooling: Conceptual Analysis’. It includes the review of literature relevant to this study. Firstly, it discusses the functionalist role of education by looking at the works of Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons, Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore. The argument in this section is the role of education in maintaining social solidarity in society. Secondly, this chapter discussed the Marxist theory on education by exploring the works of Louis Althusser, Ivan Illich, Paulo Freire, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis. The main argument is how schools reproduce the labour power in a capitalist society. Thirdly, this chapter highlights the cultural deprivation theory by exploring the works of Basil Bernstein, Labov and Rosen. The main argument is on the absence of cultural capital of the lower sections of society in the education system. Fourthly, this chapter highlights the positional theory of education by exploring the works of Raymond Boudon. The main argument here is on the importance of the individual’s status in determining success and failure in school. Fifthly, this chapter discussed the interactionist view of education by arguing that the attainment levels of students in schools are based on the interactions in terms of negotiated meanings in the classroom. Sixthly, this chapter discussed the resistance theories on education by exploring the works of H.A. Giroux and Peter McLaren. The main argument is on the importance of human agency and experience in analysing the complex relations between schools and the dominant society. Seventhly, this chapter discussed the relationship between knowledge, power, education and relations of production in a capitalist society by exploring the works of Pierre Bourdieu and Michael F.D. Young. The main argument is on the cultural and social reproduction of the dominant cultural and social capital in a capitalist education

system. Lastly, this chapter discussed the feminist perspective on education by exploring the voices of the unexpressed and the marginalised sections of society.

Chapter III is titled 'Education and Society in Mizoram'. This chapter highlights the sociological meaning of education by visiting the works of scholars like John Stuart Mill, Immanuel Kant and Emile Durkheim. Secondly, to have an understanding on the traditional system of learning in pre-colonial Mizo society, this chapter analyses the role of social institutions such as family and *zawlbuk* which played an important role in the transmission of societal norms and values. How these institutions trained a child to subordinate himself/herself to the collective group and how an individual is trained to become a creature of society is mainly dealt in this section. Thirdly, this chapter highlights the emergence and development of education in Mizoram along with the analysis of the colonial impact on the education mission. It highlights the nature in which education and proselytisation go hand in hand. How Christianity ushered in the process of modernity and how it led to social, cultural and political transformation in Mizoram is dealt in this section. It draws largely upon secondary sources, official letters of the Christian mission and documents obtained from archival records. Fourthly, as this study aims to highlight the impact of education and Christianity in the present Mizo society in an unbiased manner, this chapter contains the interview conducted with pastors, church workers, church elders etc. to ascertain whether the written documents about the impact of Christianity in Mizo society is accurate or not.

Chapter IV is titled 'Ideology and curriculum: A Sociological Analysis of Mizoram Schools'. This chapter explores the traditional and modern meanings of curriculum. It highlights the core curriculum of India during the Vedic age, ancient India, Buddhist curriculum and Brahminic curriculum along with the contemporary understandings by exploring definitions given by John Dewey, Skinner, Inlow etc. Secondly, this chapter discusses the importance of studying the relationship between ideology and curriculum.

Thirdly, this chapter analyses the Social Science and Mizo textbooks used in Mizoram through content analysis. It analyses textbooks such as *Zir Tan bu*, *Zir Tan Bu Thar*, *Mizo Zir Tir Bu*, *Zir Tirh Bu* and *Duhlian Zir Tirh Bu* that were all framed by the missionaries during the colonial era. Also, this section contains the analysis of textbooks that were framed by the Mizoram Board of School Education (MBSE) and the State Council of School Education (SCERT) that are used in contemporary schools of Mizoram. Fourthly, this chapter contains the construction of *Mizo* identity by the Mizo subject and Social Science subject textbooks which are used in Mizoram schools. It discusses the making of Mizo identity in terms of geographical settlement, language and dialect, tribe and religion, dressing attire and social stratification. Fifthly, this chapter contains the interview of textbook framers from the members of the Social Science and Mizo subject committee from the MBSE and SCERT.

Chapter V is titled ‘Curriculum and Pedagogical Practices: A Sociological Analysis of Mizoram Schools’. In Mizoram, schools can be categorised into three types based on the curriculum structure they follow. Firstly, this chapter did a review of the National Curriculum Framework 2005, Maria Montessori’s Curriculum Guidelines and the Accelerated Christian Education Curriculum. The difference in its core curricula and its distinct pedagogic practice is highlighted. Secondly, a case study of schools that follow these frameworks is done on three schools namely: Holy Heart School (School A) which follows the NCF 2005, La Montessori School (School B) which follows Maria Montessori’s Guidelines and Faith Learning Centre (School C) which follows the Accelerated Christian Education Curriculum. Interview was conducted with the head of the institution of each school. Issues such as secularism and education, religion and education and values that the school tries to impart to students were discussed. Thirdly, classroom observation of these schools was done to ascertain the difference in the pedagogical practice of each school. Fourthly, to learn more about the pedagogical aspect, this chapter contains the interview schedule of 100 school teachers that teach Social

Science and Mizo subjects from 10 schools. Issues such as their relationship with the students, the way how they mediate the textbooks and the other things that are taught inside the classroom that are outside the textbook are discussed.

Chapter VI is titled as the ‘Conclusion’. This includes the research findings of this study.

1.5 SUMMARY

This study is titled ‘Ideology, Identity and Schooling: A Study of Curriculum and Pedagogic Practices in Mizoram’. Its main objectives are to study the nature of education in Mizoram by analysing the relationship between education and society in Mizoram. Secondly, this study analyses the nature and process of framing Social Science Subject and Mizo subject textbooks in Mizoram. Thirdly, this study analyses the nature of the mediation of curriculum and textbook lessons by teachers inside the class.

To gather primary data, the Director of the Mizoram Board of School Education was interviewed in 2017. The assistant coordinator of the Mizo subject committee and the Social Science subject committee was interviewed in 2018. Thirdly, a hundred educators who taught Mizo and social science from 2015 to 2018 participated in an interview schedule. Fourthly, to identify the disparities in the approaches to teaching and learning at schools in Mizoram, a non-participatory observation on three schools that adhere to the National Curriculum Framework, Maria Montessori Framework, and Accelerated Christian Education was carried out in 2018. For secondary data, this study reviewed existing literature on sources in the field of sociology of education and sociology of curriculum including books, articles, essays, journals, and other sociological writings that are relevant to the subject. The Mizoram Board of School Education's Mizo and Social Science textbooks, which are used in both English- and Mizo-medium schools, were subjected to content analysis for this study.

CHAPTER II

SOCIOLOGY OF SCHOOLING: CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains a review of literature significant to this study. Firstly, it discusses the functionalist perspectives on education by looking at the works of Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons, Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore. The main argument is on the role of education in maintaining value consensus and social solidarity in society. Secondly, this chapter discussed the Marxist perspectives on education by exploring the works of Louis Althusser, Ivan Illich, Paulo Freire, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis. The main argument is how schools reproduce the requirement of labour power in a capitalist society. Thirdly, this chapter highlights the Cultural Deprivation theory by exploring the works of Basil Bernstein, William Labov and Harold Rosen. The main argument is on the absence of the cultural capital of the lower sections of society in the education system.

Fourthly, this chapter highlights the Positional theory of education by exploring the works of Raymond Boudon. The main argument here is on the importance of the individual's status in determining success and failure in school. Fifthly, this chapter discussed the Interactionist perspectives on education by exploring the works of Nell Keddie, Cicourel and Kitsuse. The main argument is the achievement credentials of students in schools are dependent on the interactions and negotiated meanings created inside the classroom by the teachers. Sixthly, this chapter discussed the Resistance theory of education by exploring the works of H.A. Giroux and Peter McLaren. The central claim is that human agency and experience are crucial for understanding the relationships between schools and the dominant society.

Seventhly, this chapter discussed the relationship between knowledge, power, education and relations of production in a capitalist society by exploring the works of Pierre Bourdieu and Michael F.D. Young. The main argument is on the cultural and social reproduction of the dominant

groups in a capitalist education system. Lastly, this chapter discussed Feminist pedagogy in education by exploring the voices of the unexpressed and the marginalised sections of society.

For a long time, Philosophy was the only subfield within the Social Sciences that actively pursued research into the topic of schooling. However, as the fields of Sociology, Psychology, Economics, and Politics have also taken up an interest in recent decades, scholars from a wider range of disciplines have started to investigate the phenomenon of education. Since these subjects have different backgrounds and perspectives, they have approached the study of education in a variety of ways.

2.2 THE FUNCTIONALIST PERSPECTIVE

The functionalist perspective emphasises on the beneficial role education plays in upholding the social system. In education, functionalists are primarily interested in answering two related questions:

1. What roles does education play in society as a whole?
2. What are the functional connections between other facets of the social system and education?

The former prompts consideration of the role that education plays in preserving value consensus and social solidarity while the latter further led to the investigation of the link between schooling and the economic system and how this relationship helps in integrating society as a whole (Haralambos & Heald, 2011).

2.2.1 Emile Durkheim

According to Durkheim (1956) in the book *Education and Society*, the primary goal of education is to instil societal norms and values in the child. A society can survive effectively only when all the members maintain a certain degree of homogeneity among themselves. This is necessary for collective living. The first role of education is to teach homogenous values in the child. Without any fundamental commonalities, cooperation, social solidarity and everyday

social living is not possible. Developing social solidarity is an essential task for all members of society. This role is fulfilled by education. This calls for devotion to society, a sense of commitment to the community and the conviction that society is more significant and more prominent than oneself. The child must view society as something that dominates him/her and to which he/she owes the best aspects of himself/herself for having a connection with a society that is real, alive, and powerful. One of the most important ways in which education connects individuals to larger groups is through the study of history. Hence, for knowing one's own cultural heritage, imparting Social Science subjects which consist of civic, cultural, historical, political and economic aspects of one's own culture is important. In this context, Durkheim (1956) commented,

“Education, in particular, history provides the link between individual and society. If the history of his society is brought alive to the child, he will come to see that he is a part of something larger than himself, he will develop a sense of commitment to the social group.”

The role of a school in today's complex industrial society is one that the home or the community cannot fulfil. In a family, one becomes a member because of kinship ties and in a peer group one becomes a member because of personal preference. But in the outside world, these principles are not used to determine who is considered member of society. People need to develop their ability to collaborate with those who are neither their family nor their friends. Schools provide a setting ideal for acquiring such competencies. According to Durkheim (1956), “It (the school) is a society in miniature, a representation of the larger social order”. The rules of the school community dictate how the child must interact with his or her peers; this is the second functionalistic role education played in the society. For instance, when a child learns to control himself/herself and exercise restraint because he/she knows he/she should, he/she is better equipped to respect the norms of the classroom and the world beyond. According to Durkheim (1956) this is “the beginning of initiation into the austerity of duty.”

Moreover, formal education equips students with the knowledge, skills and abilities they will need to succeed in the future. In today's industrialised world, with its growing complexity and specialised division of labour, this role is more vital than ever. Due to the unspecialised division of labour in pre-industrial society, vocational and occupational skills were frequently passed down from parents to children without the need for formal education. But in today's industrialised society, the interdependence of specialised skills is a significant pillar of social solidarity. For instance, the production of a single product necessitates the cooperation of several professionals. Cooperation and social solidarity resulted from this need for combination. Thus, education's third functionalistic role is imparting both the universal ideals that ensure social survival and the specialised talents that foster social cooperation. Thus, in an industrial society, everyone shares a standard set of values and a clear division of labour allows for the efficient production of products and services by a variety of specialists working together. In this context, Durkheim (1956) stated,

“Schools transmit both general values which provide the necessary homogeneity for social survival and specific skills which provide the necessary diversity for social cooperation. Industrial society is thus united by value consensus and specialised division of labour whereas specialist combine to produce goods and services.”

2.2.2 Talcott Parsons

Parsons (1968) in an article *The Position of Identity in the General Theory of Action* argues that the school becomes the principal local socialising agency in a community once the family has provided the necessary foundation for a child's development. Hence, the fourth functionalistic role of education is the school connects the child to his community and helps him become a contributing member of society. The child's worth is determined and cared for in the family primarily by 'particularistic' standards. For instance, parents see their children as their own particular children rather than see them as an individual who is apart of society. But in larger society, regardless of family relationships, everyone is judged and appraised in accordance with 'universalistic' standards. In other words, education serves as a conduit for

the transfer of status from the ‘particularistic standards’ and ascribed status of the family to the ‘universal standards’ and attained the status of adult society.

The school set up common criteria by which all students are evaluated. Students are evaluated on both their behaviour and academic progress based on their performance. All student are held to the exact expectations regardless of their gender, colour, socio-economic status, or any other identifying factor. The fifth functionalistic role of education is that it teaches the principle of meritocracy i.e. students rise through the ranks based on their performance.

Parsons (1968) also believes ‘the school is a society in miniature’. Modern industrial society increasingly relies on meritocratic ideals that apply to all of its members, on universalistic standards rather than particularistic ones, and achievement rather than ascription. By simulating real-world conditions, the school helps young people become productive adults, which is the sixth functionalistic role of education on society.

Schools play an essential role in socialising students into society’s norms and standards which require value consensus and an agreement on fundamental moral principles. The seventh functionalistic role of education in society is that schools teach students the importance of the value of achievement and the value of equality of opportunity. Schools promote the importance of accomplishment and achievement by motivating pupils to strive for it and rewarding those who succeed. Schools promote equality of opportunity by putting students in a similar setting and giving them a fair chance to compete academically. These values children learn at schools have significant roles in society as a whole. The workforce in modern industrial societies must be intrinsically driven and goal-oriented. For this reason, schools have long adhered to the notion of rewarding students differently based on their levels of accomplishment. The system will be seen as fair and just by both the high achievers and the low achievers because of the level playing field in which status is earned. Once again, the norms of the institution reflect those of society at large. In this context, Parsons (1968) stated:

“By encouraging students to strive for high levels of academic attainment and by rewarding those who do, schools foster the value of achievement itself. By placing individuals in the same situation in the classroom and so allowing them to compete on equal terms in examination, schools fosters the value of equality of opportunity. These values have important functions in society as a whole. Advanced industrial society requires a highly motivated, achievement oriented workforce”.

The eighth functionalistic roles of a school is that it plays a crucial factor in determining an individual's position in the future. It “serves to distribute these people among the many tasks that make up modern adult society” (ibid.). By assessing and testing pupils, schools match their abilities, skills, and capacities to the position they are most qualified for. Therefore, the educational system is considered the primary means of assigning an individual to his/her future role allocation.

2.2.3 Wilbert E. Moore and Kingsley Davis

Davis & Moore (1945) in the article *Some Principles of Stratification* also see education as a means of role allocation, but they link the educational system more directly with the system of social stratification where they argue that the purpose of social stratification is to place society's brightest and best in the roles that are essential to its operation.

Positions that serve society's functions more directly are rewarded more handsomely in society. In principle, the best and brightest would strive for such roles because of the high pay and incentives they provide. A vital component of this is the educational system. Hence, the tenth functionalistic role of education in society is that it filters, sorts, and ranks students based on their unique set of skills and aptitudes. High-achieving individuals are recognised and rewarded with credentials that open doors to better-paying jobs in society at large. In this context, Davis & Moore (1945) commented:

“High reward which acts as incentives are attached to those positions which means, in theory, that all will compete for them and the most talented will win through. The education system is an important part of this process. [...] It rewards the most talented with high qualifications, which in turn provide entry to those occupations which are functionally more important to society.”

Thus, according to the functionalist perspective, it can be said that educating young people, preparing them for adult roles, selecting them based on their talents and abilities for appropriate roles in adult life, and equipping them with the knowledge, skills, and training they need to effectively participate in the labour force are some of the primary functions of education in industrial society.

2.3 THE MARXIST PERSPECTIVE

Several interconnected issues shape the Marxist perspective on education in western industrialised countries. A standard line of inquiry from this group are:

1. How does the economic infrastructure influence the educational system?
 2. “How does the educational system produce the workforce required by capitalism?”
- (Haralambos & Heald, 2011)

Answering these requires an analysis of the interconnections between capitalist society’s power structure, ideology, educational system and relations of production. The responses provide a solid counter-argument to the functionalist understanding of education.

2.3.1 Louis Althusser- The Reproduction of Labour Power

Althusser (1971) poses the question, “How is reproduction of labour force provided for in a capitalist regime?” in the article *Ideological State Apparatus* and argues that rather than inside the conventional production system, it is the capitalist education system that reproduces the specialised labour force required by capitalism. He further investigates the things children learnt at school and found that children’s education varies. The first thing that children learn is the acquisition of basic arithmetic and literacy skills, i.e. children acquire knowledge immediately applicable to their respective production roles. Children also receive a variety of procedures, such as parts of ‘scientific’ and ‘literary’ culture. Children also learn the norms of social conduct that each agent in the division of labour should uphold in accordance with the

occupation to which he/she is 'destined'. These include moral principles, civic responsibility, and professional ethics, all of which imply respect for the socio-technical division of labour and, ultimately, the rules of the order established by class dominance. In addition, they acquire the skills necessary to communicate effectively, manage employees with tact, and effectively order them about by the use of appropriate language and tone.

According to the Marxist perspective, to reproduce a labour force, it is necessary to replicate both its skills and its adherence to the laws of the existing order, i.e. the reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology for its workers and the reproduction of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression, so that they, too, will provide for the domination of the ruling class 'in words'. In other words, the school imparts 'know how', but in ways that guarantee conformity to the prevailing ideology and competence in its 'practise'. The capitalist education system teaches all the agents of production, exploitation, and repression.

Reproducing one's submission to the dominant ideology or the 'practise' of that ideology is another theme discussed in the *Ideological State Apparatus*. The ideological servitude of the capitalist education system is essential to the reproduction of the productive capacities of the labour force. The reproductions of labour power involve two processes:

1. The reproduction of skills necessary for an efficient labour force.
2. *The reproduction of ruling class ideology and the socialisation of workers in terms of it.*

Althusser (1971).

Together, these procedures create a labour force that is technically competent, completely subservient and obedient to their superiors. Reproducing a workforce suitable for a capitalist society is the main primary function of education. In this context, Althusser (1971) stated:

"No class can hold power for any length of time simply by the use of force. Ideological control provides a far more effective means of maintaining class rule. The maintenance

of class rule largely depend on the reproduction of the ruling class ideology. Thus, the reproduction of labour power requires not only a reproduction of its skills, but also, at the same time a reproduction of its submission to the ruling ideology. This submission is reproduced by a number of 'Ideological state Apparatus' which include the media, the law, religion and education. In pre-capitalist society, the church is the dominant ideological State Apparatus. In capitalist system, it has largely been replaced by the educational system."

2.3.2 Herbert Gintis and Samuel Bowles- Schooling in Capitalist America

According to Bowles & Gintis (1976) in their work *Schooling in Capitalist America*, education's primary function in a capitalist society is to produce labour power. They contend that the foundations of capitalism are profit maximisation and private ownership of the means of production. In this system, workers earn money through wages and salaries, and the capitalists who own the means of production keep the surplus value. The belief in this system is legitimate and fair are essential to its continued success. To do this, the capitalist has to conceal the true nature of the exploitation from their employees. Apart from this, the worker's acceptance of the system's alienation also plays an important role in its success.

To motivate employees who feel alienated from their job capitalist used extrinsic rewards such as more pay or a promotion to keep them going. Therefore, a capitalist system needs workers who are driven by incentives. Since the capitalist's goal is to maximise profits and to do so, the capitalist must pay workers as little as possible and extract as much labour as possible. For this, an enthusiastic and diligent worker is needed. This is secured as the workers fear being laid off or fired from their job. This keeps employees on their toes. The possibility of promotion for selected members of the workforce to higher status and pay also maintains high motivation. A workforce responsive to such incentives is necessary for this to happen. Thus, a subservient, obedient, and disciplined workforce is necessary for capitalism's survival and prosperity. In this context, Bowles & Gintis (1976) commented:

"Most importantly, the success of capitalism depends upon control from the top. This involves an acceptance by the workforce of a hierarchical system of power and control and minimal participation in decision making by the majority (the workers)"

To understand the function of education, one needs to examine the relationship between grades and personality traits at schools. It is often seen that schools unfairly punish students for being original, assertive, and self-reliant as these personality traits are correlated with lower academic performance. In contrast, strong academic achievement is associated with a set of traits that Bowles & Gintis (1976) call as ‘subordinacy and discipline’, and that the school rewards these traits. In this category, personality traits like tenacity, consistency, reliability, and timeliness are popular traits. Hence, personality traits that can be considered as ‘submission to authority’ are significantly associated with academic success. In this context, Bowles & Gintis (1976) stated:

“Schools foster types of personal development compatible with the relationship of dominance and subordinacy in the economic sphere. The only significant penalised traits are precisely those which are incompatible with conformity to the hierarchical division of labour. Capitalism requires workers who will obey, submit to control from above, take orders rather than question them. By encouraging certain personality characteristics and discouraging others, schools help to produce this kind of worker.”

Thus, the Marxist perspective submits that school prepares students with an ‘attitude and behaviour consonant with participation in the labour field’.

To understand how the education system reflects the values of the economy, one has to look at the relationship between the nature of work and social relationships. Most of the time, authority and management in schools are structured in a hierarchical structure just as in the capitalist system. When teachers demand compliance from students, they usually get it. Students have little say in what they study and what assignments they do. They are disengaged from their studies and see little value in terms of it. At most schools, the teaching method is still primarily centred on the ‘jug and mug’⁶ principle, which tends to discourage the learner from finding joy in studying. Teachers are seen as the sole bearers of information and the keeper of the code of knowledge. It is the teacher’s role to pour knowledge out into the student’s

⁶ Children learn about the environment by sitting passively in the classroom and receiving information from the teacher. This was compared to a “Mug and Jug model”, wherein children were more like a 'Mug' filled with information from a 'Jug' which was the teacher.

minds like empty cups. Also at schools, students are taught to respond to rewards that are not directly related to their work, such as exam results and teacher approval, and to be content with extrinsic rewards. These rewards are sanctioned by those in authority thereby giving the teacher a powerful tool to control the students.

In addition, over the course of an academic day, a student has to follow a routinised time-table where they need to attend a class which have no connection with one another- from arithmetic to history to English without making any kind of meaningful connections between the subjects. As a result, students' understanding is splintered across several disciplines in the classroom. Social relationships in schools, according to Bowles and Gintis (1976), "replicate the hierarchical division of labour in the workplace". A student's lack of say over assignments is indicative of their future experience in the workplace. Failure to find interest and enjoyment in schoolwork is a precursor to alienation from work in later life. Like the incentive system where those in power provide salary, position and authority to inspire and govern the workers, students who react positively to external rewards in the classroom demonstrate similar behaviour in the workplace. It is no coincidence that the economic system's organisation of labour reflects the fragmentation and compartmentalisation of knowledge in schools. The students are ready for the tasks at work "by a strong correlation between the social dynamics which regulate human interaction in the workplace and the social relationships of the educational system", write Bowles & Gintis (1976).

Regarding inequality at schools, the educational system is largely to blame for legitimising the disparities that exist in capitalist societies. The idea that various levels of achievement should be rewarded differently is a well-established practice in every educational institution. One way education legitimises inequality is that schools provide the environment and open competition through which skills and abilities are developed, evaluated and certified. This meritocratic view of the educational system is widespread. Those with the most

credentials have earned their status and status perks. This outlook is also applied to the economy. It is often taught that the most qualified pupils get rewarded most handsomely when entering the workforce. The educational system provides a rationale for and a stamp of approval for the economic disparities that exist in society. Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that meritocracy is a myth. They contend that one's socio-economic status impact one's success in school and the workforce than one's natural aptitude. As a result, the offspring of the rich and powerful have an easier time gaining access to prestigious educational institutions and well-paying careers, regardless of their actual merit. In reality, it is the concept of meritocracy that our educational system uses to cover its true nature. Therefore, 'the legitimization of pre-existing economic inequality' is provided through educational opportunities.

Bowles and Gintis (1976) supported their claim with data showing a correlation between a person's IQ and their level of education and the satisfaction they get from their job. They contend that intelligence has very little role in academic success. This assertion looks to be false at first glance. But statistical research suggests a moderate correlation between intelligence and academic success. If so, does Intelligence Quotient play a role? Does a high IQ guarantee academic achievement? If this is true, those with similar intelligence would have similar levels of schooling. To answer this, they used a sample of people with average IQs and noticed that there was a wide variation in educational attainment within the sample, leading them to the conclusion that there is very little correlation between IQ and academic qualification. This explains the discrepancy in accomplishment amongst persons with comparable IQs? In fact, a causal link between family background and educational attainment has been discovered. It is not an individual's intelligence that determines their socio-economic status, but the parents' status is a factor here. In this context, Bowles and Gintis (1976) argued generally, the higher the person's class of origin, the longer he spends in the school system and the greater his qualifications. This is because people from higher socio-economic backgrounds

tend to spend more time and effort in school and graduate with more advanced degrees. But why do kids who get good grades tend to be smarter than average? This connection according to Bowles & Gintis (1976), is ‘a spin-off, a by product’ of higher education. A person’s IQ increases the longer he spends in school. Accordingly, intelligence is a result of the duration of stay rather than the reason for it. In light of the above, they argue that, there is no meritocracy in the educational system, at least in terms of IQ. To understand the correlation between IQ and occupational reward, Bowles & Gintis (1976) commented:

“The family background is the major factor accounting for differences in income. IQ itself has little direct effect on income variation.”

Thus, at least in terms of IQ, they reject the view that the placement of individuals in the occupational structure is based on meritocratic principles. Bowles & Gintis (1976) also investigate the link between educational credentials and occupational reward and claim that high education qualifications do not guarantee a high salary. They conclude that an individual’s social background, race, and gender are the most significant determinants of occupational pay. For example, white men are more likely to be hired with a college degree than white women or black men, and that middle-class men are more likely to be employed than low-income men. White middle-class men, in general, have a greater rate of educational attainment than members of other socio-economic groups, as a result, they also have a more significant rate of occupational reward. Their future earnings are not much influenced by their level of schooling or their IQ. Hence, Bowles & Gintis (1976) draw the following conclusion, “the intellectual qualities earned or certified in school make little direct contribution to going successful economically”.

If the Marxist assessment is correct, then schools are a huge myth-making machine that helps to justify inequalities. It fosters the false belief that academic achievement is rewarded according to ability and that schooling is the key to professional advancement. Due to the myth of meritocracy instilled in schools, people believe that the job distribution system

is just, equitable, and legal. In particular, the focus on IQ as the basis for economic success legitimises an authoritarian, hierarchical, stratified, and unequal economic system. Meritocracy fosters the fallacy that those at the top are rightfully deserving of their position of authority and the benefits that come with it, while those at the bottom are solely to blame for their disadvantaged position. “In this way, the educational system reduces the discontent that a hierarchy of wealth, power and prestige tends to produce. Thus, it can be said that education reproduces inequality by justifying privilege and attributing poverty to human failure. It efficiently disguises that economic success runs in the family, that privilege breeds privilege”.

Bowles & Gintis (1976) conclude:

“Capitalism requires a surplus of skilled labour. This maintains a high rate of unemployment which provides an effective means of control over the workforce. The threat of dismissal and the possibility of resulting unemployment reduces militancy and keeps wage demands at relatively low level. The reserve of skilled labour allows workers to be easily replaced. Schools produce this surplus of labour. Since the mental and skills requirements of the majority of jobs are fairly low, and since many skills are learned on the job, schools, if anything, over-educate the labour force. Given their schooling, most people could do most jobs. The surplus of skilled labour produced by the schools allows employers to pick and choose their employees and so maintain their control over the labour force.”

Thus, the Marxist perspective submits that academic institutions are structured to accommodate the needs of a capitalist society that is both authoritarian and exploitative. Schools’ primary purpose is to produce a workforce suitable for the demands of a capitalist economy. The Marxist perspective felt pessimistic about the prospects for educational change. To them, since the capitalist economic system is the primary cause of inequality and repression in schools and society at large, the development of an equitable and liberated educational system necessitates a revolutionary reform of economic life. This means abolishing capitalism and replacing it with a socialist society in which the people owned all means of production.

2.3.3 Ivan Illich- Deschooling Society

Though not a Marxist, Illich is listed among Marxist scholars for two reasons. To begin, the functionalist approaches to education have come under fire from Illich's sharp criticism. Second, there are numerous connections between his ideas and those of Karl Marx regarding his severe criticism of the function of education in modern industrial society. Illich's book *Deschooling Society* (1973) is a landmark publication in the field of Sociology of Education.

First, Illich (1973) discusses about how schooling should be structured. Learning specific skills such as typing, woodworking, and language study should come first. second, there is education in and of itself, which is not focused only on the development of specific skills. He stated that education should be an experience of liberation in which freedom of inquiry, expression and the use of one's discretion and judgement are fully developed. The traditional institutions are ineffective at imparting these useful skills and practical knowledge. He thinks that those who utilise such abilities should be the ones to teach them to others. For example, he cites New York City's use of Spanish-speaking youth, many of whom had dropped out of high school, to teach the language to adults in government service, non-profit organisations and the religious community. They were schooled in using a curriculum intended for university-educated linguists within a week, and they finished the job efficiently within six months. But, the recruitment of such 'skill teachers' is hampered by a system that prioritises 'professionals', or instructors who have completed formal training and have been certified to teach in their subject area.

Regarding education, Illich is most critical on how schools fall short of his goals. He regards schools as authoritarian and call them as a 'repressive institution' where students are brainwashed to adopt the agendas of the powerful and where freedom of expression and critical

thinking is stifled. He explains how this ‘hidden curriculum’⁷ function as follows. The students are not allowed much say in his own education. They are subjected to an authoritarian pedagogical system and, if they want to succeed, they must adopt its norms. However, true learning is not the outcome of teaching but rather the individual’s active and voluntary participation in every learning process. He concluded by saying, “most learning needs no instruction”. The school’s authority to provide credentials that are thought to bring benefits in the job market gives it the ability to enforce adherence to its regulations and to force its students to follow instructions. Those who play by the rules are the ones who advance to the next grade. In this context, Illich (1973) commented, “School pick at each succeeding level those who have, at previous levels of the game, shown themselves excellent risks for the existing order”.

This implies that there are benefits to conforming and obeying authority. As a final step, students graduate from school with a wide range of credentials that others have prepared them for specific careers. This idea is not acceptable to Illich where he stated, “the pupil is ‘schooled’ to confuse teaching with learning, grade advancement with education and a diploma with competence”.

According to Illich (1973), all the problems of the contemporary industrial society may be traced back to the education system because the education system is crucial in producing stupid, compliant and susceptible to manipulation citizenry. Students learn to forget how to think independently and develop a healthy respect for authoritative figures while in school. A student is conditioned to think of education as something to be consumed in ever-greater volumes. In this way, a student is trained to be a mindless consumer for whom the act of consuming the products and services of industrial society is a goal in itself. A student spends time, money, and energy on acquiring industrial things in response to advertisements and the

⁷ Hidden curriculum refers to the unwritten, unofficial, and often unintended lessons, values, and perspectives students learn in school.

dictates of the powerful. When a person is socialised to believe that government agencies, bureaucratic organisations, and professional bodies know best for them, then he/she is more likely to follow their orders and grow reliant on them. Illich further adds the basis for human pleasure and satisfaction does not exist in today's industrial society. Misery, unhappiness, and social issues are rising despite the ever-increasing output of commodities from companies and the ever-increasing number of professional programmes designed to address social problems. The establishment proposes a solution that is easy to understand but ultimately futile i.e. buying more materials. According to Illich (1973),

“As long as we are not aware of the ritual through which the school shapes the progressive consumer- the economy's major resource- we cannot break the spell of this economy and shape a new one.”

A bold but straightforward answer Illich suggests is deschooling. The solution is to do away with the current educational system altogether. In other words, schools are the foundation upon which everything else is built. Hence, deschooling is at the core of any movement for human liberty. As an alternative to traditional schools, Illich proposes two options. There are 'skill exchanges', when teachers provide and receive the training they once received. Skill acquisition, according to Illich, is best accomplished through 'drills' of systematic teaching. Second, Illich suggests 'learning webs'. This is made up of people who have similar interests. They would gather around a selected problem, and according to their initiative, they would further develop a creative and exploratory learning system and that would become the norm. According to Illich (1973), eliminating what he calls “the reproductive organ of a consumer society” through deschooling would pave the way for a world in which man is free to pursue his happiness.

Freire is another critic of conventional education. According to him, what he calls “the banking concept of education”⁸ is afflicted with “narration sickness”⁹ in the classroom. It is stifling to original and analytical thinking. Freire (1977) in the book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* stated:

“Education [...] becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorise and repeat [...]. In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing.”

Bhatia (2010), a critic of Freire, pointed out that Freire had come up with a novel approach to educating the impoverished in Latin America. Words and phrases used in daily life were learned in this straightforward manner. People were expected to vote for their instructors. The critical education that Freire recommends is dynamic, inquisitive, and founded on reciprocal good intentions which is in contrast to traditional pedagogical practices. As a result, it is transformational, liberating, consistent and empowering.

2.4 THE CULTURAL DEPRIVATION THEORY

The Cultural Deprivation school of thought argued that the value systems and sub-cultures held by the poor and members of specific ethnic groups impede their success in school and act as a barrier to their personal growth and development. It highlights the distinction between manual and non-manual work and the specific skills required. These factors contribute to disparities in educational attainment since the former have fewer opportunities for promotion, less money for savings and long-term planning, and a lower priority placed on education and reaching high occupational status. On the other hand, the latter offers more opportunities to improve income and status, flexibility for future planning, and appropriate revenue for investments.

⁸ Freire (1968) introduced the 'banking' concept of education whereby he equated teachers with bank clerks and saw them as 'depositing' information into students rather than drawing out knowledge from individual students or creating inquisitive beings with a thirst for knowledge.

⁹ The modern system of education where teachers feed information and students passively take it in.

Bernstein (1973) in the article *Social Class, Language and Socialisation* investigated the relationship between class difference patterns and the level of education. Perhaps, the ‘new sociology of education’ has its theoretical foundation in this thesis of the two codes. Upon analysing the speech patterns of both working-class and middle-class children. He concluded:

“Social class speech codes have their origin in family relationships, socialisation practices and the nature of manual and non-manual occupations. Middle-class children are at an advantage as they were familiar with the formal explicit and the universalistic ‘elaborated code’¹⁰. On the other hand, working-class children could handle just the shorthand, implicit and context-specific ‘restricted code’¹¹” (Bernstein, 1977, 1996).

On the basis of research with working-class and black children in Harlem¹², Labov (1973) in an article, *The Logic of Non-Standard English* and Rosen (1972), in the book *Language and Class* criticised Bernstein’s stand point, arguing that the theories of cultural deprivation are based on false assumptions. Rosen (1972) believed that Bernstein had invented a myth about the superiority of the middle class’s ‘elaborate code’ in the absence of evidence. Labov (1973) maintained that black speech patterns had unique characteristics, their own laws and conventions and were not inferior.

2.5 THE POSITIONAL THEORY

Boudon proposed the Positional theory was proposed. This view hold that rather than the the sub-cultural differences in the class structure, the individual’s actual position is more important. Since everyone starts in the class system at a different place, this would unavoidably result in educational inequality. According to Boudon (1974):

“In terms of intergenerational mobility, the choice of a course in ‘catering’ may mean ‘social demotion’ for the middle-class adolescent, while the same may mean ‘social promotion’ for a boy from working-class background.”

¹⁰ The elaborated code was used in relatively formal, educated situations, permitting people to be reasonably creative in their expression and to use a range of linguistic alternatives. It was thought to be characterised by a fairly high proportion of such features as subordinate clauses, adjectives, the pronoun I and passives.

¹¹ The restricted code was thought to be used in relatively informal situations, stressing the speaker's membership of a group, relying on context for its meaningfulness, and lacking stylistic range. Linguistically it is highly predictable, with a fairly high proportion of pronouns, tag questions, and the use of gestures and intonation to convey meaning.

¹² Harlem is a slum in New York city.

As a result, the middle-class parent is more likely to choose a less rigorous course. A single mandatory curriculum, fewer branching points, and the elimination of social stratification are the remedies suggested by Boudon in the book *Education, Opportunity and Social Inequality*. For this reason, Bourdieu (1974), in the article *The School as a Conservative Force: Scholastic and Cultural Inequalities* argues that the educational system is an instigator of symbolic violence. In other words, education, under the appearance of impartiality and fairness, not only replicates the existing inequalities but also creates its own inequities. One central claim of these theories of reproduction is that educational systems are inherently unequal.

Criticism of this theory is that it ignored ‘what is to be taught’ to the students. According to M. F. D. Young (1971) in the book “*Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*”, information cannot be evaluated objectively, and if certain knowledge is deemed superior, it is only because those in authority have unilaterally considered it so. He emphasises the ‘socially constructed’ nature of knowledge as all knowledge is essentially a product of human interaction.

2.6 THE INTERACTIONIST PERSPECTIVE

According to interactionists, human beings construct their own social realities. He is influenced by more than just external factors which act upon him. People’s action is guided by meanings. Rather than imposing meanings upon others, actors create their own through the process of interaction. In the course of negotiation, meanings are generated, developed, updated and changed. In an interactionist view, a man takes responsibility for his own actions rather than simply reacting to environmental pressures. In interactions with other people, man defines and interprets circumstances, derives meaning that guides his behaviour, and builds his own social world as a result (Haralambos & Heald, 2011).

British sociologist Keddie (1971) in the article *Classroom Knowledge* believes that studying classroom interaction processes is essential for comprehending and explaining

educational success and failure. Examining ‘the manner in which educators and learners perceive and provide meaning to educational contexts’ is an important task for sociologists.

At schools, teachers have the authority to assign grades and evaluate pupils, so understanding the underlying principles that guide this process is crucial. Becker (1952) interviewed sixty teachers at Chicago High schools to get insight into the meanings behind the construction of the ‘ideal pupil’ by teachers. He discovered that educators categorise and rank kids according to some idealised version of a perfect student. Teacher’ expectations for students’ work, behaviour, and appearance were all part of this benchmark. Teachers perceived those coming from the non-manual occupational status as being nearest to this ideal, whilst people from working-class backgrounds were perceived as being the furthest from it. Teachers perceived the lower-class pupils as undisciplined and challenging to regulate, and they interpreted their behaviour as showing a lack of interest and motivation. According to Becker, teachers encounter difficulties with these pupils since they are stereotyped negatively. In this context, Becker (1952), in the article *Social Class Variation in the Teacher-Pupil Relationship* stated, “Meanings in terms of which students are assessed and evaluated can have significant effects on interaction in the classroom and attainment levels in general”.

Similarly, high school counsellors in the United States were interviewed by Cicourel & Kitsuse (1963) for their work *The Education Decision Makers*, in which the authors sought to understand the motivations behind the ways in which pupils were categorised. Cicourel & Kitsuse (1963) observed substantial inconsistencies between the methods pupils were categorised based on success and the criteria they claimed to use (grades and IQ test results). In their study, they discovered that the student’s socio-economic status had a significant role in determining his/her grade. Thus, students from middle-class and upper-middle-class households were more likely to be regarded by guidance counsellors as ‘naturals’ and placed in more challenging courses, even when individuals from diverse socio-economic backgrounds

had equal academic records. They discovered that elements other than academic performance have a role in how counsellors categorise children's aptitude and potential. These factors include the student's outward look and attitude, as well as parental and teacher evaluations of the student's behaviour and level of adjustment. They reasoned that this practice goes against 'the principle of equitable access to educational opportunities for individuals of equal aptitude'. They then go on to investigate how counsellors define 'conduct problem' among students and the implications of such definitions and identified many elements that work in concert to provide a picture of behavioural issues for counsellors. The adolescents' posture, walk, haircut, attire, usage of slang, and way of talking are all examples. To reiterate, socio-economic status is a crucial criterion for categorising a student as having a conduct problem, since the traits are more often present in children from lower socio-economic backgrounds.

As seen through the lens of interactionists, students' degrees of achievement may be traced back to their participation in classroom discussions and the negotiation of meanings among peers. Understanding and explaining success and failure require delving into the meanings that guide the interaction that yields such outcomes.

Keddie (1971) applies this mode of study in an essay *Classroom Knowledge* by drawing parallels between the categorisation and assessment of pupils and that of subject matter expertise. She looks at 'what constitutes as knowledge to be made available and evaluated in the classroom' and its underlying meaning. Her research into British schools led her to the conclusion that students' own experiences are given little weight compared to the information deemed valuable by professors for a certain subject. Knowledge that is provided in an abstract and general form is regarded as being superior to specific knowledge that is concrete. The information given to children relies on how well their teachers think they can manage it. This means that the pupils who are already thought to be very intelligent get more emphasis on the most important information. Like Becker, Cicourel, and Kitsuse, Keddie (1971) discovered an

association between perceived ability and social class. In the school she studies, she observed that the students were divided into three ability tiers. Students from more privileged white-collar families were more likely to be assigned to the 'A' stream, while pupils from lower-class manual labour families were more likely to be put in the 'C' stream. She also observed that teachers varied their teaching strategies and the content they conveyed depending on the stream they were tasked to instruct. The 'C' stream students were often ignored. Some educators gave their 'C' stream students greater freedom to be disruptive and perform less work than their 'A' stream counterparts. According to Keddie, educators like those described by Becker have long used the standard of the 'ideal pupil' for categorisation. The 'A' stream students from middle-class families were the closest to the ideal pupil, and as a result, they were given more opportunities to learn highly valued information. Because of this, 'the differentiation of an undifferentiated curriculum' was the end outcome. Keddie (1971) came to a conclusion that:

"Classifications and evaluations of both pupils and knowledge are socially constructed in interactionist situations. Appropriate knowledge is matched to appropriate pupils. This resulted in knowledge defined as high grade being made available to students perceived as having high ability. It resulted in pupils perceived as having low ability, in practice mainly working class pupils, being actually denied knowledge which is essential for educational success."

The self-fulfilling prophecy theory explains the following using instances from classroom engagement. The teacher gave a specific definition of the student, such as that the student is 'bright' or 'dull'. Using this concept as a guide, the teacher makes predictions or prophecies regarding a student's behaviour, such as whether he will receive high or low grades. His characterisation of the pupil will have an impact on how the teacher interacts with the student. He might, for instance, hold the 'brilliant' student to greater standards and encourage him. The teacher's definition will usually influence how the student views himself. He will often act in accordance with how he perceives himself to be, i.e. 'bright' or 'dull'. Part of what he does will also mirror what the teacher wants from him. The teacher's prophecies have

fulfilled the prophecy in this fashion. Therefore, the contact between the student and the teacher has some bearing on the student's level of achievement.

The labelling theory explains some of the potential implications of students, which is similar to the self-fulfilling prophecy theory. A major focus of labelling theory is the stigmatisation of those seen as 'other' or 'different' from the norm. This may be summed up as follows in terms of student-teacher communication in the classroom: the teacher considers a student to have committed deviant behaviour because of an apparent rule violation. A student is branded a deviant by the instructor. Once a student has been labelled, it is easy to start seeing his or her behaviour through the lens of that label. A student may be deemed a 'conduct problem', 'trouble maker', 'moron' or 'clown' because of this. If the designation stays, the student may be singled out for further support. Students who have been branded 'conduct problem' may have been reprimanded for behaviour (or inferred attitudes) that is disregarded or unobserved among excellent students, as pointed out by Cicourel & Kitsuse. As a result, students may become more radical in pursuing alternative solutions to the issues he faces. He may experience prejudice and, in turn, deliberately engage in aberrant behaviour as a form of protest. Last but not least, he could try to find others who have been stigmatised in the same way as him. Possible outcomes of their interplay include the emergence of a subculture that actively endorses antisocial behaviour. As a result, those engaged are more likely to see themselves through the lens of the deviant label.

Similar to the self-fulfilling prophecy theory, the labelling theory has been used to explain some of the possible implications of teachers' conceptions of their students. The labelling theory concerns with the unfavourable descriptions given to people who are perceived to be breaking the rules. The interaction in the classroom can be summed up as follows. The teacher believes the student committed deviant conduct by disobeying the rules. Then, the student is classified as deviant by the teacher. A tendency to interpret the student's activities in

terms of the label developed after the label classified the student as a particular type of person. As a result, a student might be called a ‘conduct problem,’ a ‘trouble maker,’ a ‘moron,’ or a ‘clown’. The student may be chosen for extra attention if the label sticks. According to Cicourel & Kitsuse (1963), students identified as ‘conduct problems’ may face sanctions for actions (or even imputed attitudes) that excellent students miss or fail to notice. To address the issues in his circumstance, this may cause the students to deviate more. Because of his perceived discrimination, he might consciously engage in aberrant behaviour as a defiant reaction. Finally, he might look for people who are experiencing similar issues, or have been given similar labels. A sub-culture that supports deviance in a good way may emerge through these interactions.

2.7 THE RESISTANCE THEORY

This school of thought has emphasised human agency and experience as crucial to understanding the intricate relationship between the dominant culture and the school. According to this theory, “the domination of the school is never complete and total but is challenged by the students with their oppositional behaviour”. Giroux (2000) and McLaren (1986) are the leading protagonist of this theory. They said that school is a place of contestation characterised by students’ resistance. They argue that the current education system has to be replaced with a critical pedagogy which take into account the lived culture of the students.

McLaren (1986) emphasised ‘understanding schooling from the perspective of culture and performance’. He wants to give liminal views into everyday school life by examining routines. The word ‘ritual’ has only hitherto been used to refer to religious practices. But according to many modern ritologists, rituals are an essential part of daily human existence and should thus be stripped of its supernatural connotations. He emphasises the importance of ritual systems in schools, stating that they are found in abundance in educational institutions. Since students regard rituals as carriers of ‘cultural codes’ (cognitive and gestural information) that

influence their perspectives and modes of thinking, rituals are imprinted in the ‘surface structure’ and ‘deep grammar’ of school culture.

The concept of power and domination are fundamental to McLaren’s understanding of ritual. To comprehend contemporary domination and struggle, ideology, culture, ritual, and symbolic must compete with those of economic realm and class. Schools are therefore more than just ‘instructional sites’, which produce common values, abilities, and information; they are also ‘culture sites’, which arbitrarily order and legitimise particular kinds of language, reasoning, sociality, and everyday experience. Therefore, McLaren (1986) is concerned about both the process and the result of domination. He claims that through continual rituals and practises in schools, domination is constantly ‘worked up’. These customs govern, control and restrict the activities that pupils bring to school.

The similarity between McLaren and Giroux is ‘the discourse of possibility’. Both pushed for the creation of critical pedagogies. McLaren (1986) argues that teachers should create curricula and teaching strategies that utilise the students’ cultural capital, i.e. the lifestyles and popular culture that provide motivation for students. However, Giroux (2000) focuses on how the curriculum serves as an internal discourse. According to him, it serves as the primary language of the theory of education, making its ideology understandable. Here, Giroux’s approach seeks to offer a ‘counter hegemonic’ programme which sees ‘school as a site where cultural capital may be wrested from those who hold it under lock and key’. By doing so, the education experience will be a process of liberation.

2.8 KNOWLEDGE, POWER, EDUCATION AND RELATIONS OF PRODUCTIONS

Numerous sociologists contend that classroom interaction can be properly explained only by referencing the larger society. They suggested that the nature and distribution of power in society as a whole must be taken into consideration while defining and organising knowledge in the classroom. As a result, the socially dominant group has the authority to choose what

constitutes knowledge in the educational system. If the majority of classroom knowledge is derived from knowledge of the dominant groups, then, education will always favour the offspring of the wealthy and prejudice those from lesser socio-economic classes (Haralambos & Heald, 2011).

2.8.1 Pierre Bourdieu- Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction

The following is an overview of Pierre Bourdieu, which is heavily inspired by Marxist ideas. The purpose of the educational system is cultural reproduction. Contrary to what Durkheim said, this involves reproducing the culture of the ‘dominant classes’, not the culture of society as a whole. These groups may have the ability to ‘impose meanings and impose them as legitimate’. They are able to recognise the value of their own cultural traditions and use them as a cornerstone of their educational system. Contrarily, this assessment of the prevailing culture is arbitrary. There is no objective metric to compare it to other social subcultures and determine its relative merit. The capacity of the strong to impose their definition of reality on others is the root cause of the high value society places on dominant culture.

According to Bourdieu (1986), ‘cultural capital’ refers to the dominant culture since it may be converted into wealth and power through formal schooling. The discrepancies in educational achievement are largely explained by the unequal distribution of cultural capital among the various social strata. Students from higher social classes have an edge from birth since they have been assimilated into the dominant culture. According to Bourdieu, the success of all academic endeavours depends largely on the education previously gained in the early years of life. This foundation is only built upon by academic instruction. Instead of starting from scratch, it makes use of existing abilities and expertise. During their pre-school years, children from the dominant class internalised these abilities and information. As a result, the key to understanding the signals communicated in the classroom lies with the students, or, in Bourdieu's words, they possess the ‘code of the message’. Thus, education levels of social

groups are highly connected with their level of cultural capital. Because the middle class sub-culture is more similar to the dominant culture, middle class students succeed more often than working class kids.

When Bourdieu (1986) tries to define the abilities and knowledge necessary for academic success, he says that more important than the academic content of students' work is how they present themselves and their work, placing a strong focus on form over content. He argues that the intangible intricacies of manners and style have a substantial impact on teachers' assessments of students. The likelihood of the student succeeding increases with how closely his approach resembles that of the dominating classes. The working-class students are discriminated against in two ways by the emphasis on style. First, their work is penalised because its style differs from that of the mainstream society. Second, they are unable to understand the teachers' grammar, accent, tone, and delivery which may include a multitude of meanings. The usage of 'bourgeois parlance' by teachers as opposed to 'common parlance' creates an inherent obstacle to learning for working-class students.

According to Bourdieu, the social 'function of elimination' is the primary function of the educational system. Working class people will be excluded from higher education due to this. It is performed in two ways: through self-elimination and by failing the test. Due to their relative absence of a dominant culture and increased likelihood of exam failure, working-class pupils are kept from pursuing higher education. However, a greater percentage of elimination is accounted for by their free will decision to leave the system. This choice, in Bourdieu's opinion, is 'logical' and 'realistic'. Working class students are aware of what lies ahead. They are conscious of their disadvantage. In light of these factors, Bourdieu concludes:

"The major role of education on society is the contribution it makes to social reproduction-the reproduction of the relationships of power and privilege between social classes. Social inequality is reproduced in the educational system and as a result it is legitimated. The privileged position of the dominant classes is justified by educational success, the underprivileged position of the lower classes is legitimated by educational failure. The educational system is particularly effective in maintaining the power of the dominant

classes since it presents itself as a neutral body based on meritocratic principles providing equal opportunity for all [...] In practice education is essentially concerned with ‘the reproduction of the established order’.”

2.8.2 Michael F.D. Young- Knowledge and Power

Young (1971), in the book *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education* stated, “those in positions of power will strive to define what is accepted as knowledge”. They will likely see the information they have gained as superior, elevate it to the status of an institution, and use it as a yardstick for success in school. However, this is not because certain jobs demand applicants whose knowledge can be defined and measured in this manner. Instead, it keeps the status quo intact and guarantees that privilege and power are held by the same social groupings throughout time.

“Knowledge is a philosophical subject” writes Young (1971). By this, he implies that there is no objective means of judging various types of knowledge as superior or inferior. The only reason certain information is considered more superior to other information is because people in power have established it that way. This means that there is no such thing as false knowledge.

2.9. A FEMINIST PEDAGOGY IN EDUCATION

Since the late 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, when the dominant worldview of the ‘oppressors’ possessing the only version of reality has been substantially contested, feminist educators have evolved their methods within the framework of broad advancements in theories and practises of teaching. Feminist pedagogy challenges the separation of theory and practice, logic and emotion, and establishes the classroom as a legitimate site for learning and growth. Teachers and students alike are expected to enter classroom interactions armed with personal ‘texts’ that will ultimately influence the nature of the exchange that takes place there. Feminist pedagogy seeks to give a voice to the voiceless and investigate the experiences of those who

are often silenced or otherwise marginalised. This necessitates a cooperative and participatory approach to learning. This means that in order to understand a particular concept, it has to be contextualised by linking theory, research and experience.

Four common themes in Feminist Pedagogies can be identified:

1. An enduring connectedness to the living and the concrete: This necessitates a historical viewpoint in learning, which then allows students to personalise the field of study through engagement and sharing of experiences.
2. Emphasis on participation and interaction: This entails taking part in class discussions between the students, the teachers, and other students.
3. Collaboration and Cooperation: This include the utilisation of small discussion groups, interactions outside of the classroom, the exchange of reading materials, and theatre tactics because it has been discovered that they help to foster cooperation and teamwork.
4. Teaching with a vision: This entails a passionate pedagogy, which differs from either indoctrination or preaching and develops out of becoming concerned in the subjects that we study. Therefore, such educational practises aim for authenticity as an idea of empowerment (Rege, 2012).

Feminist pedagogies seek answers to questions such as ‘how knowledge has been/is constituted, by whom, for whom, and to what end?’ by exploring the connections and mediations between students’ own lived experiences, the content they’re learning about, and the social and political environment in which they’re learning it.

Feminist pedagogies in India must address both the androcentrism of the academic field and the criticism of feminism. Second, the contestation of caste, classes, patriarchy, and community identities makes it challenging to pinpoint feminist pedagogies. From a feminist’s standpoint, all social classes and cultures share the experience of several layers of oppression against women. Feminist pedagogies have the challenging issue of analysing society from the

perspective of the downtrodden, namely women. In the same way that we may learn to see the world through the eyes of others who have had different lives than our own, we can also learn to become feminists. This does not imply speaking ‘as’ or ‘for’ the oppressed, but rather acknowledging and accepting one’s own social position in relation to things like one’s caste, class, ethnicity, and gender.

Feminist pedagogies raise many problems related to vulnerability, authority and power in educational settings. Since pedagogy in its traditional definition promotes schooling for admission into the patriarchal system, feminist attempts at freeing educational practises may clash with the structural paradigm of our institution. An excess of excitement for non-hierarchical classrooms may lead to disorder; the lack of authority can leave individuals feeling vulnerable; and resistance to the gap between emotion and reason may need to be moderated on occasion. Such pedagogies, despite their constraints and challenges, will revitalise sociological discourse and the field of sociology.

2.10 SUMMARY

Firstly, this chapter submits that according to the Functionalists, the main purpose of education is to instil in children the shared ideals and homogeneous values of society. They view the school as a society in miniature as it provides the child an opportunity to interact with his peers. They opined that education imparts the universal ideals that ensure social survival as well as the specialised talents that foster social cooperation. They also uphold that the school connects the child to his community and helps him/her become a contributing member of society. The school acts as an agency for this transition- from the family’s particularistic standards to the society’s universal standards. At school, students learn the principle of meritocracy. This makes the student want to achieve for more. By simulating real-world conditions, i.e. by putting more of a focus on achievement than ascription, universalistic norms rather than particularistic ones and meritocratic ideals, the school helps young people to

become productive adults. Schools teach students ‘the value of achievement’ and ‘the value of equality of opportunity’. Educational system filters, sorts and ranks students based on their skills and aptitudes. In the modern industrialised society, the school is a key factor in determining an individual’s role in the future.

Secondly, this chapter submits that according to the Marxists, the main role of education in a capitalist system is to reproduce a specialised labour force required by capitalism. Reproducing labour force calls for not just the replication of its skills but also the replication of its adherence to the established order’s rules, i.e. the reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology for its workers and the reproduction of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression, so that they, too, will provide for the domination of the ruling class in words. All the agents of production, exploitation, and repression are presented in the capitalist educational system and the reproduction of such a workforce is the function of education in a capitalist society.

Marxists uphold the view that the principle of meritocratic principle is a myth and argue that one’s socio-economic status has more of an impact on one’s success in school and the workforce than one’s natural aptitude. As a result, the offspring of the rich and powerful have an easier time gaining access to prestigious educational institutions and well-paying careers, regardless of their actual merit. In reality, it is the concept of meritocracy that our educational system uses to cover its true nature. Therefore, the legitimization of pre-existing economic inequality is provided through educational opportunities.

They concluded that ‘schools are nothing but a huge myth-making machine that helps in justifying inequalities’. It fosters the false belief that academic achievement is rewarded according to ability and that schooling is the key to professional advancement. Due to the myth of meritocracy instilled in schools, people believe that the system of job distribution is just,

equitable, and legal. However, education actually perpetuates inequality by rationalising wealth and attributing poverty on individual failure.

The Marxist viewpoint contends that any movement for human freedom must start with the elimination of the current educational system, or ‘deschooling’. ‘Skill exchanges’ are a substitute for schools where instructors coach others in the skills they use on a daily basis. The second option is ‘learning webs’ which consist of a group of people with similar interests who get together to discuss an issue they independently select and define. Learning webs operate on the principle of creative and exploratory learning.

Thirdly, this chapter submits that the Cultural Deprivation theorists believe that the sub-cultures and value systems held by the poor and members of specific ethnic groups impede their success in school and act as a barrier to their own personal growth and development. And due to the absence of the cultural capital of the lower-class students at school, students fail to relate with their studies and often perform badly in schools.

Fourthly, this chapter submits that the Positional theorists argue rather than the sub-cultural differences in the class structure, the individual’s actual position is more important in determining success in schools. Since everyone starts out in the class system at a different place, this would unavoidably result in educational disparity. The educational system is an instigator of a symbolic violence. Under the pretext of fairness and objectivity, education not only perpetuates current inequities but also creates new ones.

Fifthly, this chapter submits that the Interactionists see education as students’ degrees of achievement may be traced back to the negotiated meanings created in the school between the teacher and the students. In interactionist settings, classifications and assessments of both students and knowledge are socially formed. The right students are matched with the right expertise. As a result, children thought to have high ability were given access to knowledge

categorised as high grade. In contrast, this led to students who were thought to have low ability- mostly working-class students- not receiving the knowledge they needed to succeed in school.

The Interactionist method challenged fundamental ideas like ability and conduct that earlier researchers had a tendency to take for granted by accepting teachers' descriptions of high- and low-capacity students, as well as of well-behaved and poorly-behaved students. According to the interactionists, meanings and definitions formed in interaction circumstances are what determine whether pupils are 'bright' or 'dull'.

The meanings and definitions attached to pupils, according to the interactionists, are not set in stone and are subject to change. Based on a distinct set of negotiated meanings, a student who was labelled as 'dull' in one series of exchanges may very well be considered 'bright' in another series. According to the interactionist viewpoint, students do not just respond in accordance with where they are in the class hierarchy and behave as such. Instead, a complicated web of relationships led to their degree of educational achievement.

Sixthly, this chapter submits that the Resistance theorist opined that the pupils' oppositional behaviour always challenge the school domination over them. Resistance theorists argued that school is a place of contestation characterised by students' resistance. The current educational system has to be replaced with a critical pedagogy and should take into account the lived culture of the students. Schools are more than just 'instructional sites' which produce common values, abilities, and information, but they are also 'culture sites', which arbitrarily order and legitimise particular kinds of language, reasoning, sociality, and everyday experience. Through continual rituals and practices, domination is constantly built up in schools. The resistance theorist viewed rituals as an essential part of daily human existence and should thus be stripped of its supernatural connotations.

The Resistance theorists calls for 'the discourse of possibility' in schools. This advocated for the development of critical pedagogies. Teachers should design curricula and

methods of instruction that make use of the cultural capital of the students they teach. The Resistance theorists focused on the curriculum functions as an internal discourse. It aims to provide a 'counter hegemonic' programme that uses schools as a place to seize cultural capital from those who keep it hidden away.

Seventhly, this chapter submits that after establishing the relationship between knowledge, power, education and relations of productions, one can understand that those in positions of power will strive to define what is accepted as knowledge as it serves to keep the status quo intact and guarantee that privilege and power are held by the same social groupings throughout time. The primary function of the educational system is the reproduction of dominant class culture, or cultural reproduction. The ability to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate is the privilege enjoyed by these groups. They are able to build their own culture as the foundation for knowledge in the educational system by defining it as 'worthy of being pursued and acquired'.

Eighthly, the Feminist pedagogy seeks to give a voice to the voiceless and investigate the experiences of those who are often silenced or otherwise marginalised. This necessitates a cooperative and participatory approach to learning. This means that in order to understand a particular concept, it has to be contextualised by linking theory, research and experience. Since pedagogy in its traditional definition promotes schooling for admission into the patriarchal system, the feminist pedagogies raise issues related to vulnerability, authority and power in educational settings. Feminist pedagogy seek answers questions such as "how knowledge has been/is constituted, by whom, for whom, and to what end?" by exploring the connections and mediations between students' own lived experiences, the content they're learning about, and the social and political environment in which they're learning it.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN MIZORAM

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Firstly, this chapter highlights the sociological meaning of education by visiting the works of scholars like John Stuart Mill, Immanuel Kant and Emile Durkheim. Secondly, to have an understanding on the traditional system of learning in pre-colonial *Mizo* society, this chapter analyse the role of social institutions such as family and *zawlbuk*¹³ which played a key role in transmitting societal norms and values. How these institutions trained a child to subordinate himself/herself to the collective group and how an individual is trained to become a creature of society is mainly dealt in this section

Thirdly, this chapter traces the historical development of education in Mizoram along with the analysis of the impact on the education mission. It highlights the nature in which education and prosetisation go hand in hand. The way Christianity ushered in the process of modernity and how it further led to social, cultural and political transformation in Mizoram is dealt with in this section. It draws largely upon secondary sources, official letters of the Christian mission and documents obtained from archival records. Fourthly, as this study aims to highlight the impact of education and Christianity in the present *Mizo* society in an unbiased manner, this chapter contains the interview conducted with pastors, church workers, church elders etc. to ascertain their reflections on the impact of Christianity in *Mizo* society.

Fifthly, to analyse the insider's perspective of church activities, focus group discussion is conducted with members of the *Kristian Thalai Pawl* (KTP), a youth group in the church. Sixthly, a sociological analysis of the relationship between education, society and

¹³ Zawlbuk is a men's dormitory for learning customs, defending one's village and how to become a useful member of the society.

colonialism in Mizoram is included in this chapter by drawing inferences from the writings of D.V Kumar and Krishna Kumar as a theoretical framework.

3.2 MEANING OF EDUCATION

The term ‘education’ is derived from the Latin words ‘*educare*’ which means ‘drawing out’, ‘*educare*’ implying ‘the process of nourishing’, ‘*educatum*’ which denote ‘to train’, ‘*educare*’ signifying ‘leading forth’, and ‘*educature*’ synonymous with ‘instruction’. The Concise Oxford Dictionary Tenth Edition (1999) defines education as the process of educating or being educated. Similarly, the Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary Third Edition (2008) defines it as the process of teaching or learning in a school or college or knowledge that a person gets from it. Kilpatrick (1951) defines it as “from the wide point of view, every life wisely lived is education”. In a similar context, Dewey (1938) said, “education is not preparation for life; education is life itself”. An individual’s education, according to Raymont (1949), is “that process of development in which consists the passage of a human being from infancy to maturity, the process whereby he gradually adapts himself in various ways to his physical, social and spiritual environment”. This implies education is fundamental to both life and the act of living. The suggestions here is that there are distinct developmental stages in life and that education is a growth-focused process that may include all the cultural and social factors that shape an individual’s experience of life. This kind of development takes place whenever a person interacts with the outside world and is subject to the rules, norms, and expectations of society as a whole. Lodge (2014) argues that “in the wider sense, all experience is said to be educative”. This shows that education is a lifelong process and that all of life’s events have an educational value. In other words, the experience of a child throughout the socialisation process can be part of education.

At other times, education is seen as a means to an end i.e. one that culminates in complete personal growth and independence. Gandhi is often credited with popularising and

emphasising this aspect of education. A good education, according to him is “an all-round drawing of the best in the child and man, body, mind and spirit” (Agarwal, 2005). To put it another way, the purpose of education is to help each student reach his or her full potential. A child’s journey toward self-actualisation may be seen as the maturation of his or her own character. According to Ross (1956), “Education thus consists in a modification of natural development which as a result of education, is other than it would have been without it.” In light of this, it can also be understood that education is also a means of behavioural change. Similarly, Nunn (1926) said, “Education is the complete development of the individuality so that he can make an original contribution to human life to his best capacity”. Therefore, education cannot be equated only with simply getting instructions or only the schooling process.

Generally, in the sociological literature, the term ‘education’ has been used to refer to the complete influence that individuals or nature have on another person's intelligence or will in a very broad sense . According to John Stuart Mill, education includes:

“All that we ourselves do to the end of bringing us closer to the perfection of our nature. In its most widely accepted sense, it includes even indirect effects on the character and the faculties on men produced by things having quite a different objective: by law, by form of government, the industrial arts, and even by physical phenomena, independent of human will, such as climate, soil and locality.” (Shukla & Kumar,1985)

According to Kant, education’s ultimate goal is to help each student achieve the highest level of perfection he or she is able of (ibid.). The common perception here is that this notion of education treats all men as though they should have the same ideal type of education. But if we analyse past societies, we find no evidence to support this hypothesis. When looking at education, the type of education varies across time and space. For instance, in ancient Greek and Roman cities, the goal of education was to make each student a conforming member of society by teaching them to respect authority and place their trust in the wisdom of the community. However, in today’s world, education focuses on the individual rather than the

group. Given this condition, if one asks, what is an ideal education, abstracted from conditions of time and place, a simple is, the education system has no reality in itself. Therefore, to define education, one has to analyse the educational systems of the present and past societies, compare, and abstract the features which are common to them.

Every society has a concept of what an ideal man should look like. This idealistic core serves as the foundation for education throughout space and time. Its goal is to instill in the child a variety of mental and physical characteristics that the society to which he or she belongs; additionally, it instils a range of physical and mental characteristics that the particular social group (class, caste, family, or profession) thinks should be present in all members of that group. Therefore, society as a whole and each specific social environment decide the goal that education realises. In this context, Durkheim (1956) defined education as:

“The influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specially destined.”

Education, therefore, is a continuous process that spans from conception to death. For the sake of the group’s survival, this procedure also comprises imparting direction, control, and guidance to the youngster. Education, like development, is a never-ending procedure for shaping character. In this context, the process of modification and adjustment of behaviour becomes an important aspect of education. The term ‘adjustment’ refers to the process of conforming to the needs of one’s surroundings. When a man or woman engages with the social world outside himself/herself, he/she starts the process of adjusting to its values, practices, traditions, way of life, and methods and approaches to accomplishing any goal. Adjustment happens in the context of society through engagement with its social and cultural institutions. A person’s ability to adapt to their new environment is a result of the efforts of many people and groups, including friends, family, co-workers, religious leaders, and community

organisations. Therefore, a child acquires a community's socio-cultural legacy through their upbringing within that group. Dewey (1938) commented on this by stating:

“Experiences which men gather in course of living are restructured by each individual in accordance with one's physical, mental, social ability and his interest naturally conditioned by one's environment as a whole.”

As a result, it is now clear that education is a communal endeavour. The development of society and the evolution of culture are both the result of this process of action and interaction between society and the individual. Activities and skills for interacting well with others may be gained through formal schooling. The advancement of society is another benefit of the educational process. As a literal statement, one may say that education's ultimate goal is for each individual to reach his or her own personal state of perfection. It is also important to recognise that the education system is a societal construct since it has changed significantly throughout the years and in different places. An individual's best potential in terms of the physical, intellectual, and moral states that his or her societal needs of him or her may be developed through education, which exposes the young to an already established body of knowledge that exerts its impact onto the young. Once a child is socialised into a formal educational system, their prior knowledge serves as a governing agency for their further intellectual and moral growth.

Therefore, contemporary educators hold the view that the goal of education is to help students reach their maximum potential. Only through participating in organised group activities can a child grow in ways that are conducive to meeting the challenges of his or her environment. As a result, learning is an ongoing endeavour that requires constant attention and effort. Accordingly, education may be understood as- a social process, a purposeful process, a training process where instructions and directions are received. Also, education may be seen as life itself: as a means of development, adaptation, the achievement of social efficiency, and

the reconstruction of experiences. In conclusion, this study submits that the potential of education is boundless.

3.3 CONTEXTUALISING SCHOOL STUDIES IN INDIA

It was not until the middle of the 1960's that sociologists in India started taking schooling seriously. Until 1965, Indian sociologists paid little attention to educational-related societal issues. A few systematic research on the social dimensions of Indian education existed before Desai's (1953) work on *High School Students in Poona*.

However, it was the late J.P. Naik who deserves credit for foreseeing India's lack of engagement in the field of education by sociologists. To encourage sociologists in the field of education, while serving as Member-Secretary of the Education Commission (1964 - 1966), he sponsored a seminar on '*The Sociology of Education in a Modernising Society*'. The primary objective of this seminar was to bring together sociologists to deliberate on the breadth of sociology of education, as well as the potential contributions of sociologists to the development of educational policy in the nation (Jayaram, 2015).

In December 1964, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) in Mumbai hosted a seminar that brought together eminent sociologists from around the country to discuss education policy with education commission specialists. Two plans of action for further research into educational issues in the context of '*Modernising Indian society*' were drawn at this conference. In the first place, they compiled a collection of relevant articles and was first presented in a 'follow up' conference in October 1965 at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, where they were discussed in further detail. This was published in 1967 as *Papers in the Sociology of Education in India*. Further, the group of sociologists undertook a field survey in eight states to collect empirical data on the socio-economic status, values, characteristics, and goals of students, teachers, and parents, as well as the general conditions prevailing in

educational institutions of varying types across India. The findings of this were published as *Field Studies in the Sociology of Education* in 1970 (ibid.).

A systematic tradition of the sociology of education could be regarded to have begun in the nation with these initial theoretical debates and empirical study attempts and the number of studies being conducted in this area has steadily increased since then. Several organisations like the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA) subsequently named the National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), and the University Grants Commission (UGC) have developed a keen interest in the topic (ibid.). Gore and Desai (1967) highlight the field of sociology of education as follows:

“The sociological analysis of any concrete system of education can be conveniently organised along two dimensions- one, a discussion of the relationship between the educational system and the other segments of the social system, and two, a discussion of the system of education itself.”

This means in the first place, an effort is made to identify ‘the specific function(s) performed by the system of education and the nature of functional and dysfunctional consequences that it may have for one particular aspect of the larger system’ and ‘the condition(s) under which the system of education may be able to fulfil the specific function(s) that a sociologist attributes to it’. The latter stated that ‘the interaction between the teacher and the child is the core unit of the system’. Gore & Chitnis (1967) highlighted the following as the primary fields of research in the country:

1. Education and Culture: a) Education as an agency for socialisation, b) Education as an agency for the development of knowledge and c) Education as an agency for value change.
2. Education and social System: The relationship between the family, the political structure, the system of stratification, and the occupational system on the one hand, and the educational system on the other.

3. The internal organisation of the system of education.

Jayaram (2015) commented that in the first two decades of independence, the sociological studies in the field of education, scholars mostly focused on the second topic mentioned above. It was also dominated by the structure-functional theoretical perspective and the survey method of research. Concluding her assessment of the trends in the sociology of education in India during 1969-79, Chitnis (1985) observes

“The prospects for the future of the subject in the country are bright. The subject has hitherto, no doubt, been preoccupied with empirical survey type and descriptive studies. But with more than two decades of experience of research in a developing society, we now seems to be very advantageously placed for the development of theory regarding education in such societies.”

Studies in the field of educational sociology undertaken since then confirm Chitnis optimistic outlook. In this context, Aikara (1994) summarises the work published on the topic between 1979 and 1989 and discovered that most studies focused on one of three areas: i) education and stratification/equality, ii) education and social change/development, and iii) alternatives in education or non-formal education. Among the areas which have been neglected or inadequately researched are the impact of education on social placement or social mobility; the relationship between education, on one hand, and polity, religion, and family, on the other; and innovations and reforms in education; educational administration.

Nambissan (2013) has released a survey of literature in which she focuses on sociological studies of Indian schooling. She pays close attention to the work of sociologists and other academics who use sociological ideas and theories. Her analysis points to the ‘need for researchers to identify major challenges and concerns in modern education and carry out comprehensive empirical study’.

To be fair, the field of educational sociology has seen several notable publications in the recent two decades. There is a collection of articles on the role of education in development and underdevelopment that was edited by Shukla & Kaul (1998). Nambissan & Rao (2013)

anthology explores the evolving boundaries and new issues in India's educational sociology. Scholars have taken an interest in the ethnography of school culture and the schooling process with the release of works such as Thapan's *Life at School: An Ethnographic Study* (2006/2001) and Sarangapani's *Ethnography of Learning in an Indian Village* (2003). Women's education is a topic that Chanana (2001) has investigated. Tilak (2007) has compiled a number of essays that are helpful to anyone interested in the education of women. Pathak (2009) has considered how schooling affects society and how it relates to the search for morality. Aikara (2004) also offers a helpful study of social viewpoints on schooling.

Thus, during the last quarter century, the sociology of education in India has developed a substantial body of literature focussing on a variety of themes and issues. All the same, there is considerable scope for its substantive growth as well as for its theoretical and methodological refinement. Introducing their anthology, Nambissan and Rao observes:

“The *sociological imagination* has a critical contribution to make as we still lack an understanding of education as a social institution and its inter-linkages with poverty, cultural diversity, and the world of work. How do structural inequalities, cultural diversity, and identities of different social groups mediate institutional practices and influence learning? These are the areas of research where sociologists of education in India have a critical role to play.”

3.4 EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN MIZORAM

This section firstly highlights the traditional system of learning in Mizoram before colonialism. It emphasises how important social institutions like the family and *zawlbuk* are in preparing the youth to become member of society. Secondly, this section traced the historical development of formal education in colonial Mizoram. The effort taken by colonial missionaries in spreading literacy among the locals is also highlighted.

3.4.1 Culture of learning in pre-colonial Mizo society

Formal education in its modern form was unknown in pre-colonial *Mizo* society. Mead (1973) argued that in addition to formal education, there are additional specific procedures

through which tribal communities also pass on their children standardised behavioural patterns. This way, their children get a head start on the responsibilities that will be expected of them as adults. Girls in pre-colonial *Mizo* society often began helping around the family around the ages of seven or eight. They would have to assist their mothers with chores like winnowing cotton, sifting the mixture of rice and chaff in a specially woven bamboo sieve, and grinding paddy with sticks. Additionally, they would have to assist with getting water from a water source, cooking for the family, washing clothes, cleaning and maintaining the home. Younger siblings would also need their care. The mothers and other female relatives provided them with a nurturing environment in which to learn. Girls and young women also learned valuable skills by carrying firewood from the bush or forest back to their homes on their heads using a specially designed basket. It is clear that girls' opportunities for education were limited to those directly relevant to the roles they were expected to play in the home. As a result, women and girls were conditioned from an early age to assume roles as nurturers and homemakers. But for the boys, it was customary to help their dads with the *jhums*¹⁴ cutting. Lorrain (1988) noted a brief account of childhood in *Mizo* society:

“There is almost no child-life for these primitive people. As soon as they are able to toddle, they learn to carry a basket, the weight of which is added to as time goes on, by the addition of cucumber and so forth, until the child reaches the age of five or six years, when he or she has to start life in real earnest by fetching water and wood or in helping to carry vegetables from the cultivation according to their strength; the result is, that all the children bear what is known as ‘The old man look’.”

Although children were given extra attention and care in the case of a raid, adults did not exert much social control or punishment over them. There have been several accounts of this time in *Mizo* history, with authors including Shakespear (1988), Lorrain (1988) and Parry (1976) noting the children's lack of discipline. These writers have all mentioned how unsupervised groups of children may often be seen roaming the hamlet. Parents were not allowed to intervene or beat a child who was not their own even in a situation where that child

¹⁴ Jhum means agricultural field.

hurt another child in a fight, and the offending youngster was not punished. There was a mutual understanding among them that intervention against this kind of activity can lead to disputes with neighbours. *Mizo* tradition held that children should be left to resolve conflicts on their own. Because of the potential for escalating conflict with other parents, traditional *Mizo* culture did not see the authorisation of punishment to a child other than one's own as ethically legitimate. By adhering to the concept of non-interference when it comes to disciplining the neighbour's kid, each parent is responsible for punishing or regulating their child in accordance with the group standards. And as a whole, the *zawlbuk* is responsible for transmitting norms and enforcing discipline. This leads to increased social harmony and mutual understanding.

Because of *zawlbuk*, the *Lusei* tribe was able to function well despite the absence of family authority. According to Thanga (1978), *zawlbuk*, which means 'a big house built for young men to sleep together and keep a vigil at night against enemies' was first introduced into *Mizo* culture when the *Mizos* occupied the present Mizoram. In addition to headhunting and communal disputes, the regular attacks by vicious wild animals on domesticated animals and people put the village's way of life in peril. They had to set up this institution to respond right away to the chief's emergency calls and the cries of anyone in peril to maintain the safety and serenity of the village. Although the *zawlbuk's* primary focus was security, it also cared about the general well-being of the villagers, therefore as time passed, it evolved into a village training center. It was a place where the young men learned the fundamentals of living their lives in their particular setting, including religion, traditions, customs, etiquette, wrestling, singing, and sex.

The *zawlbuk* held a prominent position in village affairs as well as in the training of the youth in accordance with the moral code of conduct known as *tlawmngaihna*¹⁵. *Tlawmngaihna* is a virtue that recommends politeness, consideration, selflessness, bravery, and

¹⁵ *Tlawmngaihna* is chivalry and sacrificing oneself for the service of others and community.

diligence. It included every aspect of life including the care of the sick and disabled's crop by those who are healthy and strong, the weeding of the chief's jhums as a sign of respect, the reconstruction of houses that had been accidentally set on fire, and giving the villagers a sense of security. In other words, a good citizen prioritised taking care of business that was essential for the benefit of the entire community. Thus, the essence of cooperation and friendliness was codified in *tlawmngaihna* (Bhatia, 2010).

Every *Lusei* village had a *zawlbuk*, which served a number of purposes and was prominently and centrally situated close to the chief's residence. For example, it acts as a centre of entertainment for young boys who do musical acts, tell tales, and crack jokes. It served as a location for its captives to sleep as well as a rest stop for tired travellers. Additionally, the *zawlbuk* had a crucial role in maintaining village safety in the event of an enemy or wild animal attack. Finally, and perhaps most crucially, it administered *tlawmngaihna*-compliant youth discipline. Young or old, no woman was allowed to enter the *zawlbuk*.

The *zawlbuk* had its own organisational set up and there are two kinds of members- the *thingfawm naupang*¹⁶ and *tlangval*¹⁷. The *thingfawm naupang* were those who had not attained puberty, while the *tlangval* were those who attained puberty. The *zawlbuk* was headed by the *valupa*¹⁸ under whom were the *tlangval upa*¹⁹ and *thingfawm hotu*²⁰. The *thingfawm naupang* supplied firewood to the *zawlbuk*. They ceased to sleep in their parents' house and joined the seniors in the *zawlbuk* after they attained puberty provided they passed a test in which the *valupa* of the *zawlbuk* or the *tlangvalupas* would pull out the longest hair from the pubic region of the candidate and examine whether it could be circled round a bamboo pipe of

¹⁶ Thingfawm naupang are the junior members.

¹⁷ Tlangval are the senior members.

¹⁸ Valupa is an elder of the zawlbuk residents.

¹⁹ Tlangval upa are the head of the senior group.

²⁰ Thingfawm hotu are the head of the junior group.

established dimension. If it did, the candidate was admitted to the *zawlbuk*. McCall (1977), the then Superintendent of the Lushai Hills (1931-1943) writes:

“The *zawlbuk* was run on a system not unlike that in vogue in public schools, in that monitors were appointed who disciplined the young from the time they first joined. The monitors had the right of punishment in the case of failure to perform the common daily task of collecting firewood, storing water or meeting calls for assistance to the public.”

From 1924 to 1928, N.E. Parry served as Superintendent of the Lushai Hills, and in 1976, he reported that villagers in areas with the *zawlbuk* were more disciplined, diligent, and skilled hunters than those in those without. Das (1978) made a convincing argument in this regard when he said:

“These are an excellent institutions and a distinctive feature of every tribal village. In these clubs young boys have to serve and obey older boys, besides being associated with agricultural, social and almost all other activities of the village community instilled into the youths, respect for and obedience to elders, a spirit of service to the community.”

It is unclear what are the factors that led to the disappearance of the *zawlbuk* institution. Although there was no official ban, the emergence of a new society that had strong ties to both Christianity and the British authority may have put an end to the *zawlbuk*. All of these events- the end of headhunting and inter-village warfare, the introduction of a new educational system by missionaries that influenced many youths to leave the *zawlbuk*, and the emergence of peace and tranquility in *Mizo* society may have caused the disappearance of the *zawlbuk*. The Young Lushai Association conference in 1914 had an agenda of reviving the institution of *zawlbuk*. This was also actively pursued by A.G. McCall, the Superintendent of Mizoram at the time. Despite his best efforts, the *zawlbuk* institution perished naturally since it was unable to continue existing in its original form (Lawmsanga, 2010).

3.4.2 Establishment of formal education in Mizoram

The first ever school opened in Mizoram was in the village of Chief Lalluaua along with a dispensary and a police force. This was done as a token of appreciation as he was the chief who assist and escort the Britishers army in invading the village of Chief Hausata (a chief of a village near the present Lungtian village) for killing three white men including Lt. Stewart

and two Gorkha soldier. The school was later rejected by Chief Lalluaua and it was shifted to Lunglei. This showed that education was started in Mizoram before the advent of the Christian missionaries and the medium of instruction during this time was done in Bengali (Lalhmuaka & Chawma, 2000).

The British rule got established in Mizoram in 1891. In January 1894, two Christian missionaries from the London Baptist Mission, Rev. F. W. Savidge and Rev. J. H. Lorrain came to Aizawl. They expressed eagerness for promoting literacy among the natives in addition to their interest in proselytising them. They developed the Mizo alphabet and started formal (western) education. The second school was opened by Rev. D. E. Jones in 1898. In 1901, schools were opened in *Khawrihnim*, *Phulpui* and *Chhingchhip* villages. In 1903, another three primary schools were opened in *Khandaih*, *Maite* and *Phulpui* villages and seven more schools were opened in 1904. In the same year, Sir Bamfield Fuller, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, gave the missionaries full control of the operations of the schools. With the Lushai Hills superintendent's agreement, the mission authority has since built several primary schools. In 1909, the first Middle English Examination was held where all six candidates came out successful. In 1944, the first High School was opened. The first Matric Examination was conducted in the year 1948 where 20 out of 25 candidates got through. The first five decades of the 20th century saw the expansion and steady consolidation of the first and second levels of education. Since 1972, there has been a significant increase in the number of first- and second-level educational institutions. By 1986, more than 98 percent of the rural habitations had primary schools (Lalhruailiana, 2016). Thus, it can be said that the culture of learning in Mizoram has been altered by the forces of colonialism and Christian missionaries which further cause a change in the social and cultural life of the *Mizos*.

Table 3.1: Year of establishment of schools in Mizoram

Schools	Establishment Year
Schools located at Chief Lalluaua village	1870s
Schools set up by Rev. F.W. Savidge and Rev. J.H. Lorrain	1894
Schools set up by rev. D.E. Jones	1898
First Middle school	1909
First High School	1944

3.5 CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN MIZORAM

According to historical accounts, human societies evolve and adapt throughout time. There is no such thing as a static society or a civilization that is immune to the effects of the outside world. Understanding that culture and change are distinct but related ideas is necessary for any discussion of recent changes in Mizoram society. Culture is defined as “the habits, and beliefs, way of life, and social organisation of a specific nation or group” by the Oxford Dictionary Tenth Edition (1999). Taylor (2010), an anthropologist, provides a similar definition of culture in the same vein “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”. This suggests that culture encompasses not just the things we own as individuals but also the ways in which we think and act as a society as a whole. To sum up, it can be said that culture is the sum total of a people’s shared worldview and the norms and beliefs that underpin human societies everywhere.

Rao (2001) differentiates cultural change from social change. In his words, “all social changes are cultural changes, but all cultural changes need not necessarily be social changes. Cultural change can be called social changes only when they affect human relations and the social organisations and cause some variation in them.” When cultural change has an impact

on and alters human interactions and social institutions, only then can we call them social change. This discrepancy may seem inconsequential, but it is not. From the second half of the nineteenth century, colonial officials and missionaries in particular influenced significant cultural change in *Mizo* society.

Several aspects of Mizo culture, such as marriage, divorce, death and burial practices, etc., were modified with the spread of Christianity and literacy, as pointed out by Nag (1993). He made the key observation that the *Mizos*, although adopting the new culture brought by colonial officials, sometimes still conduct traditional rituals alongside it.

The following are the cultural and social changes experienced by the Mizo society as a result of education and Christianity:

3.5.1 Changes in the Education system

The *Mizos* lacked written language and were preliterate when the British Empire seized Mizoram in 1890. Most knowledge was spread and learnt at the *zawlbuk* or men's dormitory. *Zawlbuk* played an important role in traditional times, as it functioned as an important non-formal educational institution. The present setup of the educational system in Mizoram is exclusively the result of the works of Christian missionaries who had deep faith in spreading literacy among the *Mizos*, besides proselytising them into the Christian religion. On January 11th, 1894, the pioneer missionaries Rev. F.W. Savidge and Rev. J.H. Lorrain arrived in *Sairang* village and left for Aizawl the next day. '*A Grammar and Dictionary of the Lushai Language*' which eventually became one of the cornerstones for education in Mizoram, was produced by the missionaries because there was no script for the *Mizo* language. They also introduced the Roman script and created the Mizo alphabet. They only stayed for two and a half months before beginning the inauguration of a school on April 1st, 1894. The first book written in the Mizo language, *Mizo Zir Tir Bu* (A Lushai Primer), was published on October 22, 1895. Another missionary, Rev. D.E. Jones of Wales, who had arrived in Mizoram in 1897,

established a school in Aizawl on February 15, 1898. Since that time, missionaries have controlled education throughout the British era. The first Primary School was opened on 21st April 1894 with a few adult students. The first teacher was Rev. F. W. Savidge. However, the school was closed the same year. But, with the arrival of Rev. D.E. Jones, the school was re-opened on 15th February 1898 with Mr. Rajbahajur (a Khasi) as a teacher and the enrolment of students reached 60. Thereafter, education in Mizoram grew and expanded rapidly. From 1899, temporary schools were opened in a few villages, when the missionaries saw the fruits of temporary schools, they established regular schools in place of temporary schools in the villages. In this connection, it may be noted that the Chief Commissioner of Assam, in his reply to the Director of Public Instruction (D.P.I.) Assam's proposal in 1903 that new government schools should be opened annually in Mizoram to a maximum of 20 schools. He further instructed the DPI to utilise the service of missionaries as far as possible, especially regarding the inspection and management of the schools. Conscious of the policy of the Government, the missionaries opened the village schools in *Khandaih*, *Maite*, *Phulpui* and *Chhingchhip* with Hranga, Chhunruma, Dorikhuma and Tawka as teachers respectively. At the end of 1903, there were 15 Lower Primary Schools in Mizoram and the number of enrolments reached over 400. In the year 1904, Sir Bamfield Fuller, the Chief Commissioner of Assam visited Mizoram. He visited Government schools and mission schools at Aizawl and appreciated the mission schools, he closed down the government schools and gave full charge to the mission schools authority. Since that time, the mission schools have been under the control of the Honorary Inspector of Schools, and as of April 1st, Rev. Edwind Rowlands served as the first Honorary Inspector of Schools. The schools run by the mission were successful in both academic and extracurricular endeavours. The Superintendent of Lushai Hills (Mizoram), a representative of the British Governor General of India, gave his consent for the establishment of several schools with committed instructors under the direction of the Honorary Inspector of Schools. As a

result, the first middle school (known as upper primary at the time) opened in Aizawl in 1906, and the first high school, known as Mizo High School, opened in Zarkawt in February 1944.

3.5.2 Improvement in health conditions

The *Mizos* most popular and well-known religious practice was offering sacrifices to appease the evil spirits that they believed were responsible for their illness or bad misfortune. Since the *Mizo* belief system was closely connected with the status of health and the medical mission in Mizoram was an important aspect of the mission work in Mizoram. In 1908, the first medical missionary, Dr. Peter Fraser came to Mizoram. Before his arrival, there was no formal medical practitioners in the modern sense of the term. During his stay of four years, he was able to attend to many patients who came for medical treatment for all kinds of ailments from distant villages, and he also travelled widely throughout Mizoram. In 1910, a dispensary was built and established by the mission in the northern part of Mizoram. In 1928, Dr. John Williams (known as Pu Daka) arrived in Mizoram, he was a surgeon and established a hospital at *Durtlang*, now known as the Synod Hospital. Apart from hospitals, dispensaries were opened in four villages- *Sawlung*, *Chhawrtui*, *Sihfa* and *Pukzing*, the first of which was opened on 29th October 1955. Dr. John Williams also started a nursing school. Many nurses passed out from this school. In the southern part of Mizoram, Rev. F.W. Savidge started medical work and used part of his bungalow as a dispensary at the Mission centre in *Serkawn*. The missionaries opened the Christian Hospital at *Serkawn*. It is a hospital-cum-nursing school located at *Lunglei* in Mizoram. The hospital is run by the Baptist Church of Mizoram. It was started in 1919, and formally established in 1923, it is the first hospital and nursing school in Mizoram. In the south, the Lakher Pioneer Mission was also concerned with medical work. The medical mission was an effective medium to spread the gospel. The traditional belief of healing through a series of sacrifices to evil spirits was thus challenged seriously by the realisation that a single dose of medication proved more beneficial and economical and as such, it was successful in

appealing to many people for the cause of Christianity. All these resulted in the improvement of the health conditions and status and increased the life span of the *Mizos*.

3.5.3 Abolition of Chieftainship

The *Mizos* socio-political structure, like that of any other tribal group, was centred on the *Lal*²¹, or village leader. A *Lal* is the clan's leader and the most significant official in the Mizo political system. Thus, one of the primary causes of the chieftainship's gradual abolishment in 1954 was the rise and spread of Christianity.²² There was always an atmosphere of tension between the chiefs and native converts throughout the colonial period not long after the inception of the new religion (Sangkima, 1992). When the colonial masters left the country, the chiefs were soon disposed of their position through the legislative procedure. However, it was the outcome of antagonistic relationship between the chiefs and the mission leaders on the one hand and between the chiefs and the newly emerging educated middle-class group on the other, who begins to establish one's status and position in the newly tiered socio-political system. This new middle-class group was also the by-product of Christianity (Rosanga, 2011).

3.5.4 The abolition of *Zawlbuk*

There used to be regular fighting and raids among *Mizo* people in pre-colonial times. Headhunting was a widespread activity that had a significant socio-cultural impact. As a result, every male member received training in the *zawlbuk* regarding societal traditions and customs as well as tribal combat beginning in early childhood. The *zawlbuk* is a place where village elders tell tales of their history (past) to the younger generation. This mouth-to-mouth transmission was the only means by which generations in a pre-literate culture passed on their ancestral histories. It was also a place where social mores and values were propagated. The

²¹ *Lal* is a term used to refer a Mizo chief.

²² The Assam Lushai Hills District (Acquisition of Chiefs' Rights) Act, 1954, published in the Assam Gazette, dated the 30th June, 1954.

zawlbuk served as a social institution and was one of the only learning institutions in the traditional *Mizo* society. In this context, Lalrinmawia (1995) stated, “the abolition of *zawlbuk* from the social life of the *Mizos* was also the resultant impact of Christianity”. As a result of the missionaries’ establishment of educational and Sunday schools after 1894, the *zawlbuk* system was inadvertently replaced. Christianity’s emphasis on morality and humanity in the service of Christ led to the rejection of headhunting and other forms of aggression, which demoralised the *zawlbuk* practice.

3.5.5 Eradication of superstitious beliefs

Another change in the daily life of the *Mizos* was the eradication of superstitious beliefs and fear of evil spirits. Though superstition had been a long practice by the *Lusei*, Christianity taught that God the creator protects everyone from all harm and that one should rest one’s faith in him to escape danger. Thus, its messages brought enlightenment, modernity and audacity to the new believers, which was enough to thwart the deep-rooted belief in superstitions.

3.5.6 Abolition of alcohol

Before the advent of Christianity among the *Mizos*, alcohol was an important part of the *Mizo* social life. However, after the arrival of the missionaries and having a look at the social life, they believed that drinking alcohol was a social evil for the *Mizos*, as it brought about many problems in the family and society. Thus, the customary practice of drinking local rice beer, *Zupi*²³ was banned. Instead, the use of tea became prevalent. The Gospel forbade them from continuing the practice and forbade it in their everyday personal life after becoming Christians, although the use of *Zupi* had a substantial impact on the tribes’ day-to-day activities. With the translation of the Bible in the *Mizo* language and using several verses from it to

²³ *Zupi* means a locally made rice beer.

support the banning of alcohol, they could manipulate the idea that Christianity was against alcohol (McCall, 1977).

3.5.7 The abolition of *Bawi* ²⁴ system

The spread of Christianity was crucial in finally putting an end to the *bawi* system. While European commanders may have seen justification in the *bawi* system, Christian missionaries saw it as incompatible with their beliefs and values. Since many officers were not strongly opposed to the system, at first the missionaries were hesitant to publicly criticise it. When Dr. Peter Frazer visited the former Lushai Hills in 1908, he stoked controversy by reminding District officials that *bawi* as it was then practiced in the Lushai hills was no better than the slavery that had been abolished by the British government. He argued forcefully that the *bawi* were treated the same as slaves during the British Empire, and that this treatment was also inherited. In his mind, the *bawi* were being repressed and denied the liberties that are guaranteed to all British citizens. However, government officials denied the existence of a *bawi* system in need of elimination. The reality was that many people and families were quite close. Dr. Frazer, however, was certain that this slavery act was not compatible with the contemporary democratic system or the Christian faith, both of which hold that all men are born free and equal in every sense. With the outcome favouring him, the *bawi* system in the Lushai Hills was finally abolished in 1936 (McCall, 1977).

3.5.8 Changes in the celebration of festivals

Another impact of education and Christian religion in the socio-cultural lives of the Mizo was the gradual ending of celebrating traditional festivals like *Pawl Kut*, *Mim Kut* and *Chapchar Kut*²⁵ and others. Though festivals like *Chapchar Kut* is revived recently since 1973,

²⁴ *Bawi* means slaves.

²⁵ *Pawl Kut*, *Mim Kut* and *Chapchar Kut* are traditional festivals of the Mizos.

it was revived in a modified form and conformity with the Christian doctrines by banning animistic practice and alcohol.

3.5.9 Changes in the dressing pattern

According to *Mizo* folklore, the *Siapsuap*²⁶ was the first and principal clothing that the ancestors created for themselves. It was worn by ladies and was a lower garment (similar to a grass skirt). It was crafted using fibre strips taken from the bark of a tree known as *Khaupui*. Also, the men created kilts from *Hruikhau*²⁷ fibre that was wrapped around the waist. A *Hnawkhal*²⁸ was the name given to the men's fibre clothing. They had mastered the art of cotton cloth weaving and clothing production over time. The wealthy among them wore short cotton shirts that came to their knees instead of *siapsuap*. Men also created cloaks out of *hruikhau* fibre to cover their chests and shoulders. Additionally, they discovered a black dye that they named *Ting*. Using this, they made *Hmar am*²⁹. After that, they learn how to weave *puandum* (*pawndum*), *mangpuan*, *ngotekherh*, *puanrin*, *tawlhlohpuan*³⁰ etc., which they wore based on the occasion. This was how the *Mizos* used to dress up before the coming of the British. After the arrival of the British and particularly, after the missionaries started their work among the *Mizos*, there was visible changes and the way of dressing. The missionaries were much admired by the local people, thus copying their way of dressing. Here, the church also played an important role in changing the dress patterns. The missionaries, through their uniform way of dressing up in a smart way, they make the discourse that one should wear kamiz, smart trousers and smart shoes in the church service. Though no written form of this was seen, since the missionaries dress in this way, all the converts imitate their way of dressing, which has a macro effect on the dressing style of the *Mizo* people. The western way of dressing soon

²⁶ Siapsuap is a cloth made from dried leaves and is worn by a women.

²⁷ Hruikhiau is a name of a tree used for its fibre.

²⁸ Hnawkhal is a cloth made from trees and is worn by men.

²⁹ Hmar am is a traditional piece of cloth.

³⁰ Puandum (*pawndum*), mangpuan, ngotekherh, puanrin and tawlhlohpuan are a traditional cloth piece.

became dominant among the *Mizos*. The town dwellers started taking the western lifestyle, fashion and behaviour.

3.5.10 Changes in the music pattern

It was during this time when *Mizo* traditional music and dance started to be replaced by western styles. Fearing that songs and hymns written to indigenous melodies could have ties to pagan rituals, early missionaries prohibited local Christians from singing traditional songs. Consequently, western hymns were not written but rather translated into the Duhlian-Lusei dialect and utilised in worship and devotional sessions. The indigenous Christians then started writing their own hymns. All the churches had begun singing the new songs that had been written or translated. It was forbidden for *Mizo* converts to sing any of the many types of traditional *Mizo* music. They were instructed in the tonic solfa beat of the new praise hymns. Over time, *Mizo* Christians took an interest in singing western hymns, and they adapted their musical style to reflect the new metric system and notation.

3.5.11 Changes in the practices of death and burial

There is a radical change after the coming of Christianity on this ground. Every village began to have its common burial ground at the village outskirts and the rich and poor alike were buried there instead of the traditional practice of burying the dead nearby the house. A corpse was no more kept for days and months but buried within the same day or two. The practice of burying the dead with his prized possessions was also gradually abandoned. Also, Christian hymns replaced the songs sung in times of burial.

3.5.12 Changes in the marriage system

The *Mizo* marriage system was vividly transformed after the coming of Christianity. Arranged marriage was a common practice before the advent of Christianity. But after Christianity sowed its seed; love marriage became a common practice among the *Mizos*. Instead

of the usual night ceremony at the house of the marriage party, marriage came to be performed in the Church, solemnised by a pastor. The usual bride price became fewer and negotiable. The unusual practice of eves dropping of the bride by young men at the groom's house diminished and was slowly abandoned. The throwing of water, mud or rotten eggs at the bride while on the approaching road to the groom's house was also derelict.

3.5.13 Changes in the status of women

Women were relegated to the four corners of the house before the spread of education and Christianity, and they were barred from participating in public life beyond rituals and celebrations. They were not very competent or trained. A lesser kind of life, so to speak. Those around them saw them just as a means to men's ends; something to eat or use to have their wants met. In addition to jhum tasks, women were responsible for all domestic duties. Furthermore, they took on extra duty in caring for the kids. Water and logs for the fire were also the responsibility of the workers. They did not leave the jhum country without taking enough firewood back with them. They could not sleep until their husbands went to bed because they had to prepare the pigs' food or spin cotton for fabric at night. A typical morning for them included getting up early to get water for the household's needs and then pounding rice. Typically, not a single man would pitch in to assist with any of these labor-intensive duties. Women were not allowed by custom to inherit any property (Dena, 1988).

In *Mizo* culture, the father held the position of patriarch over his family. Women were given no voice in domestic decision-making. While the patrilineal system is still in use, women are increasingly taking leadership roles in the home and the church. Traditionally, the youngest son would succeed to the father's status and assets, but the British rule mandated, by a standing order, that the chieftainship right of a chief would pass to the oldest son. There was a slow but steady shift toward granting women legal standing to inherit a portion of their father's estate. Christianity's influence was felt indirectly in this way as well, as its central tenet is the

commandment to love one's neighbour (and one's adversaries). The followers of the new religion were also commanded to aid the less fortunate and work to support those in need.

Once Christianity arrived, the *Mizo* men woke up from their sleep. The gospel shed light on the hearts and minds of both men and women, softening their previously unyielding stances and beliefs. Men began showering their wives with love and tenderness on a level previously unheard of, while women began treating their husbands with the reverence and esteem they had previously reserved for their fathers. Women gradually began to speak out in church councils and sing in choirs. They were given the same opportunities as males to participate in outdoor mission activities, which helped them develop into well-rounded people. The men started chipping in on their job, too. The revivals and the revival movement gave them the courage to seek parity with men. To be spiritually full is the central idea of a revival, and if a lady claimed to be spiritually directed, no one could reasonably deny her freedom of expression or her right to go anywhere she pleased. While the Bible explicitly forbids women from speaking from the pulpit, this restriction was relaxed in later eras, allowing women more freedom to preach in churches and other public settings. Christianity and education both helped elevate women's status. Women's education in the modern age not only improved their social standing but also served as an impetus for their own emancipation. Although females who attended the school were treated differently at first, they eventually gained the same status as the guys. In other words, learning to read and write sets people free from feelings of inferiority, hardship, and ignorance. As a result, achieving gender parity rapidly became a social concern.

It is often said women's position in the *Mizo* Society in the present day was good enough that women are not restricted from entering any social, religious and educational institutions. All these could be attributed to the product and impact of education and Christianity through the works of the missionaries. Besides, the schools that were open to the public were co-educational schools and there are also schools in which only girls were eligible

to be admitted so that special care will be given to uplift the status of girls and women in society. Education gave girls the necessary training to become productive and helpful not only in the family but to the community, the locality and the society as a whole. Women status underwent a considerable change with the presence of a number of women missionaries in Mizoram. Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Sandy, Mrs. Mendus and Miss. K. Hughes were among the early missionaries working in the North Lushai area. The presence of many foreign women at different points of time among the *Mizos* facilitated the growth of women status in the long run. Women missionaries were considerably large in numbers. Though some of them came merely as an aide to their husband, they contributed a lot to the *Mizo* society especially in women's emancipation. To mention a few, Miss K. Hughes and Mrs. Sandy were good singers and song composers. Both were a master in tonic solfa and possessed music experiences. Katie Hughes was a trained certified teacher with eight years of experience in England. Mrs. Jones taught the *Mizo* women knitting, sewing, medication, health care and midwifery. She opened a girls' school at Aizawl in 1904 for this purpose. Katherine Ellen Williams was instrumental in forming and leading the Presbyterian Bible Women since 1915. Mrs. Jones (also known as Pi Hluui), Miss Kitty Lewis (also known as Pi Zomawii), Katie Hughes (also known as Pi Zaii) and Miss G.R. Roberts (also known as Pi Teii) effectively supervised the only girls' school. The activities of foreign missionaries on various social and religious fronts contributed much to the liberation of women. It was continued by the church where women began to play a significant role till today.

3.5.14 Growth of Mizo literature

The *Mizos* were pre-literate, ignorant and savage when the western missionaries first entered the hills towards the end of the nineteenth century. There was no writing system and no script that belonged to them. They communicated with each other only through oral messages that were handed down from father to son. But miraculously to state, the *Mizo* society

underwent speedy progress in the area of literature soon after Rev. J.H. Lorrain and Rev. F.W. Savidge introduced an alphabet and translated many Christian works into *Mizo* based on this alphabet. Rev. Lorrain wrote a Lushai dictionary of thousands of vocabulary soon after his arrival which was later on published. The beginning was thus made with the initiative of the two missionaries. They translated into natives the gospels of Luke, John and Acts of the Apostles from the New Testament of the Bible. Their services were fruitful as was evident from the response made by the natives in the field of education later on. In the long term, a lot had been accomplished in a short period time, contributing to the rapid expansion of Christianity.

The British promoted education while offering their religion which was accepted altogether by the natives but by giving away many of their aged old cultural traditions. The toil of Rev. Lorrain and Rev. Savidge did not end along with them but was continued by the Welsh missionaries who came right after their departure. Rev. D. E. Jones translated Matthew, I and II Corinthians which were published in 1906 and 1907 respectively. He also translated the Book of Revelation in 1911. In such works, Jones was helped by local Christians like Chhunruma and Vanchhunga. A native Christian, Mr. Thanga, translated the Book of Proverbs published in 1914 and Daniel in 1915. Rev. Rowlands rendered the gospel Mark and some of the epistles. In the South, Lorrain undertook his scriptural translation soon after he arrived there in March 1903 under the Baptist Mission Society. A number of hymns were translated in *Duhlian* dialect. The whole New Testament was published in 1916. The books of Psalms, Genesis and Isaiah were also made available though the complete Bible came out only in 1959. The Story of the Bible translated in 1908 by Rev. Challiana, a native Christian and *the Pilgrim's Progress* translated in 1916 by Rev. Chuautera, another native as valuable supplements in Christian literature. The *Kristian Tlangau* (Christian Herald) became the first Christian monthly which was published without a break since 1911.

The printing press played a considerable role in the promotion of Christian literature when there was hardly any non-Christian literature in *Mizo* except the school textbooks and news bulletin of the Government. For the first time, the Lock Printing Press was installed at Aizawl in 1915 and another at *Serkawn* in 1933. Then another small printing press was set up in 1921 at the South of *Serkawn*. The three press actively became an instrument in the production of Christian literature and School and Sunday school textbooks. Rev. Edwin Rowland's great zeal and devotion to a gift of music inculcated in him induced him to translate and compose over a hundred Christian hymns. Most of them are still there in the *Mizo Hymn Book* are sung frequently till today. By 1927, the local Hymn book contained around 500 hymns and sacred songs. Christianity contributed much to the growth of education and literature. It was the Mission that first brought out a press, literature and translation works as well as a school. There was no non-Christian literature in the local dialect for a long time.

3.5.15 Changes in the economic system

The Mizo economy was a backward economy before the colonial mission. The *Mizos* were still under the grasp of poverty till almost independence. Their ignorance and illiteracy impoverished them. But the impact of Christianity transformed and improved their lives. Christianity brought literacy and advancement. It ameliorated their low living standard and enhanced their economy to a much better one. As Christianity was already an advanced religion, the coming of such a religion was a boon and a blessing in disguise to the once secluded and primitive *Mizos*. The *Mizos* economy was purely agrarian until the advent of Christianity. But contact with the British revolutionised their lives and the growth of mass education initiated by the Christian missionaries changed their economy. The old agrarian economic structure was transformed into a new economy based on agriculture, industry, profession and trade. In the process, the egalitarian nature was slowly losing its ground (Nag, 1993). Consequently, economic diversification took place and the working forces were

gradually driven from the agricultural sector to the other economic sectors. Some of them became government servants, paid mission workers, teachers and traders. Some others worked outside and a number of them served as soldiers. More and more parents began to send their children to school with the prospect of government jobs in various capacities. Once an educated person obtained a service, he/she began to avoid manual work and satisfied himself/herself with his/her monthly income. This new economic condition drifted the tribes away from hard work and sturdiness. Nevertheless, it raised the living standard of the *Mizo* people and enabled them to live better than before with lesser effort. It also released them from the clutches of *jhum* labour all year round. This economic change particularly raised the living standard of the town dwellers. As a result, Christianity is always considered more a blessing than a curse for the *Lusei* people otherwise, they would still remain in constant backwardness (ibid.).

3.5.16 Other macro social change

As an agrarian society, most families were engaged in agricultural activities which were uneconomical and earn no income and it was just to satisfy the needs of the family within a year and nothing else. As the number of schools and educated *Mizos* have increased, this opens up opportunities to get employment in the mission and government services which bring about improvement in the living conditions and everyday life of many families as they now earned salaried income. Another change in society is brought about by this, with more people receiving monetary income. This again resulted in the emergence of a market system, which opened the door for many families to have income through the establishment of shops of all kinds, selling vegetables, and other informal occupation. Thus, an increase in the circulation of money brings improvement in the whole economic structure.

The elimination of nomadic life in the Lushai Hills was one of the biggest impacts of education. Until then, the *Mizo* people were migratory and changing their habitat frequently. But with the advent of Christianity, schools, dispensaries and churches were established and

people came to flock together in this thereby area by building large settlements. Aizawl in the North and Lunglei in the South was proof of this fact. They became mission centers in the Lushai District for the Presbyterian and the Baptist respectively. The human settlement grew rapidly in these centers and the two towns gradually became the biggest ones in the whole Lushai District. Thus, education, Christianity and the growth of the church were mainly responsible for such a secure and permanent living.

Also, urbanisation in the Lushai Hills started only after the Christian religion penetrated the land. Churches were established almost in every village and in due course, the people were reluctant to abandon such beautiful places of worship. They slowly set aside their primitive life and the forest dwellers were gradually turned into modern man. The growth of modern towns like Aizawl is sufficient proof of this which was thinly occupied and still insignificant in 1890. All these economic and social changes were the outcome of Christianity brought about by the missionaries.

Hence, this study observes that education and Christianity are the main factors of social, cultural and economic changes in Mizoram. There is a general opinion that Christianity educated them and released them from the clutches of ignorance, poverty and backwardness. It transformed their social and economic lives into advanced and civilised ones. When the general opinions of intellectuals and laymen alike were sought in this regard, the responses were overwhelmingly confirmatory, more so from the mission workers.

3.6 ANALYSIS OF COLONIAL IMPACT ON THE EDUCATION MISSION

This section largely covers the process of religious conversion and its ensuing repercussions on individuals and communities. Sugirtharajah (1997) explains that in order to change from one religion to another, one must depart from one culture and enter another. It denotes a shift in perspective and the focus of attention. In the case of *Mizo* society, it entails

leaving one's own cultural heritage behind in order to join a Christian community whose forms of worship and organisational structure that is influenced by western cultural norms.

Notably, the missionaries emphasised the advantages of a western education and the allure of English literature. They were mostly focused on evangelising the indigenous., thus they disregarded some 'customs and traditions', labelling them as 'pagan', 'uncivilised', and 'barbaric' (Hminga, 1987).

This makes it quite evident that spreading Christianity among the *Mizo* people was the missionaries' primary motivation for coming there. The missionaries learned the hard way that just teaching Christianity would not be enough to convince the *Mizo* people. Without formal schooling, *Mizos* had no way of understanding the text's arguments, evidence, or concepts. Converting non-Christians to Christianity would be difficult because of this problem. Literacy in the Bible was essential for all Christians, thus it was necessary to build schools to instruct the new believers who were non-literate (Lawmsanga, 2010).

Hminga (1987) makes a compelling case in his book *Life and Witness* that following their conversion to Christianity, the *Mizo* people's lifestyle, beliefs, and the appearance of their villages all changed. The *Mizo* people's story demonstrates that conversion may help individuals find new sources of authority to replace the ones they have always relied on. Significant societal changes have resulted from this. Morris (1930) lauded the missionary work of the Presbyterian Church of Wales in Mizoram, and he commented, "The story of our work in Lushai Hills forever remain an inspiration to the Churches of Wales, and a clear demonstration of the saving and transforming and uplifting power of the gospel of Christ." As Dena (1988) points out, "although conversion was fundamentally a religious problem, it included the complete dimensions of one's or community's life" (his emphasis) in Mizoram. So, the missionary perspective on conversion itself amounts to a whole doctrine of social

transformation. The *Mizos* commitment to Christianity has been a major factor in their society's overall change for the better.

Ever since schools were established, only the privileged few, including their offspring and kin, could be able to afford to enroll their kids in school. These people belonged to the government's salaried workforce as well as mission workers. By doing this, their relatives and children were able to take advantage of benefits that would not have been as accessible to regular *Mizos*. This was a result of their limited resources. This led to the emergence of an intelligentsia or aristocracy that had no place in the *Mizos* indigenous society. (Lawmsanga, 2010). According to McCall (1949, 1977), education and Christianity were quickly seen as a ticket to well-paying occupations and a respite from the tedium of manual labour. The privileged class emerged as a direct result of mission schooling. Christianity's promotion of 'black-coatism' and its association with 'black-coated' professions established cultural norms (ibid.). McCall argues that this educational system has created a privileged elite that has nothing in common with the *Mizo* culture. Most educational missionaries were passionate; they saw no separation between teaching English and the Bible since the English language connects its speakers to the universal realities with which all faiths wrestle (Pieres, 1980).

According to McCall (1949: 1977), the only thing the *Mizo* had to rely on for protection was the wisdom of their forefathers, since they lacked modern technology. The very foundations of their power had collapsed in disgrace and humiliation at the hands of the British. One common theme among the proponents of colonialism and proselytisation is the assertion that every part of the *Mizos* way of life and thought was 'uncivilised', 'barbarian', and 'pagan'. The colonised must first be 'uncivilised' or 'primitive' in order to be civilised; otherwise, the civilising mission's plan cannot be carried out.

The colonised people can never achieve civilisation so long as they hold on to, and take pride in, their cultural heritage. Constantly reinforcing the perception that the colonised

people's culture is poor, primitive, illogical, and deficient is important to separate the subjects from their culture in order to bring about transformation and change. Therefore, colonisation of the mind follows the erosion of culture, traditional community, and its values. The colonisation of the mind has caused the *Mizos* cultural and moral values to crumble.

As this study aims to highlight the impact of education in the present *Mizo* society in an unbiased manner by looking from various angles. It is also necessary to assess the negative impact (if any) that education and Christianity have on *Mizo* society. Since there is little or no literature found on the negative impact of education mission, an interview is held with pastors, church workers, church elders etc. to ascertain whether the written documents about the impact of Christianity in *Mizo* society is accurate or not.

For this, information is collected from interviewing different individuals who have specialised knowledge in this area. The respondents include pastors, church workers, church elders, individuals who are actively involved in church activities and freelance thinkers, who do not engage in much church activities but at the same time are observant enough to critically appraise the impact of Christianity and the educational mission. Students, lecturers, government servants, businessman and others were also interviewed about their views on Christianity and *Mizo* society. The interview was done in 2017. The nature of collecting the sampling for this interview is convenient sampling.

The first informant Rev. Dr. C. Chawngminglana, the Editor of Synod Literature and Publication Board (SL&PB) had a different view about Christianity in Mizoram. He said:

“Christianity eradicates the superstitious beliefs and fear of the evil spirits. As known, the *Mizos* are tribes that were afraid of all these kinds of evil spirit and even perform a sacrifice to appease the evil spirits which they believed caused them sickness or misfortune.”

Thus, he strongly believed that it was Christianity that drives all these fears of the *Mizos*. He said:

“Since Christianity is a new term for the *Mizos* which brought new things into the *Mizo* social life, one of which is introducing the practice of attending church activities. Since, the early missionaries were well dressed, so the early converts imitate their way of dressing which has shown a further improvement in their way of dressing.”

He believed that this was a pioneering point that set the trend for new patterns of dressing. He also firmly believes that education was the most important factor in modernising the *Mizos* which was brought about by the coming of Christianity in Mizoram. He also said:

“In the pre-Christian era, when openly talked to old men, they usually said that they had sex with three or four women during their bachelor’s time. Since, it was not a sin at that time, people continued to live in that way. But however, with the coming of Christianity, this kind of pre-marital sex has been reduced since the main teaching of Christianity is that pre-marital sex is a sin and also the church take actions on this kind of activity if those who commit such sin were found out.”

Besides this, he further stressed a few negative impacts of Christianity. He said:

“Since the teaching of Christianity is to love and forgive others, we are afraid of punishing those who commits crime and thus forgive those who even murder, rape or robbed someone than to report them to the legal authorities. This forgiving mindset of the *Mizo* Christians increased crime rate to a great extent.”

He also said that the church includes many groups within it like youth groups like *Kristian Thalai Pawl* (KTP), *Thalai Kristian Pawl* (TKP), *Salvation Army Youth* (SAY) etc. and women groups like *Kohhran Hmeichhia* and men groups like *Pavalai Pawl* and other different committees and sub-group under it. He said:

“Since the church members are actively taking part in this kind of activities, many families cannot have good family life and also affect the learning of many youths. Nowadays, many *Mizo* Christians give more importance to different kinds of groups and associations, which at the same time limits the connection within the family which thus brings different kinds of problem in the society.”

So, he suggested that the church could narrow down these kind of group and activity and give its members more space for their families and for their learning and occupation.

The second informant Rev. Rolungmuana, the Director of Synod Revival Department opines that:

“Christianity brought about a better connection among the *Mizos* through its congregational activities. Christianity broadens our outlook and our views about other people thus create a new sense of brotherhood within the society. Christianity make an effort in the abolishment of chieftainship and make the *Mizos* aware of the political system

and make roots for democracy to be introduced in the land, thus making it possible for people in the lower end of the society to come up from their position. With the introduction of Roman Script among the *Mizos*, it makes it easier for the *Mizos* to learn how to read and write, which was a by-product of Christianity.”

At the same time, Rev. Rolungmuana holds the idea that:

“Since Mizoram is a majority Christian state, it cannot get a better place and recognition in the central government. Though India is a secular country, still, religion has its root in every spheres of each individuals life’s. It is extremely difficult for a small Christian state to get better understanding and recognition by the central government, where the leaders are mostly from other religion and some of which were even more conservative and opposed Christianity to a great extent.”

The third informant is the co-ordinator of Central KristianThalai Pawl (CKTP), Mr.

Zonunmawia, who is a church elder in Mission Veng Presbyterian Church. He viewed that:

“Education was the most important phenomena that Christianity brought about in Mizoram. It changes every sphere of the socio-political and cultural aspects of the Mizo society. The newly educated people get jobs moving away from agricultural activities, hence brought about changes in the economic system.”

Though not wholly moved away from the agrarian structure, society does change to a great extent due to the newly upcoming job opportunities which were now fulfilled by the educated people and making many families become more economically sound due to the regular salary they received, which is different from the mainstream *jhum* cultivation they altogether practiced, which was uneconomical and earns no income, just to satisfy the needs of the family and nothing else. He also stresses that:

“Christianity make the *Mizos* to move away from their old practices like having warfare with other villages or other tribes, drinking of liquor and so on. Christianity has changed the status of women to a great extent where women can take an active part in the church activities and even in the local administration and politics, which is the product of Christianity. Christianity broadens our outlook by having interaction with foreign Christian missionaries and it played an important role in the abolition of chieftainship by having clash between the newly converts and the missionaries with the chiefs and their supporters. Christianity brought about changes in the health and hygiene conditions of the *Mizos*, where many hospitals and dispensaries were opened in various parts of Mizoram and awareness for improvement in hygiene conditions were imparted in many public meetings as well as in schools.”

At the same time, he believed:

“Christianity in its western form posed a threat to the local culture and its traditions, where many *Mizo* Christians sought to follow Christianity in western form and moving away from the local patterns of living. Also, to some extent the chivalry or altruistic quality of the *Mizos* (*tlawmngaihna*) was shaken by the western modes of Christianity, which have an impact in the social life of the *Mizos* to a great extent. Moreover, the church activities

particularly the youth activities that the church organises had a negative impact in the educational spheres of some students, particularly among the below average students who cannot draw a clear line between their educational and other activities, thus resulted in failure in their studies or achieving lower grades in their studies. And even among brilliant students, he believed that if they took an active part in the social activities, particularly in church activities, they failed to become what they are to be.”

The fourth informant Mr. Lalhruaitluanga Ralte, the author of ‘*Zoram Vartian*’, broadly classified the impact of Christianity in three broad areas. The first one is that Christianity eradicates the fear of evil spirits and other superstitious beliefs of the *Mizos*. The second is that it brought about changes in health and hygienic conditions. And lastly and most important is that Christianity with its new formal system of education completely changed the whole society in innumerable way. He said that the *Mizos* feared all kinds of evil spirits and offered sacrifices to appease the evil spirit which was driven away by Christianity. He further said that the missionaries and particularly Rev. J.H Lorrain said that the *Mizos* were the dirtiest tribe he had ever seen. However, since the medical mission was one of the important pillars of mission work in Mizoram, and by opening new mission hospitals and dispensaries, they could make a visible change in the health and hygiene conditions of the *Mizos*.

The fourth informant believes the fact that the *Mizos* were the product of a great civilisation around China, who came down to the place where they are now situated. He said that, when the Roman Scripts were introduced by the missionaries, many people could easily learn the alphabet and in a short span of time, many *Mizos* could read and write, which was quite unbelievable for a tribe that never had an alphabet by their own and having no formal forms of learning. He however, stresses:

“Since the newly converts believe that following the western way of Christianity was the correct way and jumping away from the traditional living patterns, this led to a serious damage to the *Mizo* culture and led to the loss of identity.”

Mr. Lalhruaitluanga presented an interesting issue that the missionaries were not the ones who banned the drinking of alcohol, but rather it was the early converts and namely Rev. Liangkhaia, who brought in the agenda of banning alcohol in the Synod Assemble. Having a

charismatic quality, his suggestions were passed by the Synod Assembly. So, he said that it was not the missionaries alone that banned the drinking of alcohol, but rather it was banned with the consent of the *Mizos* in the Synod Assembly.

Apart from these, students, lecturers, government servants, businessman and others were interviewed about Christianity in the present setup of *Mizo* society. Many of them agreed to the fact that Christianity brought several positive changes in society. They at the same time have diverging ideas from those positive functions and impacts that were written in books. The fifth informant who is an officer under the Mizoram government stated:

“Although hard working is a part of Christian ethic and teachings, many *Mizos* employees who called themselves to be Christians are not hard working at all in their workplace. Some government officers mentioned that many of their staffs who were actively involved in the church activities and held high positions in the church were not productive in their work. They stress that some staffs who were very busy with their activities and position in the church often leave the office early before time, making different excuses that they must attend church services, committees, had to go out for street preaching, for earning funds for the church youth groups, for learning choir songs, dramas and so on. They also stressed that those who have many responsibilities in the church often cannot give full concentration to their office work, which badly affect the functioning of their office and thus the functioning of the government. Although they tried their level best for their position inside the church, they do not give the same effort in their workplace from where they got salary.”

The sixth informant who is businessman also stated:

“Although I want to employ good Christian’s who are hardworking, those workers who are actively participating in the church activities and had different responsibilities in the church activities often make excuses that they need to leave early in the evening saying that they need to attend different kinds of activities (committees, learning different things etc.) within the church, thus creating a lot of problem to their workplace especially those who are engaged in manual works activities which does not have any formal dismissal time depending on the condition of their work.”

Thus, in this kind of situation, as it often creates a problem for their employers, they often prefer to recruit those who are not engaging in any church activities, as they will be more productive and their work and produce more benefits for their employers.

The seventh informant said:

“The teachings of Christianity when interpreted in the wrong way can become dangerous. Particularly referring to Exodus 20:16 i.e. thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour which is one of the Ten Commandments. It is sometimes interpreted by the

Mizo Christians in the wrong way. They opined that even when they recognise that their neighbors, acquaintance person or those living in their locality were engaging in bad anti-social activities like corruption, drug trafficking, selling illegal medicines and liquor etc. they are afraid to complain or report them to the authority which led to the increase to the commitment of such illegal activities. Also, since the church gives important position to the corrupt persons who offer high amount of offerings to the church, this increase corruption in the land as the corrupt person instead of being punished or stigmatised receive a high esteem in the society due to their position in the church. As such, Mizoram is one of the most corrupted states in the country though it is considered to be a Christian state.”

As a result, the rise in corruption can also be attributed to the church’s indirect influence, as good positions were held by those who gave the church larger financial gifts. Additionally, the church failed to take action against these acts of corruption, even when they were discovered to be corrupt by the authorities.

The seventh respondent is of the view that the church nowadays became more materialistic in the way that the church becomes more richer and richer, with beautiful and expensive church buildings, musical instruments and assets. Thus, he said that the spiritual needs of the *Mizos* are not met by the church anymore which led many people to stop attending church services which diluted the faith of many members, which is a major problem in today’s *Mizo* society.

The eight respondent stresses:

“The church in today’s *Mizo* society have become a center of fashion, where many people, who do not afford to buy good clothes hesitate to go to church due to their lack of dress. Although the church does not make any rigid criteria in this regard, since economy of the society is becoming better, many people are wearing good branded and expensive clothes in the church. This create an inferiority complex for those who are on the weaker section of the society. Thus, create an internal problem within the church, which leads to the fall in the number of church members and thus the importance of the church became lower amongst the poorer members of the church.”

This study also observed that in the present *Mizo* Christian society, a kind of denomination war has taken place, where each denomination is pre-occupied with increasing their church members. The ninth informant is of the view that this act of the church is driven by the desire to receive more monetary offerings from its church members, as the church is dependent and manages itself on the monetary donations made by its church members. This

creates lots of internal problems within Mizoram, where denomination feelings are heightened and thus sometimes create hostile attitudes towards other denomination members.

Thus, this study also notices that there are various groups and sub-groups within the church. Involvement in this kind of activity does not only mean attending worship or other congregational activities. It also involves attending various kinds of activities and committees and other programmes. This means that those people who are engaging in this kind of activities need to spare more time for their activities, and thus may limit their period of staying at their own homes. So, in this regard, a focus group discussion was conducted among the members of the *Kristian Thalai Pawl* (Youth group) to find out whether their activities and involvement in the above-mentioned activities bring problems in their family life and studies.

The first participant, 30 years, already working is of the view that involvement in the activities of the church can have different effects depending on the family structure and background. He was of the view that those families who affords to have a maid, either the children or their parents can engage more in the activities of the church without much problem in the division of work at home in doing various household chores. But, in families who do not have maids, if their children or parents were always going out for such kinds of activities, the proper functioning of the family may be disturbed and may limits the relationship between the family members.

However, the second participant, 20 years, studying B.A. is having a different view towards church participation, she stated that taking an active part in church activities do not bring problem in the studies among students if they are really conscious and give effort to their studies. She believes that it does not bring many problems to the family but stressed that the mother and father of the family should not go out at the same time and leave their children alone at home. She also had a firm belief that involvement in this kind of activity promotes a sense of brotherhood and connection within the society.

The third participant, 24 years, studying M.A. is of the view that those students who are actively involved in these kinds of activities disturb their studies and end up with failure.

The fourth participant, 21 years, Studying B.Sc. opines that although he was involved as much as possible in the church and other community services and activities, he doesn't lack behind in his studies, and also did better than those who viewed involvement in the church activities can cause failure to their studies. Supporting this view, the fifth participant. 20 years old, studying B.Com highlights that when he was studying in class 12 standard, he actively participated in church activities and attend almost every church services, which include not only Sunday school and night services but even the morning prayer services. He said that he was still the topper in Commerce stream and achieved the highest mark in the Accountancy subject. So, he believed that involvement in church activities does not cause any problem in the studies if a student is hard working and gives all his effort to his studies. He also mentioned that having a girlfriend/boyfriend and excessive engagement in social media sites like Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram etc. are more of a factor behind the main reasons why students fail in their studies.

With regard to the involvement in church activities and studies, the sixth participant, 28 years was of the view that it largely depends on the personality of an individual, where those who have the ability to draw a clear demarcation between studies and church activities are not much affected in their studies by their involvement in the church activities as there are some informants who have many roles and responsibilities in church activities, but whose involvement does not affect their studies and continues to achieve great results in their examinations. At the same time, there are others whose involvement in these activities disturbs their studies and often failed in their lessons. So, such people who previously faced failures stated that after cutting their active involvement in the activities of the church, they started to have better results.

The seventh participant, 38 years old said that due to his multiple roles and responsibilities in the church activities, he has little time for his family. And also, since his wife is also very busy with their activities in the church, they both spent less time together at home and he felt the bond between them had been shaken.

The eight participants, 31 years old is of the view that there are people who used involvement in the church as an instrument to hide their real nature so that their active involvement in the church activities would make them look like a good people, but for their family, they are useless and non-productive.

The ninth participant, 26 years old stressed that families where both the parents were actively involved in church activities usually have children who are engaged in unlawful activities as their parents mostly went out to work during the daytime and at night for various church services and activities, where they had little time for their children and due to the lack of connection and bond between the parents and children, their sons and daughters often involve in many kinds of anti-social activities which were against the law and create many types of threat and danger for the society.

Hence, among the *Mizos*, the church continues to be a significant social institution. Since practically everyone belongs to a church, the structure of the church affects how the entire society functions. As a result, every church member is required to abide by the structure's rules and regulations to some level. The church has a formal structure where they have made several church services: Monday night is for the youth service (church services for KTP, TKP, etc.), Tuesday night is for the women service (e.g. Kohhran Hmeichhia), Wednesday is for the entire members as a whole and is used for topical study, Saturday night service is for the entire church, and Sunday has three worship services as observed by the Presbyterian Church. Even if he is busy or not, church members are obliged to attend the various services. In addition to these, as members are assigned to various roles and places within the church, their obligations

to the church have expanded in addition to their jobs and academic obligations. As a result, whilst the church has many positive effects on society, it is also evident from the information gathered and the opinions expressed that it has also caused certain issues, particularly in the areas of the family and the academic pursuits of many of its members who are students.

According to this study, limiting these kinds of activities by the church and allowing people more freedom and space for their own family lives, studies, and other activities could improve family relationships, lower divorce rates, strengthen the bond between parents and children, decrease various types of crime in society, and create a better society overall. In addition, it is hoped that giving students more time to focus on their academics rather than participating in numerous activities will improve both the quality and performance of the students.

3.7. SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Kumar (2008) in the article *Engaging with Modernity: Need for a Critical Negotiation*, argued that modernisation is the primary tool for launching widespread transformation. Only by embracing the process of modernisation can issues like poverty, sickness, illiteracy, and inadequate infrastructure be resolved. He provided a variety of perspectives on modernity:

“As a philosophical idea, as a form of society and as an experience. As an idea, it stands for an extreme rapture with the past. It privileges progress, science, optimism and universality. As a society, it is characterised by a distinctive economic, political and social characteristics. As an experience, it is full of contradictions. On one hand, it promises many things: progress, advancement, removal of ignorance, power, joy etc. On another hand, it seeks to destroy everything that a particular society has and are known by them. It introduces an element of uncertainty, risk and confusion.”

In this paradigm, this study submits that the *Mizo* engagement with modernity seems to fall within the realm of experience. For instance, it was previously discussed that colonisation of the mind occurs in *Mizo society* and this entails the erosion of culture, traditional community, and its values. The colonisation of the mind has caused the *Mizo* culture

and moral values to crumble. In this context, Warner (1897) in '*The Citizen of India*' described India's educational experience with the British Empire. He said that it was unfair to evaluate India's educational system exclusively based on how it evolved under the country's colonial rulers. In truth, the educational system was still underdeveloped in comparison to the English educational system. Of course, the railways, public works, posts, and telegraphs were also among the empire's educational institutions. Although they all exhibited the kindness, assiduity, and dedication of English administrators, this was mostly done for their own political objectives.

Kumar (1989) in the article *Colonial Citizen as an Educational Ideal* mentioned that "colonial education produced political leaders, professional men, and intellectuals, not just office clerks. No simple model or statement will help us understand why colonial education had the kinds of effects it had. It socialised many into colonial values". An interesting feature of the education mission was the existence of a kind relationship between the colonial masters and the *Mizos* to that of an adult and a child. The native was transformed into a child, while the coloniser played the adult. The adult-child relationship entailed an educational task. The colonial rulers believed it was their responsibility to promote new ways of thinking and acting to the native population. A popular belief was that the locals need to receive education in order for them to become civilised in the master's vision. For instance, education and Christianity eradicate the superstitious beliefs and fear of evil spirits among *Mizos*. In the process, the colonial masters stripped off whatever is known by the *Mizos* by branding the indigeneous way of living as 'barbaric' 'uncivilised' and 'pagan'. This force the *Mizos* to view and accept the western ways of knowing as legitimate knowledge.

Hence, this study observes that the goal of the education mission was to prepare the native to live as a loyal citizen of the colonial powers. In this context, Jayaram (2015) points out that English educators often had ulterior motives. The spread of English education was the

result of a complicated confluence of factors, including religious- a desire to proselytise; moral- to instil new values in the spirit of western liberal Christian concepts; administrative- to staff the extensive and complex bureaucracy; economic- to familiarise the Indians with the modalities and values of the capitalist economic system and also to develop in them a taste for British products; and political- to consolidate and maintain their domination.

To completely comprehend the role that education plays in fostering civil society, one must examine the English bourgeoisie's aspiration to provide a minuscule civil society with the vocabulary necessary to justify its emergence amid the exploitation of the working class. Also, education was highly religious and quasi-religious literary instruction aimed at instilling characteristics like obedience, modesty, rule-governed behaviour, and acceptance of one's station in society would be prioritised in the moral education of children of ordinary people. And 'mass education' evolved into a programme that, because of its restricted financial growth, could only reach the higher classes but continued to be primarily a moral programme as was fitting for a colony. For instance, ever since schools were established, only the privileged few, including their offspring and kin, could be able to afford to enroll their kids in school. These people belonged to the government's salaried workforce as well as mission workers. By doing this, their relatives and children were able to take advantage of benefits that would not have been as accessible to regular *Mizos*. This led to the emergence of an intelligentsia or aristocracy that had no place in the *Mizos* indigeneous society.

It is important to note that education, Christian principles and their effects were unable to permeate the public morality that resulted in good governance is one key observation of this study that contrast with the principles of Protestantism. For instance, this study noticed that many *Mizo* government employees are not hard-working in their workplace. Many staffs who are actively involved in church activities and held high positions in the church are not

productive in their work due to over-involvement in church activities. Sometimes, this also disturbs the studies which resulted in poor academic performance.

The 1844 Report excerpted below, outlines the utilitarian and evangelistic currents of English philosophy as they relate to an educated India. The first is a sharpening of the faith in scientific reasoning. The second believed that although India had a mature civilisation, it still requires charity and a new lease on life. (Kumar, 1989). In this context, Jayaram (2015) noted:

“Though modelled after the University of London, the Indian Universities were nowhere near it in terms of the quality of the education imparted. The content of this education was biased in favour of languages and the humanities and against science and technology as well as vocational training. The excessive emphasis on the mastering of English as a language often eclipsed the purpose of education: it encourages mechanical learning through memorising and discouraged inquisitiveness and an experimental bent of mind. There was a simultaneous devaluation of the indigenous languages, and a sad neglect of their development.”

In Mizoram context, the main goal of the educational system was to impart knowledge, but its true goal was to improve behaviour. The chance to learn at an English school evolved into a justification for moral improvement and discipline. Traditional education has become less significant in favour of the moral influence it was meant to have. The term ‘moral influence’ was also used as a euphemism for Christian ethics. For instance, before the advent of Christianity, alcohol was an important part of the *Mizo* social life. However, after the arrival of the missionaries and having a look at the social life, they believed that drinking alcohol was a social evil for the *Mizos*, as it brought about many problems in the family and society. Thus, the customary practice of drinking alcohol was banned.

As a result, education was seen as the primary tool for advancing colonialism’s great moral goals. Regardless of how well the colonial authority did at educating the populace, the discourse of education would provide the colonial project the legitimacy it had always needed, especially given the moral climate in England.

Some people's education caused upheaval or identity crises, but in a greater number of cases- which we may examine with the help of biographies- education led to a new, positive self-image. The peculiarity of the patriotic fervour of the educated men for the empire was that it also incorporated self-confidence as a product of English education. The culmination of one's educational career seemed like a second birth thanks to one's faith. This event was the passing of the matriculate or BA exams. For example, education and Christianity were quickly seen as a ticket to well-paying occupations and a respite from the tedium of manual labour. The privileged class emerged as a direct result of mission schooling. Christianity's promotion of 'black-coatism' and its association with 'black-coated' professions established cultural norms. The educational system created a privileged elite that has nothing in common with the *Mizo* culture.

Education had a long-known role in subverting entrenched hierarchies of power. It is true that certain regional developments dramatically expressed this tendency in comparison to other regional developments. Overall, there was a clearer expression of how education may challenge established social hierarchies. The elements that made up the educated *Mizos* new identity were speaking fluently the language of the coloniser, being eligible for state employment, and having status. Even though educated *Mizos* did not control the colonial order, they dominated the colonised society. Although this goal was primarily conveyed in the vernacular of requests, they aspire to have the same rights and powers as the English officials. The mentality of the educated *Mizos* manifested two salient characteristics of an elite's self-perception: a sense of moral superiority and a willingness to assume responsibility for altering a certain social order. Education began to represent a brand-new, secular ethnicity. Because it was founded on western knowledge, it was a 'secular' ethnicity. The 'truth' of this information was above the types of debates in which the 'truth' of a number of branches of traditional *Mizo* knowledge was challenged. Compared to the general populace, the educated *Mizos* was better

able to comprehend the coloniser's perspective since they believed they shared the same knowledge. Another issue is that many educated *Mizos* were unable to resist the allure of religious revivalism due to their secular nature. For instance, when Mizoram was annexed to the British throne, the chiefs were disposed of their position through legislative procedure. However, it was the outcome of antagonistic relationship between the chiefs and the mission leaders on the one hand and between the chiefs and the newly emerging educated middle-class group on the other, who begins to establish one's status and position in the newly tiered socio-political system. This new middle-class group was also the by-product of education and Christianity.

Similar to the rest of India, the English perceived themselves as morally superior to the *Mizos* for two reasons: first, due to misconceptions about Indian culture and society, and second, because they had been successful in taming India's indigenous forces. Both utilitarian and evangelical works painted the *Mizos* as a debased race in need of moral uplift. One common theme among the proponents of colonialism and proselytisation is the assertion that every part of the *Mizo* way of life and thought was 'barbarian', 'pagan', and 'uncivilised'. To civilise the colonised, one must first accept that they are 'uncivilise' or 'primitive'; otherwise, the mission's goals cannot be achieved. It portrayed imperialism as a force for social transformation.

It must also be mentioned that the panoramic view of history and society, which shaped several major schools of Europe had also been passed to Mizoram through syllabi and textbooks and the speeches made by teachers. This will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

Thus, the sought-after routes for personal advancement appeared to be directly accessible through education. Additionally, it provided the knowledge and abilities that gave the prosperous native some power. These included an understanding of administrative procedures and the capacity to mediate conflicts between opposing interests. Armed with these

abilities, the educated *Mizos* enjoyed considerable respect and an aura of authority in the eyes of the illiterate population. Their position and status would be sufficient to explain a sense of moral superiority and an instructional role. The prevalent educational discourse in Mizoram, which emphasised a specific moral purpose for education, contributed to the improvement of this self-perception.

3.8 SUMMARY

First, this chapter concludes that education is a lifelong process, one that begins in the womb and lasts until death. Education also involves a constant process of behavioural modification. Through active participation in the socio-cultural environment, adjustments occur within society. A person's adjustment to society has been facilitated by a variety of social and religious institutions, organisations, professions, media outlets, agencies, and family members and friends. The socio-cultural heritage is thus passed down to a child through schooling within the community.

Secondly, this chapter concludes that as a result of colonialism, the *Zawlbuk* system, which was a significant non-formal institution in the past was replaced by formal schools, Sunday school, and teachings given in the congregation, where all the necessary knowledge, humanity, and morality were disseminated, which diminished the role of the *Zawlbuk* system and led to its abolition in the future.

Thirdly, this chapter concludes that the current educational system in Mizoram is only a product of the efforts of Christian missionaries who had a strong belief in promoting literacy among the *Mizos* in addition to converting them to Christianity. The first mission school was opened in 1894, the second school was opened in 1898 by Rev. D.E. Jones. After 1904, the mission authority built several primary schools in their settlements. The first Middle English Examination took place in 1909. In 1944, the first high school was inaugurated. 1948 saw the inaugural Matriculation Examination take place. First and second level education grew and

steadily consolidated in colonial Mizoram during colonial rule. Therefore, it can be claimed that the forces of colonialism and Christian missionaries have changed the learning culture in Mizoram, which has further changed the socio-cultural life of the *Mizos*.

Fourthly, this chapter concludes that Mizoram has experienced social, cultural, and economic changes as a result of the advent of education and Christianity. Most people believe that Christianity educated them and set them free from the shackles of illiteracy, poverty, and backwardness. Their social and economic lives were modernised and made more civilised as a result. The responses from the gathered primary data were largely affirmative when the general views of academics and laypeople alike were canvassed in this regard, especially from the missionaries.

Fifthly, in analysing the impact of missionary education in contemporary Mizo society, this chapter concludes that the *Mizos* engaged with modernity ‘as a form of experience’. This is full of contradictions, on the one hand, it makes a lot of promises, such as progress, progression, the eradication of ignorance, power, joy, etc. On the other hand, it aims to eliminate all aspects of Mizo society. It adds a component of doubt, danger, and perplexity.

Sixthly, this study observed that before the advent of the British, the *Mizos* were animistic and worshipped nature. This was changed by the British missionaries through the system of modern (western) education where they include Christian related chapters in the core curriculum. This practice is still prevalent till today.

Sixthly, from the primary data collected through interviews and focus group discussions, this study also observes that:

1. Because Christians are taught to love and forgive others, *Mizos* are reluctant to punish criminals and prefer to forgive those who have killed, raped, or robbed others rather than reporting them to the law. The *Mizo* Christians’ willingness to forgive greatly exacerbated the crime rate.

2. Since church members actively participate in church activities, many families are unable to establish healthy family relationships. Nowadays, many *Mizo* Christians place more value on various groups and associations than they do on family ties, which inhibits family connections and causes a variety of social problems.
3. Mizoram cannot obtain a stronger position and recognition in the federal government because the state is primarily Christian. When most of the leaders in the central government come from other religions, it is difficult for a small Christian-populated state to gain a greater understanding of the government.
4. Because many *Mizo* Christians desired to follow Christianity in its western manifestation and moved away from regional ways of life, it constituted a danger to the local culture and customs. Active students' participation in church activities, especially the youth events that the church sponsors harmed their academic performance.
5. Because the newly converted believe that embracing the western model of Christianity is the right path and abandoning traditional lifestyles, this has seriously harmed the *Mizo* culture and caused a loss of identity.
6. Even though the Christian ethic and teachings emphasise hard work, many *Mizos* employees who identify as Christians do not put in any effort at all in their jobs. Many employees actively involved in religious activities and held high positions in the church are often not productive at their jobs. This goes against the ideals of Protestant describe by Weber (1992) in *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*.
7. The principles of Christianity might become hazardous if they are misinterpreted and misunderstood. In particular, Exodus chapter 20 verse 16, which is one of the Ten Commandments and states, "Thou shalt not give false witness against thy neighbour." The *Mizo* Christians sometimes understands it incorrectly. They claimed that even when they noticed that their neighbours, acquaintances, or residents were engaging in bad anti-social

activities like corruption, drug trafficking, selling illegal drugs and alcohol, etc., they were afraid to complain or report them to the authorities, which caused the frequency of such illegal activities to rise.

8. In today's *Mizo* society, the church has evolved into a center of fashion, where many individuals who cannot afford to buy nice clothes dread attending church because they are not properly attired.

9. Excessive use of social networking sites like Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, and others, aside from religious involvement and dating, is more of a contributing cause to why kids struggle academically.

10. Limiting activities by the church and giving people more freedom and space for their own family lives, education, and other pursuits may strengthen parent-child bonds, enhance family relationships and foster a more just society in general. Additionally, it is thought that allowing students more time to concentrate on their studies rather than taking part in a variety of activities will enhance their quality and performance.

CHAPTER IV

IDEOLOGY, IDENTITY AND SCHOOLING: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF MIZORAM SCHOOLS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Firstly, this chapter explores the traditional and modern meanings of curriculum. It highlights the core curriculum of India during the Vedic age, ancient India, Buddhist curriculum and Brahminic curriculum along with the contemporary understandings by exploring definitions given by John Dewey, Skinner, Inlow etc. Secondly, this chapter discusses the importance of studying the relationship between ideology and curriculum. Thirdly, this chapter analyse the Social Science and Mizo textbooks used in Mizoram through content analysis. It analyses textbooks such as *Zir Tan bu*, *Zir Tan Bu Thar*, *Mizo Zir Tir Bu*, *Zir Tirh Bu* and *Duhlian Zir Tirh Bu* that were all framed by the missionaries during the colonial era. Also, this section contains analysis of textbooks that were framed by the Mizoram Board of School Education (MBSE) and the State Council of School Education (SCERT) that are used in contemporary schools of Mizoram.

Fourthly, this chapter contains the construction of *Mizo* identity by the Mizo subject and Social Science subject textbooks which are used in Mizoram schools. It discusses the making of Mizo identity in terms of geographical settlement, language and dialect, tribe in relation to religion, dressing attire and social stratification. Fifthly, this chapter contains the interview of textbook framers from the members of Social Science and Mizo subject committee from the MBSE and SCERT.

4.2 MEANING OF CURRICULUM

Curriculum originates from the Latin word '*curcre*' which means 'to run'. In this sense, curriculum is a process of running to reach our destination. Curriculum includes all that material which is taught in the school. According to Sharma (2011):

“A curriculum has to be defined in such a manner that it does not consider a curriculum to be a sum-total of certain subjects but includes all the subject-matter and activities which are incorporated in the school both formally and informally so that desirable changes take place in the personality of the students.”

Curriculum design involves the interaction of many people as it goes beyond the academic sphere to have an impact on the entire community. Students would not be able to comprehend or handle societal challenges without adequate education. A curriculum gives pupils the skills they need to succeed, feel confident, and behave responsibly as citizens.

Curriculum occupies the most important position in the educative process. If educational aims and objectives are to be achieved, there must be a background curriculum. Similarly, even for making use of different methods of teaching, curriculum serves as the base. Therefore, it can be safely said that curriculum is the base for the educational system. Sharma (2011) notes the following are the reasons of the importance of curriculum:

- “1. Achievement of the aims of education: Every educational component has specific objectives that must be met. These objectives cannot be accomplished without an effective curriculum.
2. Acquisition of knowledge: Students receive knowledge from the curriculum. Good citizenship requires a certain level of specific knowledge. Additionally, knowledge is required for clear thinking and good judgement. Factual information piques students’ innate curiosity, stimulates their creativity, and aids in the development of personal interests.
3. Development of personality: In general, one’s personality has to do with the impressions and influences they have on other people. It is the harmonious growth of the individual’s physical, social, moral, financial, emotional, and aesthetic traits. Education greatly aids in their healthy development.”

4.2.1 Traditional concept of curriculum

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the curriculum has developed into a disciplined field of study. It is a constant and all-encompassing process that is subject to additions, adaptations and changes. Numerous publications and authors have offered a variety of definitions of curriculum. According to Cunningham, “a curriculum is a tool in the hands of the artist to mould his material according to his ideal in his studio” (www.educarepk.com). Bobbitt (1918) offered a unique perspective, referring to it as ‘a series of experiences’ that

children must experience in order to grow their ability to handle the obligations of adult life. The curriculum in ancient India reflects the goals and purposes of education at that time. The curriculum includes studies and activities that are thought to help students achieve their goals. Naturally, during the early Vedic period, the curriculum was dominated by the Vedic scriptures, which were spiritual in nature and designed to enlighten the student's perspective. At the same time, since all education must have a social purpose, it is indisputable that the curriculum is closely related to social life and social demands. The intersection of both of these elements can be seen in ancient Indian education. During the Epic era, a lot of focus was placed on industrial, vocational, and professional education. *Kshatriya* education was another important aspect of this time. Similar to this, the *Vaisya*'s education was given a special boost at this time. It is speculative how expansive the curriculum has evolved over the course of its history given the addition of new material at each step. Similar to *Brahmanic* education, *Buddhist* education began with scriptures. However, *Buddhist* education had to compete with *Brahmanic* education in order to coexist. Thus, the *Buddhist* curriculum progressively incorporated *Brahmanic* subjects. As a result, the ancient Indian curriculum included everything from philosophy to grammar and the arts (Bose, 2017). So, the traditional understanding of a curriculum is that it is an accumulation of structured knowledge that teacher's layout for students to acquire.

The curriculum was severely caste-restricted in ancient Indian education. Each caste has a set curriculum with its own rigid framework. There could be a number of causes for this rigidity. Each caste was thought to have its own unique skills and powers throughout that time. And if the curriculum was inappropriate for their caste, they might waste the wealth of their education, making it impossible for them to preserve the heritage of education. Restrictions during this time were all man-made. It might be the result of how labour is distributed throughout society and how it is kept constant within a fixed class.

4.2.2 Modern Concept of curriculum

When analysing the various notions and the implications of curriculum, a key trend can be seen which focuses on organisation of content or subject matter. This plays a strong emphasis on experiences both within and outside of the classroom. In the 1930s, Tanner and Tanner (1975) defined curriculum “as all the experiences a learner has under the guidance of the school”. This links formal schooling with the curriculum. Four distinct definitions of curriculum are provided in Good (1945) *Dictionary of Education* with the emphasis on a body of content, an overall plan, classroom instruction and intended opportunities or experiences. However, curriculum reform has grown out of attempts to:

1. Introduce pupils to the present conceptual and methodological position of the ‘subject matter’ fields through their ‘experience’
2. Utilise psychological and pedagogical theories as current classroom instruction
3. Use the educational process to achieve ‘social and ideological goals’ (Bose, 2008).

The traditional notion of curriculum, which was restricted to ‘organised knowledge’ started to be challenged at the turn of the 20th century. Since then, different conceptions of curriculum have emerged.

Saylor and Alexander (1974) assigned a categorisation that is almost identical to that of Tanner and Tanner. From the 1950s to the 1960s, the curriculum was designed to be formed in accordance with the structure of the disciplines, emphasising organised knowledge made up of the recognised disciplines. The concept of a curriculum gradually encompasses not just the body of information but also the entire culture of a community. Nearer to this notion are the definitions from Dewey (1938) and Smith, Stanley, and Shore (1957), which place an emphasis on conveying and recreating the racial experience through the curriculum. In a report on an eight-year study, Caswell and Campbell (1935) place focus on the overall experience a child obtains while being guided by a school. They defined curriculum as ‘a plan for learning.’

According to Saylor and Alexander (1954), a curriculum is a method for providing various learning opportunities in order to accomplish broad goals. The curriculum is anticipatory and contains detailed plans for any anticipated learning events in the classroom. This idea has forced a breakdown in extracurricular activities and traditional classroom coursework. Similarly, Taba (1962) made references to the curriculum as a ‘plan for learning’. They thought of curriculum as predetermined learning objectives that the school is in charge of. In other words, a curriculum is the goals or results of education, more specifically as the intended learning effects of instruction.

The idea of curriculum as a production ‘system’ has been expressed in recent years by the doctrine of specific ‘behavioural’ objectives, behaviourism and the theory of ‘operant conditioning’, expansion in instructional technology, etc. Saylor and Alexander (1974) revised their definition of curriculum as a ‘plan’ and added ‘as a system’ to the phrase. Objectives are crucial in all decision-making processes including educational possibilities. Opportunities for learning refer to what is intended for a specific population and set of objectives. Thus, for an institution, a curriculum is a comprehensive plan that consists of a number of plans or sub-plans. For a single domain, a sub-plan can be built suitably. Programs of study, activity guides, courses of study, syllabus units, and other materials are essentially detailed blueprints for specific curriculum components. Therefore, the overall curriculum is a strategy that reflects a series of choices made about internal elements including curriculum designs, instructional approaches, and evaluation techniques. As a result, it serves as a framework for linking each sub-plan to a particular goal. Curriculum and instruction are often considered as two distinct activities, but they actually refer to the design and execution of the curriculum. Despite the fact that each of these procedures calls for a plan, they work well together.

By giving the concept of curriculum a historical context, the dual conceptions of curriculum and teaching become more clear. According to Saylor and Alexander (1974),

curriculum and instruction should be kept separate because one serves as the goal and the other as the means. The definitions of curriculum provided by the writers are ‘descriptive’ and ‘programmatic’. A programmatic definition of curriculum would expand the mandates and obligations of the school by defining it as the entirety of each learner’s experience while under the influence of the institution. The formal course of study is meant when the term ‘curriculum’ is used; this definition is descriptive. Thus, programmatic definitions once more present a dualistic vision of curriculum and instruction, in which the sum of experiences serves as the ultimate objective and the programme that the school chooses serves as the means to achieve that goal. According to Skinner (1968), the instructor plays a mechanical function in conditioning students to a particular terminal or ultimate behaviour by setting up the conditions for reinforcement.

According to Inlow (1978), a curriculum is a collection of learning objectives that are written down and that teachers should bear in mind when giving instructions to students in order to influence their behaviour. Although this dualism was prevalent for a long time, it is impossible to make a precise demarcation. End and methods would coincide when it was put into practice. According to Tanner and Tanner (1975), if we accept the claim that curriculum does not dictate instructional content, then we must also concede that there is no such thing as curriculum in the absence of organised information or knowledge as subject matter. Long earlier, Taba (1962) attempted to provide a definition that fell in the middle of these two extremes while still being useful. She thinks there should be certain distinctions made between the components of learning processes and activities, those involved in creating curricula, and those that are related to using specific teaching strategies. The goal of the curriculum is to assist youth in becoming engaged contributors to societal norms and culture. As a result, it differs from one culture to another and from one civilization to another.

Each of the aforementioned definitions of curriculum only fully encapsulates the concept. Tanner and Tanner (1975) provide a more thorough definition of curriculum in light of the shortcomings of each of the previously given definitions. They define curriculum as the planned and guided learning experiences generated by the methodical reconstruction of information and experiences, under the supervision of the school, with the objective of the learner's continuous and purposeful progress in 'personal social competency'. As a result, it makes a diagnosis of social needs, formulates goals and learning experiences, and continues to plan as the learning experiences are rebuilt, graded, and scheduled with the learner in mind. It is ongoing as social competence can be acquired and learning objectives are developed for the reconstruction of experience. Therefore, the curriculum is the culmination of all of the school's initiatives to affect learning, whether they take place in the classroom, on the playground, or elsewhere. The institution for implementing and experimenting with curriculum construction is the school. The needs of society and the interests of the students should guide the development of curriculum programmes. The curriculum helps the child become accustomed to the environment in which he/she will later have to plan his/her activities.

4.3 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IDEOLOGY AND CURRICULUM

The term 'ideology' refers to a type of 'system' of concepts, precepts, core ideals, or commitments to social reality. Functionally, ideology has been viewed historically as a type of false consciousness that distorts one's perception of social reality and advances the interests of the socially dominant classes. The history of the partnership between the school and the community has seen a significant contribution from the curriculum field. Because of this, it can also be a great illustration for a study of the connections schools have made with other organisations.

According to McClure and Fischer (1969), ideology appears to have three defining characteristics that deal with legitimization, power conflict and style of argument:

1. Legitimation: According to sociologists, ideology is concerned with legitimization, or the justification of collective behaviour and societal acceptance. This is true regardless of whether writers refer to efforts to ‘keep a certain social function’, justification or apologetic activity related to establishing and defending belief systems.
2. Power Conflict: Ideology is linked throughout the sociological literature to disputes between those vying for or already holding power. However, many writers refer to power or politics in a more limited meaning, which refers to the formal allocation of authority and resources in a society, which primarily occurs within the field of politics.
3. Style of argument: Many authors have noted that the debate that takes place in the world of ideology is marked by distinctive rhetoric and an amplified effect. The rhetoric is seen to be highly explicit and relatively systematic.

The idea of ‘hegemony’ offers another useful framework for understanding the intricate features of ideology. One can see how people can use frameworks to help them organise their world and give them the impression that they are objective participants in the impartial instrumentation of education, while at the same time, these frameworks serve as a specific economic and ideological interest that is hidden from them. This is possible by considering the idea that ideological saturation invades our lived experience. As Wexler (1976) noted, we will have to combine curricular, socio-political, economic, and ethical assessments in order to demonstrate the nuanced links that exist between educational activity and these interests in order to understand how this occurs.

The curriculum field has contributed significantly to the development of the relationship between the school and the community, and as a result, it may be used as a case study in an analysis of the connections schools have made with other organisations. Therefore, the curriculum offers descriptions of the aspirations, goals, and conservative community vision

of a sizable number of educators who had a considerable influence on the knowledge that was finally selected for and introduced into schools (Apple, 2004)

The selection and organisation of the curriculum is based on a set of concepts and values that originate from somewhere and represent a specific sense of normality and deviation, good and bad, and what 'good people act like'. According to him, it is crucial to recognise the social interests that frequently influenced the selection and organisation of the curriculum in order to comprehend why only a few groups' expertise has been largely represented in schools.

Socio-economic control takes place in schools not just through the types of discipline used or the attitudes taught, but also through the hidden curriculum that promotes expectations for work, obedience, punctuality, and other norms. Control is also exercised through the meaning distribution channels used by the school. In other words, the "formal corpus of school knowledge" may be used to exert social and economic control (Young, 1971).

Schools do not only control people; they assist in the control of meaning in addition to persons. Schools grant cultural legitimacy to the knowledge of particular communities by preserving and disseminating what is seen as 'legitimate information' - the knowledge that 'we all must have'. Because of the relationship between a group's strength in the larger political and economic sphere and its capacity to turn its knowledge into 'knowledge for all', a society's current economic ties might be considered as having characteristics of power and culture. They are dialectically intertwined, resulting in a connection between cultural power and control and economic power and control. (Bourdieu, 1971)

There are two primary methods for establishing the connection between knowledge/cultural domination and economic power. First off, it regards schools as being intertwined with a network of other, fundamentally unequal institutions that span politics, economics, and culture. In other words, schools only exist because of their connections to other, more powerful institutions. These institutions are then merged in such a way that it creates

structural disparities in power and access to resources. The second is that schools contribute to and replicate these disparities through their daily curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation practices. Schools support what has been described elsewhere as the cultural reproduction of class relations in advanced countries, together with other processes of cultural preservation and distribution. (Bowels & Gintis, 1976).

The study of social studies is a significant subject that contains silent curricular contacts with the teaching of constitutive ideas about conflicts. A review of a large portion of social studies literature reveals a general recognition of society as essentially a cooperative structure. This perspective is largely based on the fundamental ideological tenet that conflict, especially social conflict, is not a necessary component of the webs of social ties that make up society.

There has also been a lot of attention paid to what Jackson (1968) called the 'hidden curriculum' i.e. the norms and values that are effectively but subtly taught in schools but are rarely mentioned in instructors' objectives or declarations. Additionally, there has not been much research done on how the way conflict is handled in the school curriculum affects students' acceptance of a perspective on the social and intellectual conflict that serves to uphold the current balance of power and rationality in society. This can even result in political dormancy.

It is crucial to realise that, in the past, aristocrats and rulers utilised history to extol their virtues as saviours and benefactors, whereas in the present, political leaders use it to assert their dominance, affirm their power, and justify their position as tyrants. Leaders, particularly in the recently independent nations, rewrite history to suit their objectives in the context of the shifting political landscape. When history is produced under the sway of an ideology, objectivity is compromised, and facts are used to support the position of the party with the majority of the power.

Accordingly, when a child is socialised into secret knowledge of the past, the past is turned into a collection of conspicuous events, integrated around imagery of places, both good and unpleasant, and characters who are unavoidably larger than life. The family may employ fluent mediums for communication, such as story-telling or dialogues, but the knowledge that is left behind in the child's memory must always be a secret store of information. When it comes to educating students about the past, schools take on various roles in the state's effort to socialise the young to a recognised national past. According to the situations in the nation, these roles may range from being a law-abiding citizen in day-to-day life to being ready to fight for one's country during the war, and the school employs the officially sanctioned knowledge of the nation's past to motivate and prepare youngsters for fulfilling them (Ali, 2002).

There has been an understanding that there are links between concepts that are regarded as 'actual knowledge' in a community and the unequal distribution of economic and cultural power in modern industrial nations. One important place to start is the German Ideology, where Marx made the claim that "the ruling class will give its ideas the form of universality and represent them as the only rational universally valid ones". This is true for any attempt to explain the connections between ideology, knowledge, and power. Establishing the link between a society's dominant notion and the interests of specific classes and groups, however, is a crucial guiding premise of such research. However, this has sometimes been taken as a sort of conspiracy theory by many individuals, who believe that a select group of powerful people are actively plotting to oppress the lower classes (Apple, 2010).

A case study was done on India's and Pakistani school textbooks by Kumar (2001) in his book *Prejudice and Pride*. When there is any relationship characterised by conflict, each side inclines to define the 'other' in sharp contrast to itself and has something of the 'other' in it. There are many contexts internal to the two countries analysed by Krishna Kumar which influenced their perception of the 'other', allowing it to build either a strongly hostile or a

weakly friendly articulation under different political and cultural climates. The existence of a sizable Muslim population in India- one that is greater than Pakistan itself- serves a dual symbolic purpose. It ‘proves’ that the founding of Pakistan was excessive as a reflection of India’s pluralism.

A friendly discourse, in contrast to this aggressive discourse, exploits the Muslim minority as a cultural, even diplomatic, bridge. Regarding Pakistan, no effort is spared to emphasise India's ‘foreignness’ in terms of religion and culture. As a result, each nation makes a compelling argument for its need for the other to define itself. Pakistan had to create a national identity not once, but twice: immediately after birth and again when Bangladesh became a separate nation. Pakistani textbooks are complete with references to the 1965 and 1971 wars with India. In this process, the textbooks use these wars to construct precise knowledge and imagery of battles and heroes.

Based on the comparative readings of the two countries and the prevalent pedagogical tactics included in the children’s literature, Kumar’s (2001) analysis demonstrates how pedagogical strategies might duplicate the ideological positioning of specific school children. He conducts a rigorous analysis of both what is present and, more crucially, what is not. Therefore, the book *Prejudice and Pride* is crucial and significant to understanding how students in Pakistan and India read historical texts for themselves. Kumar has a thorough understanding of the term ‘circuit of cultural production’, which refers to a system in which all products, including textbooks, participate in three distinct phases: production, dissemination, and reception.

His analysis shows us the contrasts by describing how pupils in India and Pakistan interpret the history they are taught, and how these responses vary by religious affiliation, socioeconomic status, and geographical location. Kumar also helps us see the nuance and variety at play in the way young people in these countries imagine themselves to be contributing

members of their national communities. Although Kumar's work has many admirable qualities, Michael W. Apple criticised it for having a too India-centric focus. Michael also thought that Kumar, as a constructive critique of India's educational system and its curriculum policies, did offer ways to correct the possible bias in his readings, such as by developing an international project between both countries to create a cooperative effort to read and respond to the historical narratives found in the texts.

4.5 ANALYSIS OF TEXTBOOK DURING COLONIAL ERA

Looking back at the history of education. In 1984, Baptist missionaries Rev. J.H. Lorrain and Rev. S.W. Savidge developed a rudimentary form of the *Mizo* alphabet. They opened a school but was closed down due to more importance given to their evangelical work. In 1897, a government school for Mizo boys was established. The textbook used was *Zirtanbu* (Primer book). The content of the syllabus was reading, writing, simple arithmetic consisting of compound addition, simple division and simple addition and etiquette so as to teach the boys how to conduct themselves in the presence of teachers and when officers visited the schools (Hluna, 1992).

In 1898, a Welsh Presbyterian missionary Rev. D.E. Jones opened a mission school. The textbook used was called *Zir-Tan-Bu* (Lushai Primer). The first lesson is titled *Naupang Hla*. It contains a children hymn:

Isua hnenah ka kal ang,	I will go to Jesus,
A engah, a engah;	In the light, in the light;
Ama nen ka kal ang a,	With him I will go,
Kan Pathian engah;	In the light of God;
Ngaidamna ka hmu ang a,	I will receive forgiveness,
A engah, a engah,	In the light, in the light'
Thil tihsual ka sim ang a,	I will repent from sins,
Kan Pathian engah.	In the light of God;

Lesson 26 is titled *Pathian Thu Sawm Pek*. This is the ten commandments:

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|--|--|
| 1. Keimah lo chu Pathian dang nei suh. | 1. You shall have no other God's before me |
| 2. Milem be suh. | 2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven images |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 3. Jehova, I Pathian hming a
a naranin sawi suh. | 3. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy
God in vain. |
| 4. Chawlhni serh rawh. | 4. Remember the Sabbath day and keep it Holy |
| 5. I nu leh pa chawimawi rawh. | 5. Honor your father and mother |
| 6. Mihring that suh. | 6. Thou shalt not kill. |
| 7. Uire suh. | 7. Thou shalt not commit adultery. |
| 8. Englo ru suh. | 8. Thou shalt not steal. |
| 9. I vengte hek suh. | 9. Thou shall not bear false witness |
| 10. I vengte thawmhaw awt suh. | 10. You shall not covet. |

Lesson 30 is titled *Lalpa Tawngtaina*. This is the Lord's Prayer:

Kan Pa, van a Mi,
I hming zah-awm rawh se;
I ram lo-thleng rawh se;
I duhzawng vanah an tih angin,
Lei ami'n ti rawh se,
Vaw-in ah chhun atan
Kan chaw min pe ang che.
Kan thil ti-sual tute kan ngaihdam tak angin,
Nangpawhin kan thil tihsualte ngaidam ve ang che.
Sual tura thlem na ah min hruai lut suh ang che.
Misual lak-ah chuan min chhanhim zawk ang che.
tam te, thiltihtheihna te, ropui te,
Chatuan i ta a ni si a. Amen.

This can be translated as: Our Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done; On earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from the evil one. For thine is the kingdom, The power and the glory, For ever and ever. Amen.

Lesson 31 is a Bible verse taken from the book of John chapter 3 verses 14-17, Mathew chapter 5 verses 3-6 and Luke chapter 12 verses 22-28.

"Tin, Mosia'n Thlalerah rul a khaikan ang khan, Mihring Fapa hi khaikan-in a awm bawk tur a ni.
Tupawh a ring apiang Amah avangin chatuan a nun an neihna tur.
Pathian-in khawvel a hmangaih em em a! chutichuan a Fapa mal neih chhun a pe a.
Amah chu tupawh a ring apiang an boral lova, chatuan a nun an neih zawk nan.
Khawvel thiam loh chantir turin Pathian-in a Fa khawvelah a tir lo, khawvel Amah avang a an dam theihna turin a tir a ni zawk e."

"Rilrua retheite chu an eng a thawl e; van ram an ta a nih avangin.
Lungngaite chu an eng a thawl e; thlamuanin an la awm dawn avangin.
Zaidam te chu an eng a thawl e; lei ro luah a an awm dawn avangin.
Felna a riltamte leh tuihalte chu an eng a thawl e; tlai in an awm dawn avangin."

Tin, Isua'n a zirtirte hnenah, "Chuvangin, ka ti a che u, 'Engnge ka ei ang?' ti in damna thu, leh 'Engnge ka silh-in ka fen ang?' ti in in taksa thu ah lungngai suh u.

Ei tur ai-in dam a thupui zawk, silhfen ai-in taksa pawh a thupui zawk.

Cho-akte hi Chiang takin en rawh u, buh an tuh hek lo, an at hek lo, zemte, buh inte pawh an nei lo; nimahsela Pathian-in a chawm si a: nangni chu sava ai chuan in tha zawk asin.

Tin, nangni zingh lungngaih avangin tu-in nge mahni dung lam tawng khat a ti-sang chuang thei?

Hemi awl ber mah ti thei lo che-u a, eng-a-tinge thil dang a in lungngaih thin?

"Tuktin par a thanzia hi Chiang takin en rawh u; hna an thawk lo, la pawh an kai hek lo; nimahsela ka ti a che u, Solomona pawh a ropui zawng zawng a a inchei khan, heng tuktinpar pakhat ang pawh hian a mawi lo.

Chutichuan, ram hnim, vawi-in a nung, a tuk a thuk a tuah leh mai thinte, mah, Pathian-in chuti kauva cheimawi-in, nangni rin tlem te u, chu mi aia nasa chuan silhfen a pe loving che u em ni?"

This can be translated as: "Just as Moses lifted up the snake in the wilderness, so the Son of Man must be lifted up. That everyone who believes may have eternal life in him. For God so loved the world that he gave his one and only Son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but have eternal life. For God did not send his Son into the world to condemn the world, but to save the world through him."

"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are those who mourn, for they will be comforted. Blessed are the meek, for they will inherit the earth. Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they will be filled."

"Therefore I tell you, do not worry about your life, what you will eat; or about your body, what you will wear", Jesus remarked to his disciples. The body is more important than clothing, and life is greater than food. Take a look at the ravens. They don't plant or harvest and they don't have a barn or a storehouse, yet God feeds them. And how much more priceless than birds you are! Who among you can lengthen their lives by even one hour of worry? Why do you care about the rest if you can't even do this tiny thing? Think about how the untamed flowers develop. They neither toil nor spin. However, I can assure you that not even Solomon, in all his splendour, wore clothing like this. How much more will God cover you, you of little

faith, if that is how he dresses the grass of the field, which is present today and is burned tomorrow?

This textbook also contains the song *Plant Caersalem* and Psalm 51: 1-13 in the back cover page.

Mihring zingah a lo kal, Apa tirh-Imanuel, [...] Isua, Imanuela kha Isua mihring chhandamtua: I lawm ang u, I zui ang u; Hosauna, au rual ila.	He came to the human, Sent by his father-Emanuel, [...] It is Jesus, Emanuel Jesus, the reddemer of humans Let us celebrate, and follow him Let us shout Hosana.
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Salm 51: 1-13

1. I ngilneihna ang zelin, aw Pathian, ka chung-ah zah ngai rawh. I zahngaihna nasa tak ang zelin, ka bawhchhiatnate hru fai rawh. 2. Ka sualna ata mi silfai vek la, ka sual ata mi tlengfai rawh.. 3. Ka bawhchhiatna ka hriattir si a; tin, ka sual ka hmaah a awm reng. 4. I chung-ah nangmah chauhvaa chungah ka sual ta e. I mit hmuh-ah sual chu ka ti ta e. I sawi hunah I dik theih nan, lehr o I rel hun ah I fiah theih nan. 5. Ngai teh, khawlohnea dinin ka awm a; Ka nun sualin mi pai a, 6. Ngai teh, sualna a siam ka ni ta a; tin, ka nu'n sual ah mi pai ta a.

6. Ngaiteh, chhunglam ah chuan thu tak I duh a; tin, hmun ruakah nanging finna mi hriattir ang. 7. Hussop in mi' tleng a; tin ka fai ang: mi' sil la; tin, vur ai-in ka var zawk ang. 8. Hlimna leh lawman hriattir rawh; ruh I tih tliah lha a hlim theih nan. 9. ka sual ata I hmai thup la, ka sualna hru fai rawh.

10. Aw Pathian, thinlung thianghlim mi'siamsak rawh; thinlung dik keimah ah ti thar rawh. 11. I hnen ata mi' paih bo suh, ka hnen ata I Thlarau Thianghlim la bo suh. 12. I chhandamna hlimna mi' pe leh la; tin' I Thlarau Thianghlim chuan mi' dawm rawh. 13. Tin, bawhchhe-tute I kawng ka zirtir ang a; tin, mi sualte'n I lam an lo hawi leh ang.

This can be translated as: 1. God, in accordance with your unfailing love and tremendous compassion, have pity on me and atone for my transgressions. 2. Cleanse me from my sin and wash away all of my transgressions. 3. For I am conscious of my fault and am aware of my transgressions. 4. You are justified in your judgement since I merely sinned and did what you deemed to be wicked with regard to you. 5. Without a doubt, I was a sinner from the moment my mother became pregnant with me. 6. However, you yearned for faithfulness even when I was still in the womb; in that private space, you taught me knowledge. 7. Wash me, and I will be whiter than snow; cleanse me with hyssop, and I will be clean. 8. Let me hear rejoicing and happiness; let the bones you broke sing. 9. Keep your distance from my transgressions and wash

away all of my sin. 10. O God, create in me a pure heart and recreate in me a firm soul. 11. Please don't expel me from your presence or take away your Holy Spirit. 12. Please give me a willing spirit to keep me going and restore to me the joy of your redemption. 13. After that, I will instruct rebels in your ways in order to entice sinners to repent.

In 1904, the Governor of Assam handed over the education implementation to the missionaries and gave them grant which was earlier enjoyed only by the government schools (Saiaithanga, 1969). As a result, all the government schools got amalgamated with the mission schools. From this point till the attainment of independence, affairs on education such as affairs on the construction of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation were at the hands of the Christian missionaries. Education expanded and was coupled with the evangelical mission and schools were opened wherever possible. By 1920, the total number of schools in Mizoram was 139.

After 1900, the mission school was divided into elementary and advanced. Some of the textbooks studied in the elementary sections were *Zir Tan bu*, *Zir Tan Bu Thar*, *Mizo Zir Tir Bu*, *Zir Tirh Bu* and *Duhlian Zir Tirh Bu*. Its content consisted of Mizo grammar, Bible verses, Mizo proverbs and Mizo culture which are in par and which could support the Christian ethics.

The advance sections were taught more advanced subjects like Lushai Composition, Geography, Arithmetic, English, Reading Methods and the Acts of the Apostle. Lushai Composition comprised of the writing of the *Mizo* traditional religion such as spirits, demons, gods and also on Christianity. Both sections were taught on scriptures, Bible verses, catechism and tonic solfa (Hluna, 1992). The D.E. Jones Report of 1894 mentioned that the curriculum emphasise more towards the Biblical teaching and other subjects of elementary education were considered secondary importance. Content analysis of textbooks during these times also noticed that the curriculum framers were keen on dispelling traditional superstitious beliefs of the people.

Mizo Zir Tir Bu published 1899 had a total of 46 lessons and 16 of them contains Christian related ideologies.

Lesson 14 contains:

Misual ka ni. Ama mi sual a ni. Nangma mi sual i ni. Kan zain misual kan ni. Sual a tha lo em em. Thil tisual shuh. Sual kan thukru theilo. Pathian in a hmu thei a ni. Sual kong a kal shuh. Sual kong hreh om tak a ni.

This can be translated as: I am a sinner. You are a sinner. Everyone is a sinner. To sin is not good. Do not commit sin. We cannot hide our sins. God can see sin. Do not go in the path of evil. The path of evil is treacherous.

Lesson 15 contains:

Nitin, Pathian in min hruai thin. Pathian ka hmu thei lo ve. Pathian in min hmu thin a ni. Pathian in min hmu thei emni, ka thil ti engkim nen? Min thukru mah shela min hmu thei a ni. Tuna Pathian a awm hla lo.

This can be translated as: Every day, I am guided by God. I cannot see God. God sees us. Can God see all my activities? God will see us even if we try to hide. God is not far away.

Lesson 16 contains:

Dawt shoi a thiango a ni. Dawt ka shoi chuan m isual ka ni. Mihring kan zain mi sual kan ni. Tuma in “sual ka neilo” an ti thei lo. Thil ka ti-sual chuan sual in ka thi ang. Pathian kong a kal ka duh. Ka shoi leh ka thil ti in sual ka duh lo. Sual kong a kal ka duh tawh lo. Naopang, sual kong a kal shuh. Sual kong atawpa hreh awm a ni.

This can be translated as: Telling a lie is unacceptable. If I lie, then, I become a sinner. All human beings are sinners. No one can say “I have no sin”. If I commit sin, then I will die in sin. I want to go in the ways of God. I do not want to say evil words and act in a sinful way. I do not want to follow evil ways any longer. Children, do not follow evil ways. The end of evil is always treacherous.

Lesson 17 contains:

Pathian pakhat chaoh a om. Pathian hming anaranin shoi shuh. Kata lochu ka lak tur a ni lo. Tuma in Pathian ti ang an ti thei lo. Keimani kong, sual kong a ni. Sual, Pathian kong a ni lo ve. Pathian thu kan poi shoi tur a ni lo avangin, a thu zawm a tha a ni.

This can be translated as: There is only one God. Do not say the name of the Lord in vain. I should not take what is not mine. No one can do what God can do. Human ways are always evil. But, the way of God is not evil. We should not causally interpret the words of God according to our likings. We should follow the will of God.

Lesson 18 is title *Ka thi ni tur ka shoi thei lo ve* which means no one knows the day when we will die:

Nang ni in thi ang, mi zong zong poh an thi ang. Nang emaw, kei emaw, tuna kan thi thei e. Sual in ka thi chuan. Pathian hnen a ka kal thei lo vang. Min hril ang in, shoi ila ti ila, a fel a ni. An shoi angin, ti rawh, amah-erawhchu thil tisual shuh. Mi in “thil ti sual roh” min ti chuan ka zawm tur a ni lo ve. Thil ka ti sual top lo tur a ni. Dawt shoi tur min tir chuan, ka ti tur a ni lo ve.

This can be translated as: You will die. Everyone will die. We all can die at this moment. If I die in sin, then, I will not go to God. Do and act as what you are told but do not commit sin. If others tell me to commit sin, I should not follow them. If others tempted me to lie, I must not lie.

Lesson 21 contains:

Pathian in min shiam kan hmu engkim nen, ama avangin kan Nung, kan che, kan om a ni. Ama in ni leh thla a shiam a ni. Tuifinrial leh khawmual a thil ti a ni. Ama ngai tur leh hlao Turin min shiam a ni. Mi zong zong hnena Pathian a tha. Engkim kan nei hi Pathian min mek a ni. Ni a chhuak tir thin. Thatna turin ruah te leh kum that kumte min pe thin a ni. Kan sual tur min veng ang, thima min veng thei a ni. I Lal Pathian hre hram roh. Pathian chaoh lal a ni. Lal zong zong leh mi zong zong Lal, Pathian a ni. A tha, a fing, a thianghlim a ni. Ama hriat kan Tum hram tur a ni. Kan dam chhung zongin kan ngai tur a ni. Heta a om, kanzain min hmu reng a ni. Tuma’n englai mahin

Pathian an hmu ngai lo. Pathian in ni lengin min hmu reng a ni,
Thima pawh min hmu a ni, kan rilru pawh a hria, engkim kan shoi
pawh a hria.

This can be translated as: God created us and we are alive because of him. He created the sun, the moon, the oceans and the continent. He created us to worship him. God is good to everyone. Everything that we own is a gift of God. He makes the sun shine, rain to pour and he gave us good year and bad year. God can prevent us from going in evil ways. Always remember God in everything that you do. He is the only king. God is the king of all kings. God is holy. He sees whatever things we do. He knows what our mind thinks and he hears what we said. We must fear him and we must always stay close to him.

Lesson 25 contains:

Fimkhur takin Pathian thu chhiar roh. Lehkhahu zong zong
aiin a tha ber a ni. Pathian thu dik tak leh khawngai thu a ni. Tha
takin chhiar hram roh, min tifing thei. Engnge Pathian in a
hril che, ngai roh. Fing turin a thu zawm roh.

Tha taka i om duh chuam Pathian hlao roh. Jehova i Pathian
i thinlung zong zong nen in, i rilru zong zong nen, i thei tawp in,
i fin' zong zong nen in, i ngai tur a ni ; nangma i in ngai angin, i
Vengte pawh i ngai tur a ni. Zingtaka pathian zong roh. Ni
Leingin hlao roh. I mut dawn in ama be roh. I thilti na zong
zongah Pathian oi roh.

Naopang tha in Pathian a hlao vang. Pathian in ka biak in min
hria ang. "Min ngai te hi ka hmangai e" a ti. Min zong hmate
hian min hmu ang. Ka Pathian kumkhua in a ni ang. Mi a in
fin'na a zong lo.

Naopangte, nula te, tlangval te, pitar te putar te mi zong zong
kan thi vek tur a ni. Eng hun pawhin Pathian in min tihlum thei
a ni. Tharao taksa nen a thi lo. Hrem hmun a ka thlarao a kal
tir thei. Ka tharao chatuanin a nung ang. Kan zain a tawpna
tur a hla tawhlo.

This can be translated as: Read the bible carefully. It is better than other books. It is the word of God as it is filled with grace. Read it sincerely and it will bring you wisdom. To gain wisdom, try to know what God is telling you. If you want to live good, fear God. With all your heart and

with all your mind, maintain a good relationship with your God, *Jehova*³¹. You must treat others as you treat yourself. Search God in the morning. Fear God throughout the day. Worship God before going to bed. Follow God in whatever things that you do.

Good children will fear God. God knows us when we worship him. He said, “I love those who worship me”. Whoever come to me early in the day will see me. He will be my God forever. A fool do not seek for wisdom.

Children, ladies, gentlemen, the elderly will all die one day. God can take our lives at any time he likes. Our spirit will not die along with the flesh. God can send our soul to hell. Our soul will live eternally. The end is not far for all of us.

Lesson 27 contains:

Kan nu leh pa kan chung a tha em em, nimahsehela, Pathian
kan nu leh pa aiin a tha zawk. Kan tan thil dang min ti
sak. Kan nu leh kan pa nen, kan thil nei zong zong hi, ama min
pek a ni. Mihring a nilo, tu ai pawhin a fing ber, a tha ber,
engkim a ti thei ber. Ni a shiam, thla a shiam, arsi nen, lei nen
van nen, tui nen, thing nen, par nan, sava nen, rannung nen,
sangha nen, mipa nen, hmeichhia nen, naopang nen. Mihring
rannung aiia tha zawkin min shiam, tharao min neih tir avang
hian. Kan thalaraovin Pathian a hria, fingte, thate, chakte a hria.
Rannung in Pathian an hre lo, thil a shiam zong zong pawh.
Keimani pawh an hnena inshoi mah ila min hre thei lo. Kan
thlaraovin rannung zir thei lo thil nashatak a zir thei, a hre thei.
Kan taksa a thi ang, rannung ang hian, thlana kan invui
hun a, kan tisa changpatin a ei zovang, tin, kan ru vaivut
angin a moih ang. Chutichuan, kan thlarao a chuai lo vang, an thi
ngai lo. Pathian in engkim thu a rel. Ama in min tidam a ni.
A duh hun a piangin min ti thi thin. Engma a ti theilo a awm lo.
Khawiah pawh kan omna a pianga a chhun a zanin min hmu a ni.
Kan ti zong zong a hria, kan shoite, kan rin'te. A hriat loh reng
engma a awm lo.

This can be translated as: Our parents are always good to us. But God is better than our parents. He always works for the good of us. Everything that we have is his gift upon us. He is not human. He is wiser than everyone. He created, the sun, the moon, the stars, the earth, the sky,

³¹ Jehova is the name of God

the water, the trees, the flowers, the birds, the animals, the fish, the man, the woman and the children. He created humans better than the animals because he gave us soul. Our soul should know God. Animals does not know God and cannot make sense of other creatures like humans do. Even if we introduce ourselves to them, they will not know us. Our soul can do what animals cannot do. Our body will die like animals, funerals will be performed, worms will devour our flesh and our bones will break like dust. However, our soul will not die. God watch over everyone. He heals us. He will take our lives whenever he likes. There is nothing which he cannot do. He is there over seeing whatever I do throughout the day and night. He knows all things that we do, all words coming from our mouth and our believes. There is nothing that he does not know.

Lesson 28 contains:

Pathian in “kan zain tuma tha in om lo” a ti. Kan thinlung zong zong in Pathian kan ngai lo. Pathian in “ti shuh” a ti’ ka ti thin. Pathian in “ti roh” ti a min tir ka ti lo. Ka thilti soal tam in ka ring. Lal in “i soal shim roh” a ti. Ka rilru zong zong in ka soal shim chuan a tha a ni. Pathian ka dil chuan chutiang ti tur chuan min pui ang, chuvangin min puitu atan kan zong ang. Lalpa nangma ngai turin thinlung mi shiam ang che. Lalpa ka soal zong zong ti-reh ang che, min tidam ang che. I fapa avangin mi tifai ang che.

Pathian hmangai a ni, keimani tidam turin, a fapa a ron tir. Lal Isua Pathian fapa a ni. Pathian thu thianghlim a oi a ni. Mi rethei tidam turin a nun’ a pe ta a. Mi soal avangin Pathian fapa Isua a thi ta a, min tidam thei.

Pathian Fapa mi thi zing ata a tho ta. Vana a han kal a. Ni Kin nia lokal leh ang. Thlan ata min ko vang. Pathian ngaite hi ama hnena om turin an kal ang. Soal ngaite hi hrem hmuna a kal tir ang. Nanmga hnena om tlak a min shiam ang che.

Ni ruk a engkim i ti tur, ti roh. Amah-erawhchu Pathian ni a, hna thawk shuh, infiam shuh. He ni hi Pathian in a ruat a ni. He nia hian lawmtakin kan om thei. Mit khap kar lo chhung pawh Pathian ni a ni. Pathian ni sherh tur a ni. Kan rilru in Pathian hma khua kan ngaitua tur a ni.

Ka nao heng thu zong zong hi i rilrua thutakin om roh se. I

mut lai pawh in ngaitua roh, i harh pawh in. I sual zong zong
veng turin pathian be roh, i kong zong zong a hruai tur nen.
Chuti chuan, i nunna kong a, thlamuantakin i om ang. I thi pawh
in thlamuangtakin i thi ang.

This can be translated as: God says, “no one is perfect”. We sometimes feel we can exist without God. We often do what God told us not to do. I often do not do what God told me what to do. I think I often commit sin. The King told me to repent from my sin. If I repent from sin with all my mind, it will be good for me. If I ask God, then, he will help me to refrain from my sin. So, we have to seek God for him to help us. God, make me to be near you. God, remove all my sin and deliver me. Make me clean because of your son.

God is love. For us to heal, he sent his son. Jesus is the son of God. He follows the holy words of God. He gave his life to heal the lives of the poor. The son of God Jesus died because of people who commit sins. He can heal us.

The son of God rises from the dead. He went to heaven. He will come again when the world ends. He will call us out from our grave. Those who maintain a relationship with God will go to him. Those who do evil things will go to hell. Transform me to a person that is worthy of being with you.

You must do all things within six days. Do not work and play on Sunday. This should be observed solely for God. We can live joyfully on this day. God is God at all times, even at the blink of an eye. One should always observe Sunday. We have to think of the ways of God.

My child, you have to remember all these thought in your mind. Reflect on these words when you lie down in bed and as soon as you are awake in the morning. Pray to God so that you will not do any sinful activities and to guide you throughout the day. Then, you will live in peace throughout your lives. Even when you die, you will die peacefully.

Lesson 36 is *Hla Sha*. This is a song:

Ka naopang hoteu, englo ru' shuh u,
Englo in lei leh a man pe zel rawh u,
Ruk ruk-in englo in la thienglo a ni;

In Pathian thu in zawm lo va nih hi.

This can be translated as: Children, do not steal. Always pay for the price that you bought. Stealing from others is unacceptable. You steal because you are not following God ways.

Lesson 37 is *Jehova Thu Shom*. This is the Ten Commandments. It is a repetition of lesson 26 of Zir-Tan-Bu (Lushai Primer) framed by Rev. D.E. Jones in 1898. Lesson 38 is *Pathian Zing Tawngtaina thu*. This means morning prayer to God:

Aw Lalpa kan Pathian mi khawngai, mi ngil nei i ni. Ni zana leh nitin ka thatna tur i ti thin. Ka sual zong zong Isua Krista avagin mi' ngaidam ang che. Voina nangma ngai tur leh i rong bawl turin min pui ang che. I mit hmuin engkim ka ti leh ka shoi lawmthu chang roh se. Tin ka thih hnuin i hnenah vana ka om ang. Isua Krista avangin. Amen.

This can be translated as: O Lord, our God, you are merciful and full of grace. You do what is best for me last night and every day. Forgive all my sins in the name of Jesus Christ. Draw me near you and make me serve you today. Let my words and actions be joyful to your eyes. I shall stay with you in heaven after I die. In the name of Jesus. Amen.

Lesson 39 is *Lazara leh Mi Hausa Tehkkinthu*. This is a parable of Jesus about Lazarus and the rich man. It is taken from the book of Luke Chapter 16. Speaking to his disciples, Jesus tells of an unnamed rich man and a beggar named Lazarus. When both die, the rich man goes to hell and implores Abraham³² to send Lazarus from his side in heaven to warn the rich man's family from sharing his fate. Abraham replies, "If they do not listen to Moses³³ and the Prophets, they will not be convinced even if someone rises from the dead".

Lesson 40 is *Pawla Thu Shoi*. This is the sermon of Paul (the Apostle). It is taken from the book of Acts Chapter 17. This verse highlights how Jesus fulfills the old testament prophecies of the Messiah.

Lesson 41 is *Pathian Tlai Lam Tawngtaina* and *Chaw Malsawm Thu*. This means evening prayer to God and meal prayer to God:

³² Abraham is the name of God.

³³ Moses is the prophet of God.

Aw Lalpa, voin ni lengin mi enkol a. I hnena in pe turin ma pui ang che. Zanina ka mut hlanin i hnena inkoltir turin mi pa ang che. Nangma ngai hle turin leh i hming choimoi turin i Thara Thatfamkimin ka thinlung tifai ang che. Ka mut chhungin ka sual zong zong mi veng ang che. Kan Tidamtu Isua Krist avangin. Amen.

Aw Lalpa, chaw leh thil tinreng, min pek avangin chibai ka buk a che. Mal min shawm sak ang che. Jisua Krista avangain Amen.

This can be translated as: O Lord, protect me all through the day. Help me to give myself to you. Help me to keep myself to thee before going to bed. Cleanse my heart with the Holy Spirit so that I may be near you and praise your name. Protect me from all sins while I fall asleep. In the name of our healer Jesus Christ. Amen.

O Lord, I worship you for giving me food and all needed things. Bless it for us.

Because of Jesus Christ. Amen.

Another textbook used was *Zir Tirh Bu* constructed in 1921 by Rev. D.E. Jones. It had a total of 67 chapters. Some of its contents are as follows:

Lesson 38 its titled *Pathian* which means God. It contains:

1. Mi zawng zawng-in Pathian pa-hnih kan nei theug a, leia mi leh van a Mi.
2. Kan pa-te'n min chawm a, min veng a, chu-vang-in an-mahni kan awi tur a ni.
3. Pa-thian, kan Pa van a mi, kan Pa ropui ber a ni, min siam a-vang-in a thlah-te kan ni.
4. Ani chuan nun-na min pe a, Amah lovin kan dam thei lo vang a, kum-khua-in min veng a.
5. Pa-thian-in lei-te, thla-te, ar-si-hote a siam a ; thil min pek zawng zawng hi Ama ta a ni vek.
6. Amah hmu thei mah suh ila, kan kiangah a awm fo. Ama khua-leh-tui kan ni.
7. Pathian hnenah daw-van kai ila kan chung-ah zah a ngai thei, kan nu leh pa aiin a tha zawk.
8. Pa-thian in mi khaw-ngai em em a, min chhandam tur-in kei-mahni boral ai-in a Fapa thi turin a pe a.
9. Isua thihna a-vang-in kan thil-tih-sual a ngai-dam thei a, Ama henah kan kal thei.
10. "Aw Pa-thian khaw-vel ah hian min chhan-dam la, min hriau ang che," tiin, i tawng-tai theuh vang u!

This can be translated as:

1. Everyone has two Gods, one on earth and one in heaven.
2. Our fathers provide and protects us; therefore, we have to respect them.

3. God, our father who dwell in heaven is the greatest father, he made us, so, we are his descendants.
4. He gave us life; we cannot survive without him. He will protect us forever.
5. God created the earth, the moon, the stars; whatever blessings he gave it to us belongs to him.
6. Though we cannot see him, he is with us. We are his citizens.
7. God can be merciful toward us; He is better than our parents.
8. God is merciful towards us. He sent his son to save us so that we won't perish.
9. He can forgive our sins because of Jesus' death. He can go to him.
10. Let us all pray by saying, "O God, save me on this earth and guide me."

Lesson 40 is *Hlah Awm Loh Te*. This means Things not to feared. It can be translated as:

1. Kawn ah ram-huai a liam bik lo va
2. Lung-pui leh thing-lian-in huai a nei lo.
3. Kep-tuam nen, rul-ke-nei nen, sar nen hmu mah ila kan thi bik lo vang
4. Zam-zo-vin ram huai hnen-ata min hum-him thei lo-vang.
5. Thing-sai-hrua nen, thing-zung-kai nen, thing-hlang nen, fang-far nen a hlah-awm lo.
6. Sa-kei leh sa-mak ti hlum mah ila, hrem kan tuar bik lo vang.
8. Sih a hlau-awm lo va, tui bawlh-hlawh in erawh chu a tha lo.
9. Lo va in-thawi hi eng-mah a sawt lo va. Hna thawk ila, Pa-thian-in lo lam mal a sawm sak ang.
10. Ran-in thla-rau a neih loh a-vangin in thali-chhiah a sawt thei hek lo.

This can be translated as:

1. Devils does not pass in the road.
2. Big rocks and big trees do not have spirits.
3. We will not die if we see sacred butterfly, snake with legs and ring formed around the sun.
4. Cockscomb flower will not protect us from the devils.
5. *Thing-sai-hrua*, *thing-zung-kai*, *thing-hlang*, *fang-far* are not dangerous.
6. We won't be punished if we kill tigers and rhinoceroses.

8. Spring should not be feared. However, drinking dirty water is dangerous
9. Performing sacrifices in the paddy field is useless. If we work hard, God will bless our field.
10. Since animals don't have soul, they won't have to pay the four-month tax.

Lesson 44 is titled Mi-hring which means Humans. It contains:

Mi-hring hnam nga ropui an awm a- mi dum te, mi sen te, mi buang te, mi eng te, mi ngo te. Nimah-sela chi khat kan ni a ; mi eng an tam ber a, mi ngo an fing ber a, an lal ber baw a.

This can be translated as: Humans are divided into five big race- the blacks, the reds, the browns, the yellows and the whites. Nevertheless, we are all one; the yellows are the most in numbers, the whites are the wisest and the most powerful.

Lesson 45 is titled Isua Thu which means Jesus Words. It contains:

1. Pa-thian-in khawvel a hma-ngaih em em a, chu-ti-chuan a Fapa mal neih chhun a pe a.
2. Isua a fapa chu cha-tuan-ata a Pa pa-thian hnenah a awm a, lei ah mi-hring agin a lo piang a.
3. A in ngai-tlawm e mem a, chu-ti-chuan mi tam-tak a chawi-mawi thei ang a.
4. Thu tha tak a sawi fova ; thil mal tak a ti baw a ; mi-hring that-na tur a ngaih-tuah ber a.
5. A pa thu, Tha-rau Thiang-hlim thu, Van thu mihring thu, sual thu, dam-lai thu leh na-kin-a thu a hrih fiah ber a.
6. Ram-huai a hnawt chhuak a, mi-thi-te a kai tho va, mi-hring ril-ru pawh a hria a, a ti-thiang-hlim a.
7. Fel lo takin Isua an ngaih-tuah a, thing kraws chungah an kheng bet a, a nun a pe a, kei-mahni thih aiin a thi ta a.
8. Thlan ah an phum a, ni thum ni ah a tho leh a, tin, ni sawm li a chunah vanah a han chho leh a.
9. Van thut-phah chungah a thu a, lei leh van chungah ro a rel a, na-kinah mi zawng zawng ngaih-tuah turin a lokal leh ang a.
10. Isu-a'n min hma-ngaih hmasak a-vang-in Amah kan hma-ngaih tur a ni. Ni-kin-ni ah chuan min kai-tho leh ang a. Ama hnenah kum-khua-a awm tur-in min hruai ang a.

This can be translated as:

1. God so loved the world, that He gave his only son.
2. Jesus his son dwells with the Father for eternity, he came to earth as humans.
3. Jesus lived a humble and modest life, so that he can glorify many people.
4. Jesus often preach real truth; he performs miracles; He search for the betterment of humans.

5. He often preach the words of his father, the holy spirit, heaven, human, sin, live and what is to come.
6. Jesus cast out devils from humans, raise the dead. He can read the mind of humans and He cleanse it.
7. They wrongly accused of Jesus, crucify him on the cross, He gave his life for us so that we would not have to die in sin.
8. They bury him in the grave, resurrect on the third day, then, went to heaven after forty days.
9. Jesus sits on the heaven throne, He ruled over the heaven and earth, He will come again to decide the faith of everyone.
10. We should love Jesus because he loved us first. He will raise us from our grave after the days on earth are over. He will bring us to live with him eternally.

Lesson 47 *Sualna* which means Evil. It contains:

Pa-thian-in sualna a haw em em a, nima-se-la min khaw-ngaih leh I-su-a'n min tlan a-vang-in, Amah ring ila min ngai-dam thei a, sual hneh tur-in min tan-pui thei baw k e.

This can be translated as: God hates sinful ways. Nevertheless, he has grace upon us and since Jesus redeemed us, He can forgive us if we believe in him. He can also help us to win against evils.

Lesson 55 is titled *Zing Tawngtaina* which means morning prayer. Lesson 56 is *Chaw Malsawm Thu* which means meal prayer. Lesson 57 is *Pathian Thu Sawm* and *Lalpa Tawngtaina* which means the ten commandments and the Lord's prayer respectively. Lesson 59 is *Pawla Thu Sawi* which means sermon of Paul (Acts: 17: 22-31). Lesson 60 is *Tlai lam Tawngtaina* which means evening prayer. These are a repeat of the *Mizo Zir Tir Bu* which was framed in 1899.

Lesson 58 *Eng Thawl Leh Pik Thu* which means those who will be free and those who will not be free. This is taken from the book of Mathew chapter 5 verses 3-16. This is Jesus sermon on the mount.

Another textbook used during colonial times was *Duhlian Zir Tirh Bu Ninth Edition* (*A Lushai Primer*). It was framed by Rev. D.E. Jones in 1926. Lesson 22 is a rapid reader. It has a line *Milem be suh* which means do not worship idols. Lesson 31 is titled *Pathian Thu* which means God words. It contains:

1. Pa-thian-in min hma-ngaih em em mai
2. Pa-thian-in eng-kim fel takin a ti thin
3. A felzia leh a thatzia kan hre thei
4. Pa-thian-in thil thar tam tak a siam leh thin
5. Pa-thian chung ah do ila kan chungah a pawl ang
6. Eng-kim Ama thu thu in a awm thin
7. Fur leh thal, ni-pui leh thla-sik te hi, min relsak thin.
8. Pa-thian pa-khat chauh a awm thei
9. Pa-thian thu bo-ral ai-in lei leh van a bo-ral zawk ang
10. A Fa-pa misual tlan nan a pek a liam hian hma-ngaihna dang a awmla.

This can be translated as:

1. God loves us
2. God do all things cleanly
3. We can know how good God is
4. God often re-create many things
5. To fight God will not be good to us
6. All things behave according to his will
7. He gave us different seasons
8. There can be only one God
9. The heaven and earth will perish before God words perish
10. There cannot be greater love than giving us his son for our salvation

Lesson 38 is titled *Pathian* which means God. Lesson 45 is titled *Isua Thu* which means Jesus words. Lesson 47 is titled *Sualna* which means Evils. Lesson 55 is titled *Zing Tawngtaina* which means morning prayer. Lesson 56 is titled *Chaw Malsawm Thu* which means meal prayer. Lesson 57 *Pathian Thu Sawm* which means the ten commandments. Lesson 58 is titled *Engthawl leh Pik Thu*. This is Jesus sermon on the mount (Mathew 5:3-16). Lesson

59 is titled *Pawla Thu Sawi* which means the sermon of Paul the Appostle (Acts 17). All these are a repeat of the Mizo Zir Tir Bu and Zir Tirh Bu Fifth Edition. Lesson 64 is a children song titled *A lo kal in* which is taken from the gospel hym book. It talks about children who are good and who obey Jesus words will go to heaven along with Jesus in the second coming.

Another textbook used was *English First Reader: Lushai Translation* framed by Edwind Rowlands in 1907. Lesson 18 contains:

Pathian pakhat chauh a awm, Pathian engkim ropui shiam chu a ni : Pathian kan hmu thei lo, tharau a ni shi; Pathian-in bul a nei lo, tawpna pawh a nei lo-vang. Pathian-in engkim a hria, engkim pawh a ti thei. Pathian a dik (tak) e ; a daw thei lo. Pathian a thiang-hlim. Pathian a fel e ; mi sual te a hrem ang, mi thate lawm man-a pe ang. Pathian chu hma-ngai-na ani. Kan nei chhun (zawng zawng) hi Ama'n min pe. He Pathian ropui hi *keimani* Pathian ani. Ama chauh kan be tur ani, a dang reng chibai buk lovin.

This can be translated as: There is only one God, we cannot see God, he is spirit; God do not have a source and an ending. God knows everything, he can do all things. God is always right; he never lies. God is holy. God is good. He will punish the evil doers; he will reward those good doers. God is love. We must give whatever we have to him. This great God is our God. We should worship him only. We should never worship other gods.

Lesson 43 is titled *Chhandamtu*. This means Redeemer. It contains:

Pathian-in Adama leh Evi hnena a Fapa khawvel a mi tan thi turin a zuk-tir ang tih a hril. Pathian fapa chu naupang te-a a lo piang a, Isua an vuah a. Isua a awm-zia chu Chhandam-tu ani.

Isua a lo-pui tlin'-in zir-tir-turin a kal vel a, mit-del hnena te mit-var-na pawh a pe ; mi damlo a ti-dam a ; Athen an thi chu nun-na a akai-tho leh a.

Isua thing kraws-a a thi, kan thlarau hrem hmun a'n chhan-turin. Phum-in a awm ta, ama-eraw-chu ni thum-ni-a a tho-leh ta a ; tin, chu mi hnua'n van-a a han kal a. Chuta-chuan tuna a awm. Ama hmangai ila, nakina Ama chu van-a kan hmu ang, tin, a hnena chatuanin hlim-in kan awm ang.

This can be translated as: God told Adam and Eve that he will tell his son to die for the people of the world. God son came to the world as a child, they named him Jesus. The meaning of Jesus is redeemer.

Jesus died on the cross, to save our soul from going to hell. He was buried but resurrect again on the third day; after that he went to heaven and stays there eternally. We should love him, and we shall see him in heaven and we will stay with him in heaven happily for eternity.

Lesson 54 is titled *Chhan-dam Kawng-zia*. It means the meaning of being redeemed. It contains:

Kan thi hun-in eng tin-nge van-a kan thlen' thei ang? Mi then-khat-in mi rethei hnena khawngai-thil pek emaw-in thil dang tha an ti emaw chuan him-in an bei-shei. Ama-eraw-chu he kawng-a hian van-a kan thleng thei tawp lovang, engkim kan ti te chu sual nen pawlh-in a awm shi. Him-na-tur-a kawng Isua Krista zara chauh chu ani. Ama chauh chu chhandamtu ani. Ama ring la, hma-ngai rawh. Ama azara Pathian-in i sual zawng zawng te a ngai-dam ang a. Thlarau Thianghlim chu Ama ang-a tha-a shiam tur che-in a tir bawk ang.

Isua hnena i kal chuan a chhan-dam ang che. A hnena chuan “Aw, Chhan-dam-tu fak tlak, ka sual zawng zawng mi lak-bo sak la, ka thlarau chhandam anh che,” I ti thei ang.

This can be translated as: How can we reach heaven after we die? Some believe that helping the poor or doing good things will save them. But, this will not lead us to heaven. Whatever things that we do is always intertwine with sin. The road to happiness is only with Jesus. He is the only saviour. Believe in him and love him. God will forgive all your sins because of him only. God will send the Holy Spirit to make him good like Jesus.

If you go to Jesus, he will save you. Go to him and say, “O saviour, I praise you, take away all my sin and save my soul.”

This chapter also contains the Lord's prayer, and prayer before having a meal and a thanksgiving prayer after having a meal.

Another textbook used was *English Primer: Zo tawnga awm ang khan* framed by Rev. D.E. Jones in 1914. Lesson 57 contains, “God made all we see. God made us. He gave me life. God daily feeds us. God give me all I have. God made me to do his will”. Lesson 61 contains, “There is only one God. God is king of all the earth. To do wrong is evil (To sin is bad). God is Holy; He cannot sin God is good; God is love”. Lesson 65 contains, “God made the eye. Must he not see? God made the ear. Must he not hear? I cannot see God. God sees me. The night is

as the day to God. Thou God seest me”. Lesson 69 contains, “I must do as God bids me (do). God bids me not to sin. Who can say that he cannot sin? I am full of sin. I cannot go to God if I die in sin. The wages of sin is death”. Lesson 73 contains, “God gave his son to save us, Jesus Christ is the Son of God. Jesus died on the Cross for us. No one can save us but Jesus. Jesus will save all those who come to him. Lord save me, or I perish”. Lesson 77 contains, “God says ‘I love him who loves me’. True to do the will of God, without sin. Pray God daily to make you better. I should not worship idols. Use not God’s name in vain. I should not say evil words”. Lesson 81 contains, “It is a sin to tell a lie. I should (must) not take what is not mine. I must not covert what is not mine. I should love all men. God made all men of one blood”. Lesson 85 contains, “My body will die. My spirit cannot die. The spirit of the good go to God in death. The spirits of the wicked go down to hell (a place of punishment). Pray to God to make you love him. O, God, allow me not to go in sin! O. God, make me fit (worth) to be with thee!” Lesson 89 contains, “Morning prayer- O God, do thou bless me today, and take care of me. Keep me from all sin, for Jesus Christ’s sake. Amen. Evening Prayer- O, God, watch me this night. Forgive all mu sin, and make me good. Bless my friends and all men, for Jesus Christ’s sake. Amen. Morning Prayer- Oh Lord, my God, to Thee I pray, as from my sleep I rise. That all I do and all I say .Be pleasing in Thine eyes”. Daily Prayer- Where’er I be, at work or play, Keep me, Oh Lord, from sin today; Make me to be Thy loving child, Obedient, gentle, true and kind”. Evening prayer- “As I lay me down to sleep, I give my soul to Christ to keep; If I die before I wake, I pray Thee, Lord, my soul to take”. Where-er (khawiah pawh)- “As ye would that men should do to you, do ye to them like wise” (Luke 6:31) “believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.” Lastly, The Lord’s prayer is printed out in the last page of the book.

The middle school section textbook was Middle Reader II. Framed by Edwin Rowland in 1909 Madres: The Welsh C.M.F. Mission. Lesson 6 is titled *Pawla Thu Shawi*. This is the sermon of Paul the Apostle. It is taken from the book of Ephesi Chapter 6 verses 14-18. Lesson

16 is taken from the book of Psalm Chapter 23. This serves as a reminder that God is wonderful and deserving of our confidence regardless of whether we are living or dying, having enough or going without. The psalmist compares God's treatment of his flock to that of a shepherd, highlighting God's wisdom, strength, and kindness.

Lesson 19 is titled *Hebraia Hnena Lehkha Thawn* which means Letter to the Hebrews. This is taken from the book of Hebrew Chapter 4 verses 14-16. It talks about Jesus is the true prophet.

Lesson 28 is titled *Pathian* which means God. It defined God as a spirit and those who worship him must worship in the spirit and in truth.

Lesson 32 *Pathian Thu Shawm*. This is the ten commandments and Lesson 36 is *Pawla Thu Shawi* which means the sermon of Paul the Apostle. It emphasises how much we belong to Christ.

Inclusion of content like this was relevant at the time because the percentage of Christian population was just about 28.16 percent. Hence, along with the political annexation comes ideological annexation and education was the main mechanism for redefining *Mizo* identity in terms of indigenising Christian ideology.

Thus, it is evident that there are few themes that run along textbooks constructed during the colonial eras. Firstly, the textbook made an attempt to socially construct the notion of sin. Since the aim of the education mission was to transform and proselytise the *Mizo* society, the notion of sin is derived from the traditional life and practices of the *Mizos*. For example, the customs of performing sacrifices in the agricultural field was defined as a sin. It was taught that the newly convert should only worship the Christian God, and this will bring good fortune to them. In this way, a dichotomy between the traditional and modern is created in the *Mizo* society. Through education, one learns that the *Mizo* way is sinful, savage and primitive but

the Christian way is towards progression. So, the education system acts as an apparatus for the colonial state to transform the mind of the *Mizos* to blindly accept the new colonial culture.

Secondly, the textbook made an attempt to deconstruct the superstitious beliefs of the *Mizos*. For example, it tries to dispel the belief that big rocks and big trees have spirits and killing a tiger and rhinoceroses will lead to punishment. The textbook argues that there can be only one superstitious belief system, i.e. the belief in the Christian God. So, deconstruction and re-construction on the notion of the supernatural occurred during the colonial times and the textbook plays a major tool in the process of this transformation.

Thirdly, the notion of God is carefully written in the textbooks. For example, all the textbooks constructed during the colonial times had a lesson on the notion of God where it emphasises that there is only one God. Also, each of the textbooks had a lesson on the ten commandments which highlights the expectations of humans in order to have a close connection with God. Many verses from the Bible are inscribed in the textbook to show the omnipotent and omnipresent nature of God.

Fourthly, Jesus Christ is introduced as a saviour of humans. ‘It is through him that we attain salvation in the afterlife. We have to believe in him and that is the only passage to heaven’ is contained in the textbook. The textbook also tells that reading a Bible and offering prayer to Jesus regularly will help us refrain from committing sins. In this context, the textbook contains many bible verses about Jesus and a morning prayer, meal prayer, evening prayer, night prayer and the Lord’s prayer is contained in all the textbooks framed during colonial times.

Fifthly, the colonial masters in their attempt to stabilise the regime in Mizoram, the textbook is used as an apparatus to legitimise their race and knowledge as superior and worthy of being sought after and possessed by the colonies. For example, the textbook contains lines like- humans are divided into five big race- the blacks, the reds, the browns, the yellows and

the whites. Nevertheless, the yellows are the most in numbers, the whites are the wisest and the most powerful.

Therefore, it can be said that the colonial textbooks tries to create a citizen that would be loyal and conformist to the British rule. As a result, a new class of educated *Mizos* who are *Mizos* in blood and in skin colour but had a liking towards the colonial products were created and these newly created class enjoyed privileges by acting between the colonial masters and the mainstream population.

4.5 ANALYSIS OF TEXTBOOKS IN CONTEMPORARY MIZORAM

The schools of Mizoram are divided into four types namely the primary school, the middle school, high school and the higher secondary school where nursery to class IV forms the primary schools, class V to class VIII forms the middle schools, class IX and X forms the high school and class XI and XII forms the higher secondary school. Starting from class I, Mizo subject is studied as a separate and compulsory subject and the textbook used in both English medium and the Mizo medium schools are also same i.e. textbooks published by the Mizoram Board of School Education. Hence, this study analyse all the Mizo textbook from class I to class XII and aims to focus on how the Christian ideology has an influence in the curriculum construction process.

4.5.1 Influence of Christian ideology in the Primary School Mizo textbooks

Class I Mizo Textbook contains seven poems out of which four are gospel poems. Chapter 1 contains three short prayer songs for youngsters to recite before eating a meal, at the end of a day's school and before going to bed respectively. The first poem thanks the Lord for providing food and other necessities; the poem asks God to help to be his disciples, and he asks this in the name of Jesus.

The second prayer song is about a prayer thanking the Lord for all his guidance and protection all throughout the school hour. The third prayer song is about a prayer which asks God for his protection all throughout the night. Chapter 8 is a poem titled as ‘Engkim mawi min siam sak tawh’ by *Nuchhungi*, which can be translated as ‘God had already created all the beautiful things for us’. This is a gospel poem which thanks the Lord for all the beautiful things on earth. The poem acknowledges the Lord as the sole creator of things on earth. The poet *Nuchhungi* thank the Lord for providing us with woods, flowers, birds, the sun, stars, clouds and rain, parents and teachers (Mizo Pawl Khat Zirilaibu, 2011).

The syllabus of class II Mizo textbook contains seven poems out of which two are devotional gospel poems which praise God for all his creations. Chapter 15 is titled as ‘Zing ni eng mawi’ composed by *Nuchhungi* which can be translated as ‘Beautiful morning sunrise’. The poem stated that the sun is one of the most blessed gifts of man by God and the poem stress that God love is a blessed gift that everyone must acknowledge. Chapter 21 is a poem titled as ‘Kei ka hmunah’ which can be translated as ‘In my place’. The poem says that Jesus let us shine just as a candle shine in the dark. Also, we should shine out in the dark all throughout our lifetime as well in our respective place (Mizo Pawl Hnih Zirilaibu, 2011).

The syllabus of class III Mizo textbook contains seven poems and one of them is a gospel poem. Also, there are two verses from the Bible. Chapter 6 is taken from the book of Mathew: chapter 5, verses 1-10. It was a message which Jesus preaches about true happiness to his followers. The lesson mention that happy are those who know who are spiritually poor, who mourn, who are humble, who desire to do what God requires, who are merciful to others, who are pure in heart, who work for peace, who are persecuted because they do what God requires; for the kingdom of heaven belongs to them. Chapter 12 contains a verse from the Bible which praises the Lord for his complete knowledge and care for his people. The verse is taken from the book of Psalms 139 verse 1-14, where the main highlight is about the diverse knowledge of

God, the omnipotent and omnipresent nature of God. The syllabus also contains a gospel poem which acknowledges God as the highest authority and the omnipotent nature of God. The poem says that God knows even the way how we think, he never sleeps and he always guides us. Also, the poet mentions that we want to abide by his words as his words are the way of life and he asks God not to forsake and abandon his people (Mizo Pawl Thum Zirlaibu, 2011).

Class IV Mizo textbook syllabus contains five poems where two are gospel poems. Chapter 1 is a gospel poem ‘Par mawi vulna hmun tinah te’ which can be translated as ‘Everywhere where flower blooms’. The poem is about God for his omnipresent nature. The poem highlights that God is present everywhere and we cannot run away from Him. God protects us even in the midst of darkness and he always rests us in peace because he is our father. God protects us when we are in school and he always gives us what we want if we just ask him. Chapter 6 of the syllabus contains a gospel poem titled as ‘Lawngte tuiptui dawh cham chungah’ which can be translated as ‘A boat over the sea’. The poem is about a story of Jesus and his disciples where they were on a ship. Suddenly, a wild blizzard began to head their way. And the song is about how Jesus calms the blizzard. The last stanza of the poem acknowledges Jesus to be a true friend and a saviour who always protects his followers (Mizo Pawl Li Zirlaibu, 2011).

4.5.2 Influence of Christian ideology in the Middle School Mizo textbooks

Class V to Class XII Mizo textbook syllabus is divided into four sections namely: poetry, prose, grammar and folktale. Class V Mizo textbook contains eight songs. Out of which, three are a gospel poems. One is about the traditional children playground song and the rest is about protection wildlife and embracing nature. Chapter 1 of the poetry section is titled as ‘Khawvel sum tinreng’ which can be translated as ‘All wealth in the world’ by *Lalhira* and K. Hughes. This is a devotional prayer poem where the poets ask God to grant them a pure and holy heart instead of all the wealth in the world because wealth just flies away like a bird in

course of time. And the poem ends with ‘Aw Pathian, Chhandamtu zarah, Min pe rawh, rilru thianghlim’ which can be translated as ‘O God, grant us a pure and holy heart in the name of our saviour’. Here, saviour refers to Jesus Christ.

Chapter 6 of the poetry section is titled as ‘Kumkhua in a chul lovang’ by *R. L. Kamlala* which can be translated as ‘It will never fade till eternity’. The poet refers to Jesus as Immanuel³⁴ and highlights that the beauty of Immanuel will never fade away; instead, it will only increase and his kingdom will grow more and more. So, the poem praises Jesus for his precious blood shed on the Calvary. The poem also highlights that we have to remain faithful to his cause and must defeat all temptations which come our way so as to receive a crown in heaven. Chapter 7 of the poetry section is titled as ‘Aw nang kan lal kan Pathian’ by *Rokunga* which can be translated as ‘You are our king and our God’. The poem is about asking God to guide human decision making process when in a meeting and the poet acknowledges God as the king and his name should be at the highest. The poet asks God to listen to our prayers and to grant us wisdom and to guide our thoughts. The poet also asks God to be the leader of the nation and to protect us from any inside and outside troubles (Mizo Pawl Nga Zirlaibu, 2011).

In the class VI Mizo textbook, the song section contains eight songs out of which two are gospel. The others mainly deal with the nature and protection of wildlife. Chapter 1 of the poetry section contains a gospel poem titled as ‘Aw khawngaihtu Pathianin’ by *Chawngkhupa* which can be translated as ‘O, Merciful God’. It is a song basically to thank God for the gift of the soul/spirit where the poet highlights that his soul which is given by God is rejoicing in him due to the love of God and this happiness is overflowing the earth and the sky. Chapter 2 of the poetry section is titled ‘Mi bawrhawmte chuan’ by *Dr. Ramdinthara* which can be translated as ‘A helpless people’. The poet asks for the presence of Jesus in his life, where he highlights that

³⁴Immanuel is one of the many names of Jesus in the Bible. It literally means God is with us.

even in times of spiritual weakness, it is still God our leader who is the primary source of our strength (Mizo Pawl Ruk Zirlaibu, 2011).

Class VII Mizo textbook syllabus contains seven poems and two of which are gospel poems. Chapter 1 of the poetry section is titled as ‘Aw chhandamtu sual leh buaina’ by *Suakliana* which can be translated as ‘Our saviour in the midst of evil and hardships’. The poem is about asking Jesus to guide his followers in spirits in the midst of evil and hardships. The poet acknowledges that Jesus is more wonderful than any other thing and we are benefitting from all his creations and the poet also thanks Jesus for his love and acknowledges the gift of the heavenly home for the crucifixion in Calvary. Chapter 5 of the syllabus contains a gospel poem titled ‘Lawmthu kan hrilh che’ by *C. Saikhuma* which can be translated as ‘We give you thanks’. The poem basically thanks the Lord for all the blessings bestowed upon us and for the gift of Jesus Christ (Mizo Pawl Sarih Zirlaibu, 2011).

Class VIII Mizo textbook has a poetry section which contains a collection of eight poems. Out of these, one poem is a gospel poem. Chapter 1 of the poetry section is titled as ‘Min hruai la, min kai rawh’ by *Lalruali* which can be translated as ‘Guided me, lead me’. The poem is about asking God to lead the way in all spheres of life. Temptations create hardships and it is difficult to go even a single step. So, the poet asks God to guide her and lead her in her daily activities (Mizo Pawl Riat Zirlaibu, 2011).

4.5.3 Influence of Christian ideology in the High School Mizo textbooks

Class IX Mizo textbook has a poetry section contains ten poems where two of which are gospel poems. Chapter 1 of the poetry section is titled ‘Ka dam lai thlipui a ral hunin’ by *Patea* which can be translated ‘When the storms of my life get over’. The poem highlights that when the storms of life get over, we shall see our precious saviour and then, there will be eternal happiness all through the way. The poet also stresses that day has almost arrived and we should never stop believing in the coming of the day of liberation. Chapter 2 of the poetry section is

titled ‘Lal Isua thian duhawm’ by *T. Romana* which can be translated ‘Precious friend, Jesus’. The poem highlights that after becoming friend with Jesus, temptation starts to arise. But, with Jesus as the leader, the poet proclaims that victory is mine. The poem ends by saying that Jesus defeats all the sins in the world and praises the name of Jesus (Mizo Pawl Kaw Zirlaibu, 2011).

In the class X Mizo textbook, there are ten songs out of which three are gospels, two are about the unity of the *Mizos*, others are dedicated to the nature and three are love songs. Chapter 1 of the poetry section is titled ‘Ka tan ni eh thla reng a eng tawh lo’ by *Taivela* which can be translated as ‘Ain’t no sunshine nor moonlight for me’. The poet highlighted that there’s neither sunshine nor moonlight in the world. Darkness surrounds him and he can’t wait to reach the saviour’s majestic kingdom and he urges Jesus to guide him with his love until he reach the eternal heavenly kingdom. Chapter 2 of the poetry section is titled as ‘Zan a lo thleng mek e’ by *Dr. Ramdinthara* which can be translated as ‘Night is still coming’. The poem is about proclaiming victory in the name of Jesus and to rescue all others. The poet also stresses that we shall overcome the forces of evil because of God who is the winner in fighting evil Chapter 8 of the poetry section is titled ‘Awmhar niin ka chuan ang’ by *Zothanga* which can be translated as ‘I’ll go there by imagination’. The poet highlights that in his imagination, he used to visit the heavenly kingdom and the people who already dwelled there praises peacefully with the angels the Lord by the side of a beautiful flower. There is one drama titled ‘Duat luat vangin’ which can be translated as ‘Too much of pampering’. The plot of the drama focuses on the endless love of God for sinners (Class X Mizo, 2011).

4.5.4 Influence of Christian ideology in the Higher Secondary Mizo textbooks

In the class XI Mizo textbook, the poetry section contains twelve poems in which two are gospel. Others are related to love songs, and others are related to wildlife conservation. Chapter 1 of the poetry section is titled ‘Ka va ngai em Lal ram ropui’ by *Hleia* which can be translated as ‘How I miss the heavenly kingdom’. The poet basically talks about how he misses

the heavenly kingdom and he asks God to lead his life on earth till he reach that place. Chapter 2 of the poetry section is titled 'Pathian ralthuam hmangtute chu' by *Saihnuna* which can be translated as 'Those who use the weapon of God' where the poet talks about those people who use God as a weapon on earth are rejoicing in heaven without any earthly worries and the poet also states that he will praise Jesus for his crucifixion in the Calvary (Mizo Class XI, 2011).

In the class XII Mizo textbook, there are twelve poems in the poetry section and two of which are gospel poem others compose of love songs and others are dedicated to the nature. Chapter 1 of the poetry section is titled 'Phungrual an tin ang a' by *Laithangpuia* which can be translated as 'Devils will flee away'. The poem highlights that he mourns over the death of his family and he needs God in his life to help him in fighting against the devils that trouble him. Chapter 2 of the poetry section is titled 'Ka hmaah lui ral khaw mawi' by *Zumi* which can be translated as 'A beautiful city beyond the river is before me'. The poet highlights that she cannot wait to reach that beautiful city by the shore of the river where all the demise loved ones rest. The poem also mentions that we are all marching towards that city and we should never stop until we reach that city (Mizo Class XII, 2011).

The central theme to all of the gospel poems in the Mizo curriculum is Jesus and he should be accepted as a spiritual saviour. Most of the gospel poems talk of the troubles during this lifetime on earth and this can be tackled only with Jesus by our side. Even after life, it is only through him that the attainment of the eternal heavenly kingdom is possible. In incorporating 'value education' into the curriculum, the textbook writers focus on Jesus as the role model for students where they should derive their moral values from. The volume of the number of gospel poems in each of the classes can be presented in the form of a table for a better understanding of how much Christian ideology has been incorporated into the school curriculum.

Table No. 4.1: Percentage of gospel poems in the poetry section

Class	No. of poems in the textbook	No. of Christian poems in the textbook	Percentage of the no. of poems
Class I	7	4	57.14 %
Class II	7	2	28.57 %
Class III	7	1	14.28 %
Class IV	5	2	40 %
Class V	8	3	37.5 %
Class VI	8	2	25 %
Class VII	7	2	28.57 %
Class VIII	8	1	12.5 %
Class IX	10	2	20 %
Class X	10	3	30 %
Class XI	12	2	17 %
Class XII	12	2	17 %
Total	101	26	25.74 %

From the table, it is clear that the poetry section of every class from class I to class XII contains a number of gospel poems. When combining all the classes from I to XII, in the poetry sections alone, there are 101 poems where 25 of which are gospel poems. The influence of the Christian ideology or gospel poems comprises 25 percent of the poetry section. This means that in the Mizo subject alone, the influence of Christian ideology in the curriculum is one-fourth of the total poems that is studied all throughout the schooling process. Similarly, the volumes related to Christian ideology in the whole Mizo curriculum can be shown in a table as well.

Table No. 4.2: Percentage of Christian ideology in Mizo Curriculum

Class	No. of Chapters in the textbook	No. of Christian Ideology Chapters	Percentage of Christian Ideology in the textbook
Class I	12	4	33.34 %
Class II	21	2	9.52 %
Class III	19	3	15.78 %
Class IV	22	2	9.09 %
Class V	25	3	12 %
Class VI	26	2	7.69 %
Class VII	25	2	8 %
Class VIII	29	1	3.44 %
Class IX	27	2	7.40 %
Class X	27	3	11.12 %
Class XI	29	2	6.89 %
Class XII	28	2	7.14 %
Total	290	28	9.65 %

Apart from the Christian poems, there are incidences where Mizo textbook contains verse from the Bible and drama which propagated the teachings of Christianity. As a whole, there are 290 chapters in the Mizo textbook curriculum starting from class I to class XII. There are 28 chapters related to the teachings of Christianity. This is 9.65 percent. When making a comparison between various classes, Class I syllabus has the highest concentration on Christianity related chapters which is 33.34 percent and class VIII has the lowest concentration of Christianity related chapters which is 3.34 percent.

Apart from the Christian ideology being inculcated into the school textbook, the poetry sections also did contains romanticising poetry as well as poems which talk of the nature of Mizoram which won't be discuss in specific in this dissertation. Simultaneously, the primary school textbooks contain a number of playground songs for children which are known in the *Mizo* literature as *pawnto hla*³⁵. As the class goes on ascending, stories of the *Mizo* heroes are seen included into the curriculum. For instance, the life stories of heroic persons such as *Taitesena*, *Chawngbawla* and *Vanapa* etc. are included into the school curriculum and the manners in which these stories are studied have a good moral-teaching like altruism, patriotism, self-sacrifice for the community etc. which are still considered to have a meaningful bearing upon the contemporary *Mizo* society. Also, *Mizo* traditional folktales and stories are also included right from the early syllabus of the school textbook so as to give a sense of the *Mizo* historical cultures and traditions.

The prose section of every *Mizo* textbooks contains a collection of several articles. Most of the articles stress on 'national integrity' to be the main theme where the authors of the articles talk of universal brotherhood, peace, tranquillity etc. while some of the articles stress on humanitarian values like honesty, loyalty and serving the collective society. The uniqueness of the *Mizo* textbooks is that it contains numerous Christian ideologies in its curriculum, yet it doesn't promote any form of religious bigotry towards any religion nor put a 'black label' on any other religious beliefs. In fact, class I *Mizo* textbook has a chapter on the various religious groups in India. The reason for this lies in the need for 'value education' as mentioned in the National Curriculum Framework 2005. The framers of the *Mizo* textbooks i.e. the Mizoram Board of School and Education adopt a selective approach in selecting some of the Christian ideologies to be inculcated as part of the school curriculum as a form of value education. Hence,

³⁵Pawnto hla are children playground songs which the children used to recite while playing.

this dissertation doesn't see the Mizo curriculum to be an agent of communalisation of education.

As already mentioned, the rapid reader section is introduced in the high school and higher secondary schools. In this, stories and fictions related to Mizo traditions and culture are incorporated into the school textbooks. This helps students to develop in the *Mizo* literature as well as in understanding of the Mizo social structure as a whole. For instance, class VI Mizo medium school textbook has a chapter which titled 'Mizoram khawtlang inrelbawl dan' which means 'Mizoram Local Administration' where there was a focus on the functions of the District Council, functions of the village council, functions of the village court/village council court, Non-Government Organization (NGO) like the Young Mizo Association(Y.M.A), Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl (M.H.I.P) which means Mizo Women Association, Mizo Upa Pawl (M.U.P) which means Mizo Senior citizens Association (Social Science Pawl Ruk Zirali Bu, 2011: 185-187) which helps the reader to have a sense of *Mizo* societal administration.

4.6 CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY IN MIZORAM TEXTBOOKS

To analyse the nature of framing of textbooks in Mizoram, an interview was conducted with Mr. David Lallawmkima Fanai, the Director (Academic) of Mizoram Board of School Education in 2017. This interview is mainly to assess the nature of curriculum construction from class 9, to class 12 in Mizoram. Issues such as- the process of selecting academicians for framing a textbooks, who decide the content of the textbooks, does the Mizoram textbook follow the framework set by National Curriculum Framework, is there any modification of contents with the textbook framed by NCERT, is there any addition of culturally relevant topics in the textbooks which are not there in the NCERT textbooks etc. Regarding whether MBSE follows the NCF 2005 frameworks, he said:

“After 2000, Mizoram follows the guidelines prescribed by the National Curriculum Framework, The model syllabus which the NCERT send to them is used as a model in framing textbooks. In this, they retained around 80 percent of the model syllabus.

However, in order to make a culturally relevant textbook for the locals, they change around 20 percent of the model syllabus.”

On asking about the content of the modified 20 percent, he answered:

“There are few changes in every subject. For example, time, work and distance chapters are included in the class 9 and 10 textbooks. These are not there in the model syllabus prescribed by the NCERT. In the social Science subject, topics that are culturally relevant are added. For example, topic about AIDS is added since Mizoram population has the highest prevalence rate in India. Also, since Mizoram is located in a hilly area that has the potential to face natural disasters, chapters on disaster management is included in every social science textbook”

Regarding the framing a textbook, he mentioned that:

“They identified experts in the field of the subject area and from the experts. These experts would have a meeting, discuss the relevant topic for inclusion in the textbook and would submit the proposal to the subject committee for each subject. Only after getting it approved, then, it will be finalised and added in the text.”

Regarding of selecting textbooks from different publishers, he stated:

“They receive textbooks framed as per NCF 2005 from different publishing house such as Oxford, Macmillan, Orient Longman, Arya, Modern, Laxmi Kant, S. Chand and Bharatya. From these, the subject expert would review and compare each textbook based on the content and the price of the textbook. Since accessibility for the poorest section of the population has to be considered. They would normally choose a textbook that are priced between Rs. 50 to Rs. 100/-”

Secondly, an interview was conducted with the Assistant Co-ordinator Mrs. Zoramthangi Ralte of the Mizo subject Committee and Social Science Subject Committee in 2018. The purpose of this is to assess the nature of curriculum construction from class 1 to class 8. Issues such as- the importance of teaching in the mother-tongue in the primary section, the process of framing textbooks in Mizo in Mizo and Social Science subject and its intended outcomes, the importance of constructing textbooks which are inclusive for tribal children for national integration and the importance of moral education were discussed.

In framing the textbooks for primary school, the Assistant co-ordinator of Mizo textbook and Social Science textbook committee Mrs. Zohmingthangi stated that:

“Their primary aim is to make learning fun and a process of enjoyment for the children as much as possible. They are following the instructions set by the National Curriculum Framework of 2005 as much as possible. However, in some case, they add culturally relevant topics which may be useful for Mizo students. For instance, the Mizo Medium

Social Science Textbook for class 6 contains the colonisation of Mizoram by the Britishers which is not there in the English medium textbooks.”

On asking the main purpose of Mizo textbook, she stated:

“The main goal of language textbook such as Mizo textbook is to inculcate useful knowledge and skills needed in daily life to the learners, to develop a spirit of inquisitiveness and to make the textbook culturally relevant as much as possible.”

Apart from these, she also stated that teaching tools such as cards, charts, advertisements, texts, brochures, pamphlets, radio, TV, news etc. should be made used by the teacher in transmitting knowledge to students., she also stated that the main aim of language textbook should be:

- “1. To teach the art of listening, speaking, reading and writing
 2. To teach the right moral values for guiding life
 3. To make students think on their own so that they can articulate their opinion
 4. To inculcate the passion of reading and to motivate students to have a writing habit
 5. To uphold and cherish the culture and tradition of the *Mizos*..
- The goals of a language curriculum are two fold: attainment of a basic proficiency, and the development of language as an instrument for basic interpersonal communication and later for abstract thought and knowledge acquisition. I hopes that by the time a student finishes school, he/she would become an autonomous learner.”

In framing textbooks, Mizoram has 13 core curriculum which she mentioned,

- “1. Self, Family Home, Friends and Pets
2. Neighbourhood and Community at large
3. The Nation- Diversity (socio-culture, religious and ethnic, as well as linguistic), Heritage (myth/legends/folktales)
4. The world- India’s neighbours and other countries (their cultures, literature and customs)
5. Adventure and Imagination
6. Sports
7. Issues relating to adolescence
8. Science and Technology
9. Peace and Harmony
10. Travel and Tourism
11. Mass Media
12. Art and Culture
13. Health and Reproductive Health

The respondent also stated that the intended outcome of Mizo subject are diverse:

1. To introduce the students into classroom instruction process in the early phase
2. To make the students able to read, write, listen and speak eloquently
3. To inculcate right moral values to the students”

Social Science subject is introduced to students only from class 6 onwards, the respondents is asked on the content of the Social Science subject. She stated:

“The syllabus on Social Science is designed to forge an integrated perspective for the primary state of schooling that draws upon insights from sciences, social sciences and environmental education. The National Curriculum Framework 2005 indicates some of the objectives of teaching science and social science at the primary stage as follows:

1. To train children to allocate and comprehend relationships between the natural, social and cultural environment.
2. To develop an understanding based on observation and illustration, drawn from lived experiences and physical, biological, social and cultural aspects of life, rather than abstractions.
3. To create cognitive capacity and resourcefulness to make the child curious about social phenomena, starting with the family and moving onto wider spaces.
4. To nurture the curiosity and creativity of the child particularly in relation to the natural environment (including artifacts and people).
5. To develop an awareness about environmental issues.
6. To engage the child in exploratory and hands on activities to acquire basic cognitive and psychomotor skills through observation, classification, inference etc. To emphasise design and fabrication, estimation and measurement as a prelude to the development of technological and quantitative skills at later stages.
7. To be able to critically address gender concerns and issues of marginalisation and oppression with values of equality and justice, and respect for human dignity and rights.”

Upon probing her on the inclusion of Christian ideology related chapters in the Mizo textbooks. She stated:

“Yes, there are some chapters taken from the Bible and there are poems taken from the *Kristian hla bu* (gospel song books). There are some stories taken from *Esopa Thawnthu Fing*, *Primary Thuvawn Bu* and *Serkawn Graded Readers* as well. This is done so because there has always been an inclusion of these kinds of lessons in Mizoram schools since the beginning of education in Mizoram. Besides, since we have to incorporate moral/value/peace education in the syllabus, we feel best that these values should be learnt from religion. Moreover, if we look at other states, they are including their religion in their textbook, similarly, we are also doing the same. And since almost all the Mizo subject readers are Christians, I do not think that people will be offended by this.”

The Neo-Marxist Althusser’s concept of the ideological state apparatus throws a light when focussing on the links between power, ideology and education in analysing Mizoram school textbooks. This study observes that the school textbooks greatly imparted the teachings of Christian ideology. This phenomenon can be seen as the church trying to impose its ideological control in a more effective means to maintain its hegemony. For a ruling ideology to survive and to function in a technically efficient manner, it requires a submissive and

obedient follower. This is fulfilled by education, which is an integral part of the ideological state apparatus where the Mizo curriculum indicates the teachings of the Christian ideology i.e. church ideology in the students as a form of ‘value education’ so as to reproduce citizens suited to the requirements of the church.

4.7 CONSTRUCTION OF MIZO IDENTITY IN TEXTBOOKS

Textbook is a fundamental tool in the teaching-learning process. It is found in every classroom and accessible to every student. It was the only instrument of imparting knowledge in the past. Logically arranged subject-matter, presented in the form of a textbook, influences the objectives, character and scope of the curriculum, the methods of instruction and the means of evaluating the outcomes. Knowledge of the subject-matter, carefully selected and logically arranged, would achieve all the individual and social ends. In the following discourse, how the textbooks construct the identity of the *Mizos* in terms of spatial land settlement, language and dialect, dressing attire, tribe, clan and religion and social stratification will be discuss. Here, the textbooks of Mizo subject of class I to class XII are analysed. Also, the Social Science Mizo medium textbooks of class VI and class VII textbook is analysed. However, since the English medium Social Science textbooks do not have any related topic to the *Mizo* identity construction, this dissertation does not look into it.

‘Mizo’ is a generic term coined for covering all the *Lushai* and the *non-Lushai* clans, having a broad cultural affinity (Bhatia, 2010). The school curriculum (class X Mizo, 2011) highlighted that the origin and verbal use of the term *Mizo* is rather difficult to trace since the term *Mizo* has not been seen and used in the folksongs and folktales as well. The *Mizos* including all its clans and sub-clans are referred as ‘Chin’ by the eastern people while the western people used to refer to the *Mizos* as *Kuki*.

However, the first written about the *Mizo* tribe was written by Capt. T. H. Lewin in 1874 AD and he used the term ‘Dzo’ to refer to the *Mizo* tribe as a whole. However, evidence

shows that the people of Mizoram used the term *Mizo* to refer to themselves as early as 1871 AD. This is evident from the documented history, when *Mary Winchester*³⁶ was captured by *Bengkhuia*, he named her *Zoluti*. Also, the first ever missionary to come to Mizoram was in 1894 which they named him *Zosap*. The first ever *Mizo* book published was in 1895 and they named that book 'Mizo Zir Tir Bu'. The first ever newspaper printed was in 1898 and it was named 'Mizo Chanchin Laishuih'. From all these, one can say that if the *Mizos* at those times, doesn't refer or call themselves as a *Mizo*, the British would also not call them as a *Mizo* just because of mere likings towards a particular term. Even though there may be different clans and their language and dialect may differ a bit from region to region, the British administrators and missionaries acknowledge that the various clans and sub clans can be club as a single homogenous group. Therefore, the name *Mizo* was used to refer to all the clans and sub-clans of the people living in Mizoram (Class X Mizo, 2011 : 83). Hence, from this, it can be said that the usage of the term 'Mizo' is a colonial construction since the *Mizos* were not politically united at those times. The school textbooks construct the idea of *Mizo* mainly by tracing the history of the *Mizos* which can be studied in the following manner:

4.7.1 Geographical land settlement

The spatial settlement of the *Mizos* can be studied from the Chapter 10 of Class X textbook³⁷ which highlights that the oral literature passed on by the *Mizo* ancestors says that the *Mizos* got its first identity from the cave named *Chhinlung*. This literally means that the ancestral *Mizos* believed that they came out from that cave and this was known to be the origin of the *Mizo* as per the oral literature. With reference to this, they build their identity from this cave and would call themselves as a *Chhinlung chhuak* which means a group of people coming

³⁶Mary Winchester was the daughter of an English plantation worker captured by *Mizo* king named *Bengkhuia*. To retrieve her back, the British sent troops to Mizoram which is known as the 'Lushai-Chin Expedition' in history. This incident is the first encounter of the *Mizos* with the outside world.

³⁷Chapter 10 of Class X Mizo textbook is titled as 'Mizote leh an nihna' written by Mr. B. Lalthangliana which can be translated as 'Mizos and their identity'.

out from a cave named *Chhinlung*. Many believe that the cave *Chhinlung* to be located in China (Class X Mizo, 2011).

However, till date, there isn't any proper excavation of the cave in terms of location. Here, the school text says that this may as well be a myth. But the Social Science textbook stress that the idea of origin according to this cannot be true. There is another proposition which opines that at around 700 AD, in one of the province of China, there was a king who the *Mizos* named him as *Chhinlunga*. As *Chhinlunga* was having a feud with his father, he was forced to exile the province by his father. From then on, *Chhinlunga* along with *Mizos* started moving towards the south and reached Myanmar. And as time passed, they started to call themselves as *Chhinlung chhuak* which means *Chhinlung* origin (ibid.: 79; Pawl Ruk social science, 2011: 70).

The school textbook mention that as far as the present day knowledge goes, *Mizos* belong to one of a big Mongoloid race and in terms of language spoken; the *Mizos* belong to a *Tibeto-Burman* group. The earliest record of a group of people who used the *Tibeto-Burman* language lived in the south-east region of Tibet and in the north-west region of China i.e. in the Kansu province at around 2000 BC. The inhabitants of the Kansu province used sharp stones as their main tools and as weapons to defend themselves against enemies. At those times, their neighbouring Chinese would rear buffalo, cattle and pig while the *Tibeto-Burman* language speakers would rear sheep and goat as a form of animal husbandry. The two groups often find themselves in conflict with one another over grazing field for their animals and since the *Tibeto-Burman* language speakers would always lose the fight, they started migrating to the west (Class X Mizo, 2011: 79) From this point, the ancestral *Mizos* started migrating till they reached the present Mizoram.

One of the *Tibeto-Burman* language speakers, the *Mizo* ancestors also migrated towards the border of China and Tibet and they started marginalising themselves from the other

groups and at around 4th Century AD, they reached *Hukaung* which is in Burma. They gradually migrated onto the west towards the banks of the river *Chinwin* and at around 800 to 850 AD, they reached *Kabaw valley*, *Tahan*, *Khampat* and *Tamu*. These valleys are fertile lands and as there was an easy supply of water and harvesting of crops were also good. Because of this, it is believe that the *Mizos* during thar time were not too backward in terms of finding settlements, dressing attire etc. The textbook highlights that the *Mizos* settled in these valleys for over 400 years (800 to 1200 AD).

There is a saying among all the different clans of the early *Mizos* be it a *Lusei* tribe or a *Hmar* tribe or a *Lai* clan or a *Halkha* tribe or a *Paite* tribe that the ancestral *Mizos* planted a Banyan tree when they were about to leave these valley. The textbook used this oral literature as source to tell the students that all these tribes have a similar ancestry and have the same origins.

The reason which forced them to migrate from the *Kabawvalley* was that another group called the *Shan* coming from China have also started to inhabit the same valley and since the *Shan* were more in terms of number and since they have superior weapons for warfare, they forced the *Mizos* to leave these valleys. And from this moment, the *Mizos* fled not in union but distinctly in all directions. This event has also been recorded in the *Shan* history and this had happened at around 1200 AD (ibid.: 80).

The class X Mizo textbook (2011) highlights that the first group of the *Mizos* that migrated towards the north reached Manipur at around 1350 AD. The group that migrates towards the west reached Tripura at around 1450 to 1500 AD. And the group that reached the farthest reached *Chittagong* (Bangladesh) at around 1730 AD.

The largest group of people who migrated to Mizoram headed towards the *Thantlang* and the *Run river*. The soil in these areas was not fertile and the landscapes were a bit rugged. Also, the climatic condition of *Thantlang* is cold due to high altitude and the gorge of the *Run*

river are found to be very deep. They lived a life of hardships and this eventually led them to migrate once again. They settled only for around 100 to 150 years (1250 to 1400 AD) in these regions. Archaeological findings and stories on this is also rare due to the short period of time stayed in this area (*ibid.*: 80).

Since then on, they gradually started migrating towards the west. At around 1450 AD, the *Mizos* reached between the *Lentlang* and *Tiau river*. The area here is a plain valley which was fertile and that makes vegetation easy. It was from this point that they started having a king/chief for proper village welfare administration. The first ever king/chief was *Zahmuaka*. He was the king/chief of the *Tlangkhua* village during 1580 to 1600 AD (*ibid.*).

It can be noted that the *Mizo* textbook documented the historical spatial movement of the *Mizos* by starting at the 4th Century AD. But, the textbook actually gave a complete narration on the pattern of migration only after 800 to 850 AD and continued till 1600 AD. After this, the school textbooks suddenly jump to 1700 AD where the curriculum have only a brief mentioning of the process of migration and goes on to say that most of the *Mizos* after crossing the *Tiau* river that they started to settle in the present Mizoram.

The school textbooks construct the identity of the *Mizos* where it says in today's world, the term *Mizo* may also have a larger connotation. It doesn't cater to any particular tribe, clan or sub-clan or group of people. It caters to all the *Mizo* tribe, clan and sub-clans. And among those, anyone who considered themselves to be a *Mizo* are a *Mizo* (Class X *Mizo*, 2011: 83).

The school textbooks did not include any history of the other *Mizos* that have reached Manipur, Tripura and Chittagong. Also, in highlighting the history of the *Mizos* that reached Mizoram, it traces only the history of the dominant tribe i.e. the *Lushai/Lusei* tribe while it ignores some of the other important tribe like the *Maras* and *Lais* who have settled in the southern parts of Mizoram today. In a way, it can be said that the school textbooks acknowledge only the history of the *Lusei* tribe as a history of the *Mizos* since no other tribe geographical

spatial movement and history is documented in any of the school textbooks. Also, the textbook seems to stop tracing the *Mizo* identity formation once after the mass conversion of the people into Christianity. The textbook did not mention any of the *khawkhawm*³⁸ incidences in the 1960s which play a major role in terms of studying urbanisation in Mizoram. It can also be said that the school textbooks by ignoring this to include as part of a syllabus in the textbooks actually did bury a very important part of *Mizo* history. The importance of this incidence is that this is the primary factor that led to the development of towns and cities after independence. The insurgency period i.e. the atrocities that the Indian army commit against the *Mizos* is also not included into the school curriculum. The reason for this is not known.

4.7.2 Language and dialects

In terms of language spoken; the *Mizos* belong to a *Tibeto-Burman* group (Class X Mizo, 2011). The textbook states that the Mizo language and dialect belongs to one of a group of *Sino-Tibetan* (or *Chienese-Tibetan*) language. And within that, it is a part of the *Tibeto-Burman* language. It is believed that the different *Mizo* ancestors used the same and similar dialect during their stay at the *Kabaw valleys*.

However, since the *Shan* people drove them out from the area and since emigration took place in sporadic and in all direction un-uniformly i.e. since 1200 AD, it is believe that it was from this point that they started to develop a different dialects which is in terms of pronunciation. After century passed, different tribes and clans started to develop the practice of invading one another. This further led them to strongly marginalise themself from the other in terms of territory. And for a while, they started to forget that they were all brothers and sisters who have shared a similar origin and history at one point of time (ibid.: 79).

³⁸Khawkhawm is phenomenon of grouping a cluster of villages into one village due to insurgencies in the 1960s.

After the advent and conquest of Mizoram by the British in 1890 AD, they prohibited the practice of invasion of villages by another village. They quickly lay out roads for transportation and communication. This is soon followed by the arrival of Christian missionaries. Simultaneously, by March 1894, the missionaries had also developed the *Mizo* alphabet (a, aw, b...). They soon started making a paper and after that, educational school was opened. They also started to published a *Bible* and *Hla bu*³⁹. And gradually, with the help of education, different *Mizo* tribes who once had settled in different territories also soon began to unite with one another, and this makes the *Mizos* to speak the same dialect once again .i.e. the *Duhlian*⁴⁰ dialect (class X Mizo, 2011). Here, the school textbooks give credit to the British administrators and the missionaries for giving the *Mizo* alphabet and a different communication system which unites the different *Mizo* tribes to use the same dialect once again which promoted a sense of universal brotherhood that exist among the *Mizos* even till today.

4.7.3 Tribe and Religion

Class X Mizo (2011) textbook stated that during the time the *Mizos* started to live in *Lentlang* and in the banks of the *Tiauriver*, they started to organise themselves in a proper social order of lifestyle and they started taking interest in religion. Since all of the priest died during their stay at *Thantlang* and in the banks of the *Run river*, no one knows how to chant a proper prayer mantras. So, they started religious practice by chanting *Pi biakin lo chhang ang che, Pu biakin lo chhang ang che*. This can be translated as, Grandmother, listen to us when we pray, Grandfather, listen to us when we pray. The *Mizos* at that time were animistic where they would worship and make sacrificial offerings to nature.

³⁹ Hla bu is a collection of gospel songs which is used for praise and worship in a church.

⁴⁰ Duhlian is one of the dialect of a *Lusei* tribe. It is also the official language of Mizoram. It is the most widely used language in Mizoram. *Duhlian* is the dialect in which the Bible and *Hla bu* is published by the missionaries.

Chapter 7 of Class XI textbook⁴¹ talk about the religious practices of the pre-colonial *Mizos*. In the chapter, the author starts by saying ‘*Mizo kan ni. Engati nge? Eng thilin nge min ti Mizo a, tute nge Mizo chu?*’ which can be translated as ‘We are *Mizo*. Why? What makes us a *Mizo*, and who are the *Mizos*?’

Even among the *Mizos* there are different tribes, clans and sub-clans. At the forefront, a group of people form a clan because of with-holding their ancestor’s name. Also, mention must be made on the existence of clans that are in closer ties with one another than other clans. Those are called *dawisa kilza thei* which means a clan that can share a sacrificial offering meat with one another (Mizo Class XI, 2011: 41). In the Mizo society, a clan that are capable of enjoying a *dawisa kilza thei* with other clan resembles their close lineage towards one another.

The school curriculum highlighted the practice of religion by the different clans. Among the *Mizo* tribe, there are distinct factors which distinguish one clan from another in terms of religious practices. Had this not be so, all the *Mizos* would have belonged to a single tribe and single clan and there wouldn’t be any division among the *Mizos*. The textbook stated that it is because of with-holding the names of different lineage that there are different clans. This division also led them to differ in terms of practicing of religious beliefs as well (*ibid.*: 42).

There are many writings on the religious practices of the pre-colonial *Mizo* society, and most of them stresses only on the religious practice of the *Lusei* tribe. The textbook says that all the tribe, clans and sub clans have a separate religion and both the clan and religion intertwines with one another i.e. they cannot be separated from one another. This means that if a person belongs to a *Ralte* tribe, then, that person also has to follow his clan religion i.e. a *Ralte* religion. A person belonging to a *Ralte* clan cannot follow the religion of other tribe like *Lusei*,

⁴¹ Chapter 7 of class XI Mizo textbook is titled ‘*Mizo, Hnam leh Sakhua*’ by Mr. Lal Rinawma which means ‘*Mizo, Tribe and Religion*’.

Hmar, *Pawi* etc. In the same way, a person belonging to a *Pawi* tribe cannot follow the religion of a *Ralte* tribe. If a person follows a *Hnamte* religion, then, his clan must also be a *Hnamte* as well. As mentioned here, in the *Mizo* social structure, tribe, clan and religion are intertwining with one another. This means that a tribe or clan who can share a *dawisa kilza thei* shows which clans are in close ties with one another in terms of origin or tracing their respective lineage and descent as well (Mizo Class XI, 2011).

Even though the way how each tribe performs their religious practice may vary from one tribe and clan to another, it is still believed that there are various similar practices adopted by various tribes and clans in performing their religious functions. One also has to note down that the sacred rituals, the timings and the venue of religious rituals of different clans differ from one another. There are certain sacrificial offering animal which must be killed during daylight and the meat has to be eaten during the day time only. Likewise, there are also certain sacrificial offering animal which must be killed and eaten only when the stars could be seen at night as well. The sacrifice offering parts of an animal body are often place in the center of the wall by those who knot their hair on the front i.e. *Pawi* tribe, while some of the clan who knot their hair on the back like the ‘*Hmar*’ tribe place it on the inner-outside wall of their home while the *Lusei* tribe would place it outside of their home (ibid.: 42).

In performing religious activities, there are some rituals in which no other clan can participate in the ritual. For example, if a *Pawi* tribe performed *Arhnuaichhiah* rituals, no other clan can participate in it. If a *Kawlani* clan performed *Hnuaipui* rituals, only a *Lelhchhun* clan can also participate in the proceedings other than a *Kawlani* clan. If a *Zahau* clan performed a *Tualsa hem*, *Chawn leh sechhun* rituals, then, no other clan can participate in the rituals. If a *Tlau* performed a *Hrichhung* ritual, only *Tlau* clan can participate and not even a *Pawi* tribe can participate in the ritual. If a *Paite* tribe performed *Sumchawng* ritual, then, only a *Paite* tribe can participate in the ritual proceedings. When one clan performs a ritual which is meant only

for the endogenous clan, not even a son-in-law, or a grand children who belongs to another clan can participate in the ritual (Class XI Mizo, 2011). In short, the Mizo society were spiritual in nature and in performing the sacred-rituals, they adopt a policy of mutual inclusiveness to the clan members while simultaneously maintaining exclusivity to members belonging to the other clan that follows their own clan religion.

Performing a ritual is important for the *Mizos* because they believed that only people who performed the *Thangchhuah*⁴² ritual can go to the *Pialral* i.e. a place for the soul to rest after death. So, performing a *Thangchhuah* was the ultimate aim of every person and this ritual cannot be fulfilled unless all the other rituals were already pre-performed. This means that after finishing their separate clan ritual, the rituals to perform becomes bigger and bigger and the need for the inclusion of the other clan members becomes more and more. For instance, in performing the *Khuangchawi*⁴³ ritual, any *Mizo* can participate in the proceedings irrespective of different tribes and distinct clans (ibid.: 42).

Since the tribe, clan and religion are intertwine and cannot be separated. The textbook highlighted about the practice of *Saphun*⁴⁴. Incidence often arise when a person wants to worship and follow a religion of another clan than his own clan religion, then in that case, he has to obtain permission from the *Sadawt* i.e. priest of that clan religion. Then, the *Sadawt* would perform a ceremonial rite for him/her and after that; his/her clan would also be change to the clan religion that (s)he starts to worship and follow. Then, only after that a person would become a *Saphun*. For instance, if a person belonging to a *Ralte* tribe starts to worship the religion of a *Paite* then, his/her clan would also be a *Paite* and his/her descendants would also be a *Paite* from that point onwards. This means that even though his ancestors may not belong

⁴² Thangchhuah is the title given to a man who has distinguished himself by killing a certain number of different animals in the chase or by giving a certain number of public feasts. The wife of such a man also shares his title.

⁴³ Khuangchawi is a ritual in the form of a public feast given by chiefs and other well-to-do Mizos, all clans can participate in the ritual.

⁴⁴ *Saphun* is a practice of changing of one's own religion which is also a means of social mobility in the society. In a pre-colonial *Mizo* society, if a person changes his/her religion he/she also has to change his/her clan as well.

to a *Paite* clan, he would remain a *Paite* forever. The practice of *Saphun* is one of a very common practice among the *Mizos*. Since the changing of religion entails the changing name of a tribe and a clan, and once after such change has done, it is prohibited to mention it to others that person is a *saphun* person. Doing of such would entail a fine of a buffalo (ibid.: 42).

The school textbooks construct the identity of the *Mizos* in line with tribe, clan and religion where the curriculum highlighted that all those people who can do the above activity i.e. who performs and conduct religious rites and duties according to the norms of their own particular tribe and clan and at the end who can jointly participate in the *Khuangchawi* ceremony and who maintains exogamy among tribes and clans in terms of marriage are a *Mizos*. Even though different clans may have their own different practice, there is a spirit of universal brotherhood among one another and this actually let them possible to live in a community unitedly amongst themselves. They would help each other in times of good and bad. And those people who lived by those standards are a *Mizo* and their further descendants are also known as a *Mizo* (Class XI Mizo, 2011: 43).

In a true sense, tribe, clan and religion cannot be separated in a *Mizo* social life. One cannot be a member of a tribe or a clan and follow other religion. And, since, *saphun* was a popular phenomenon; it is believed that the *Mizo* ancestors often change their tribe and clan from time to time. Then, Christianity came into the social life and since it doesn't have any connection with the name of a tribe and name of a clan, people started converting themselves to Christianity without changing their clan name and the practice of *saphun* gradually stops. Different clans who used to perform different ceremonial rites can now unitedly practice the same religion under the banner of Christianity. All the various differences that used to exist due to the practice of one's own clan religion are dealt away by Christianity. The curriculum also highlighted that Christianity helps in making the identity of the *Mizos* much homogeneous than

before as all the *Mizos* are converted to Christianity which leave no space for a different religion and different practices (ibid.: 43).

4.7.4 Dressing attire

The class X Mizo (2011) textbook mentions about the lifestyle of the ancestral *Mizo* where the syllabus makes a hypothetical assumption that the *Mizo* ancestors were not too backwards in terms of findings settlement and in terms of dressing attire. The reason for this drawn assumption is because of the lifestyle of their neighbouring groups i.e. the Burmese are not too backwards in terms of these i.e. in terms of finding settlements and in terms of dressing attire. This convinced the textbook writers that if their neighbours are reaching a certain level of development, the ancestral *Mizos* must also be in the same league as that of their neighbours as well.

As already highlighted, after emigrating from the valleys of Myanmar, they soon immigrate towards the areas of the *Thantlang* and *Run river*. These areas are geographically rugged. Vegetation was also not easy and cotton cannot bloom due to the cold temperature owing to the high altitude of the mountain. And since the clothes which they had from the time they lived in the *Kabaw valleys* had already been damaged. And, as going back to the *Kabaw valleys* was too dangerous as the place had been already occupied by their enemies. The women folk started wearing *Siapsuap* and the menfolk started wearing *Hrenpereng* and *Hnawkhal*. These are clothes which they make from stitching a bundle of leaves of trees and are used to cover their private parts of the body. As they migrate towards the west, the area between the *Lentlang* and the *Tiau river* was all fertile plain and this enables them to do proper vegetation. They started cultivating paddy and harvesting was also good. The climatic condition was also favourable for cotton to blossom. By making use of the oral literature which had been passed on from generations to generations, they started inventing traditional instrument for weaving cloth like *Hmui* and *Herawt* (spinning wheel) and this enables them to improve their dressing

attire and their social life reached a new height from this point onwards. The women started weaving clothes and they started making wearable clothes like *Dawlrem kawr* (black clothes which have stripe in the middle). And the oral literature also tells that the men folk used to wear earrings made from the ivory of elephants. For making *Hrenpereng*, they replace leaves with cotton (ibid.: 81).

The textbook only highlights the development of some of the traditional attire. It did not say anything on the other important traditional dress like *kawrchei*, *puanchei*, *ngotekherh*, *pawndum* etc. Also, the textbook doesn't mention the importance of traditional necklace i.e. *thi hna*, *thi vul* etc. which occupies an important place in the Mizo society.

4.7.5 Social Stratification

The Mizo medium textbooks discuss on the various hierarchical divisions of the social structure amongst the Mizos. On the top of the hierarchy was the *Lal* (king/chief). There was no single clan which can be said to have the status for a king/chief status. But, it was the *Sailo* clan who shows brilliance in terms of village administration and due to their good co-operation nature with one another, they seem to easily defeat the other clan. This results in the evidence of many kings/chiefs coming from the *Sailo* clan. (Social Science Pawl Ruk Zirlaibu, 2011).

When the village decides to migrate to another area, it was the king/chief who would decide upon the place for the next settlement area. As a tax, the villagers also would have to give a part of their rice harvest to the king/chief. This, they call it as *Fathang/Lal buh chhun*. Also, when a person shot dead an animal in hunting, the left shoulder of the dead animal would be given to the king. This practice is called as *Lal sa chhiah*. The textbook also discusses the other various important statuses in the social structure. Firstly, it is the *Lal upa/Khawnbawl upa* which is equivalent to a minister. The king/chief of the village would appoint a member of minister who can assist him in the administrative affairs of the village. They are the main persons who

give advice to the king/chief in times of crises and they enjoy a high status in the society and they would also build their house near the house of the king/chief of the village.

The textbook also mentions *Ramhual*. They are the people who first choose and select lands for farming before the common villager does. The king/chief would appoint a person (mostly a man coming from a big family who can produce more paddy harvest in an agricultural field) and they enjoy a high status in the society as well. They however, have to return favour in return to the king/chief by giving a portion of their paddy harvest to the king/chief which more than the common villagers in terms of quantity. The textbook again mention *Val Upa* (a middle aged men or a senior bachelor who commands respects in the men's dormitory i.e. in the *Zawlbuk*). One should know that *Val Upa* is neither appointed by the king nor elected by the people. A person who has a good leadership skill in terms of hunting, warfare, courage, self-sacrificing nature etc. fills in the place. Most of them are bachelors and a middle age married men who may produce one or two children. (ibid.: 72).

4.8. SUMMARY

Firstly, this chapter concluded that caste restrictions on the curriculum were very stringent in ancient India. Each caste has a set curriculum with its own rigid framework. Every caste was expected to have unique skills and aptitudes of its own. And if the curriculum was inappropriate for their caste, they might waste the riches of their education, making it impossible for them to preserve its legacy. Additionally, it was true that all of these limitations were artificial. It might be the result of how labour is distributed throughout society and how it is kept constant within a fixed class.

Secondly, this chapter concludes that in the modern definition, curriculum refers to all of the school's initiatives to shape learning, whether inside the classroom, outdoors on the playground, or both. The institution for implementing and experimenting with curriculum construction is the school. The needs of society and the interests of the students should guide

the development of curriculum programmes. The curriculum helps the youngster become accustomed to the setting in which he will later need to plan his activities.

Thirdly, this chapter concludes that since there were roughly 28.16 percent Christians in the population during the colonial era, it was important to include Christian themes. Education was the key tool for reframing Mizo identity in terms of indigenising Christian theology, therefore along with political annexation came ideological annexation.

Fourthly, this chapter concludes that the Mizoram Board of School Education is Mizoram's agency for matters pertaining to education. Except for the Mizo topic, which is developed by SCERT and MBSE, the MBSE followed the NCF's standards and used published textbooks from NCERT. SCERT establishes a Committee on Mizo subject to build Mizo textbooks, and this committee has produced 13 basic curricula that should serve as a guide for textbook framers. 28 of the 290 chapters in the current Mizo textbooks for classes 1 through 12 are devoted to Christian ethics. Therefore, this study observed that the legacy of the replicating education mission is still going strong, making religious identity one of the *Mizos* strongest identity markers.

Fifthly, this chapter concludes that Mizoram has followed the National Curriculum Framework standards since 2000. When creating textbooks, the NCERT sends them a sample curriculum that is used as a guide. They retained about 80% of the sample syllabus in this. However, they alter about 20% of the standard syllabus to create a culturally appropriate textbook for the locals.

Sixthly, this chapter concludes that every subject has just minor changes. For instance, the class 9 and 10 textbooks have chapters on time, work, and distance. These are absent from the NCERT-recommended model syllabus. Culturally pertinent themes are included to the social science curriculum. For instance, as Mizoram has the highest prevalence rate of AIDS in India, the topic of AIDS has been added. Additionally, since Mizoram is a hilly region with a

potential for natural disasters, every social science textbook includes chapters on disaster management.

Seventhly, this chapter concludes that experts in the field of the subject matter and from the experts were identified by MBSE and SCERT. These specialists would gather, talk about the pertinent subject matter for the textbook, and then present the proposal to the subject committee for each subject. It will be finalised and included to the textbook only after getting approval from the concerned authorities.

Eighthly, this chapter concludes that there are verses and chapters from the Bible as well as poems from the Christian hymnal (gospel song books). Some of the stories were also adapted from *Serkawn Graded Readers*, *Primary Thuvawn Bu*, and *Esopa Thawnthu Fing*. This is justified by the textbook framers by stating- since the start of Mizoram's educational system, these kinds of teachings have always been taught in Mizoram schools. In addition, it is believed that it is best that these ideals be learned through religion since the syllabus must include moral, ethical, and peace education.

Ninthly, this chapter concludes that when concentrating on the connections between power, ideology, and education in the analysis of Mizoram school textbooks, the neo-Marxist Althusser's idea of the ideological state apparatus sheds light. This study finds that the teachings of Christian ideology were heavily influenced by school textbooks. This behaviour can be explained as an attempt by the church to retain its hegemony by more forcefully enforcing its intellectual authority. A subservient and obedient follower is necessary for the survival and technically effective operation of a dominating ideology. This is accomplished through education, a crucial component of the ideological state machinery, where the Mizo curriculum instils church ideology, or Christian ideology, in pupils as a type of 'value education' in order to develop citizens who meet the needs of the church.

Tenthly, this chapter concludes that the *Mizo* subject textbook construct the identity of the *Mizos* where it says in today's world, the term *Mizo* may also have a larger connotation. It doesn't cater to any particular tribe, clan or sub-clan or group of people. It caters to all the *Mizo* clan and sub-clans. And among those, anyone who considered themselves to be a *Mizo* are a *Mizo*.

CHAPTER V

CURRICULUM AND PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICES: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF MIZORAM SCHOOLS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In Mizoram, schools can be categorised into three types based on the curriculum structure they follow. Firstly, this chapter did a review of the National Curriculum Framework 2005, the Maria Montessori's Guidelines and the Accelerated Christian Education Curriculum. The difference in its core curricula and its distinct pedagogic practice is highlighted. Secondly, a case study of schools that follow these frameworks is done on three schools namely- Holy Heart School (School A) that follows the NCF 2005, La Montessori School (School B) that follows Maria Montessori's Guidelines and Faith Learning Centre (School C) that follows the Accelerated Christian Education Curriculum. Interview was conducted with the head of institution of each school. Issues such as- secularism and education, religion and education and values that the school tries to impart to students were discussed. Thirdly, a classroom observation of these school was done to ascertain the difference in the pedagogical practice of each school. Fourthly, to learn more on the pedagogical aspect, this chapter contains the interview schedule of school teachers that teach Social Science and Mizo subject from 10 schools. Issues such as- their relationship with the students, the way how they mediate the textbooks and the other things that are taught inside the classroom that are outside the textbook are discussed.

5.2 REVIEW OF NATIONAL CURRICULUM FRAMEWORK, 2005

In order to implement the requirements stated in the National Policy on Education of 1986, the National Council for Educational Research and Training Institute (NCERT) established a prototype national curriculum in 1988. Thereafter, it issued guidelines and syllabi in 1989. In this, NCERT was criticised for its nationalist stand, but the 1990s liberalisation

induced changes in which the previously established and safeguarded national images were eroded by transnational capital and the opening up of markets. The end of this decade saw the political clout of the 'right' ensure a shift in the national perspectives on education (Sunny, 2010).

For a school system to promote social change, four conditions must be met: access to education, a suitable teaching-learning environment, an acceptable school curriculum, and an empowered and inclusive teaching community. The first two aspects of educational reform have received a lot of attention since the 1980s, but the significance of the curriculum became more widely recognised in the late 1990s (Batra, 2005).

With the introduction of traditionalism and communalism into the classroom through the National Curriculum Framework for School Education (NCFSE) in 2000, a move to the right was signalled at the policy level. Despite its emphasis on egalitarianism, secularism, etc. as educational goals, this document contains clear undertones of support for the hierarchical social formations. The state textbooks of West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh were cited as an example of textbooks that contains communal overtones. And in 2005, following a change in the central government, the NCERT revised the NCFSE and released the National Curriculum Framework 2005. (Sunny, 2010).

The National Curriculum Framework 2005 discusses educational developments that have occurred since independence. It examines the various attempts that were undertaken to change education since Independence. The National Policy on Education (NPE) of 1986 proposed the National Curriculum Framework as a means of evolving a national education system which is derived from the vision of national development enshrined in the Constitution. The 1992 Programme of Action expanded on this theme by highlighting relevance, adaptability and quality education as the ultimate goal to achieve.

The NCF 2005 did not attempt to directly address the communal stands of the NCFSE. But the philosophical stands were drawn from Yash Pal's writings on 'Burden of Learning' and marked a historic shift of policy. This focused on lessening the burden of the students and replacing heavily laden school bags with a slim textbook. The NCF emphasised on 'child-centred' education which means that the child is not to be seen as an imbibor, but as a 'constructor' of knowledge (Sunny, 2010). The National Curriculum Framework 2005 proposes five guiding principles for curriculum reform:

- “(i) making learning relevant to real-world contexts
- (ii) moving away from rote methods
- (iii) expanding the scope of education beyond textbooks
- (iv) increasing examination flexibility and incorporating it into classroom life and
- (v) cultivating an overarching identity informed by caring concerns within the democratic polity of the country.”

It has also reiterated the necessity to address particular developments and issues that have come up in contemporary debate which include: keeping all students in school in order to fulfil the aim of universal elementary education, advocacy for democracy as a way of life, the teaching of respect for the secularism and plurality of the constitution to youngsters, the encouragement of decentralisation to make it easier to produce knowledge and instructional strategies that are appropriate to local conditions and the sensitisation to environmental issues. Commenting on this Batra (2010) stated:

“The NCF 2005 offers little clarity on how this is to be done. In not doing so it could well have sown the seeds of its own capture by political and sectarian interests at state level within India's complex federal polity, where education is primarily a state jurisdiction. The foremost challenge before the NCF therefore is in ‘...bridging the gap between existing realities and proposed possibilities (which would) need a coordinated effort between the centre and states, and between the many agencies and actors that comprise the education system.”

It is also unclear how the five guiding principles establishing the NCF worldview may be realised within a traditional schooling system. For instance, only a teacher's proactive involvement, motivated by the conviction that this is the only workable strategy, can connect knowledge to life outside of the classroom and enrich the curriculum by making it less textbook-centric. To accomplish this, the educator must have access to a wide variety of

reading materials, the expertise to determine which texts are appropriate for each student's age and stage of development, the ability to think critically and analytically, and the chance to expose students to the world beyond the classroom. Similarly, providing children with many chances to interpret what they read, watch, listen to, experience, and talk about is the only way to help them break away from rote learning. These challenges are not mentioned in the NCF 2005.

The need for curriculum review results from the long-term ossification of a national education system that still views teachers as 'dispensers of information' and students as 'passive recipients' of a 'education', sought to be 'delivered' in classrooms with four walls and little opportunity to foster critical thinking and understanding. According to the NCF 2005, one of the main issues with the current educational crisis is the strain it has placed on students. Batra (2005) addressed this by stating:

"This burden arises both (i) an incoherent curriculum structure and content that is disconnected to the culture and life of children and (ii) from the inadequate preparation of teachers who are unable to make connections with children and respond to their needs in imaginative and dynamic ways."

The National Curriculum Framework 2005 defined the classroom as 'an inclusive place' for both students and teachers, one that goes beyond the traditional textbook curriculum to include the teaching and learning processes that empower both the child as well as the teacher. By doing so, the NCF recognises teachers' crucial role in providing students with an emancipatory education that aims to eliminate barriers based on gender, socio-economic class and caste. However, the NCF 2005 does not provide the required links between curricular reform and the policy and programmatic measures needed to actualise its ambition. It also fails to address the growing chasm in the classroom between students' expectations and what teachers can really provide.

Since the NCF notes that religion is a vital source of values, it stated that education regarding religion should be included into all subjects and extra-curricular activities. In this

regard, Rajesh (2002) suggested that historical circumstances explain the creation of a certain value or ideal at a given time and location. Similarly, contemporary scientific thought insists that truth is always contextual and particular and is never absolute. New values must arise when the old ones become stale, ossified, and reactive as the circumstances of the past change. Throughout history, religious institutions have often been the ones to set social standards. Religions, however, are not devoid of their own societal and historical contexts. In addition to ideologies, members of religious groups have a set of distinctive traditions, rituals, and practices. Furthermore, there will always be others who disagree with and be baffled by any lessons on religion taught in the classroom. It must also be known that not all teachers are immune to biases, and that today's context, religion has a highly conservative and contentious aspect in society. Hence, the importance of religion in education emphasised in the NCF may be translated into communalism in the case of teachers with communal overtones.

The textbook curriculum designers place an utmost importance on creating a well-organised course of study for the Social Science textbooks to facilitate the teaching-learning process at the secondary school level. The textbook effectively integrates key curricular concepts. The layout and structure of the material make it very obvious that facts are not end in themselves. These are only catalysts for the cultivation of new values, a broader vision, and a more nuanced understanding of fundamental ideas and principles, as well as for the expansion of national horizons. The presentation is straightforward and makes a point of highlighting the learning and thinking process, with the goal of giving students the opportunity to experience the satisfaction that comes from learning on their own and making their own discoveries, comparisons and conclusions. Many maps, drawings and charts were included where it is hoped that would stimulate students' attention and aid in their comprehension. The writers expressed the hope that their textbooks will provide students with the self-assurance, expertise, and dedication necessary to succeed in an increasingly complex and competitive academic

environment (Composite Social Sciences for Us Class VI, 2009). Accordingly, the textbook is framed strictly in accordance to the latest National Curriculum Framework 2005. The text is divided into three parts where the curriculum of Social Sciences draws its contents mainly from History, Geography and Civics.

5.3 REVIEW OF MARIAH MONTESSORI'S GUIDELINES

La Montessori school start with the infant and toddler programs (their schools are called 'Nido', Italian for 'nest) to Primary (2 ½ to 6 years), Elementary (6 to 12 years), High Schools (12 to 18 years), and Erkindar (18 to 24) ending with the celebration of maturity at 24 years.

5.3.1 Features of the Curriculum

Mixed aged classrooms: This means a 3-year-old will be in a school with a 5-year-old, and so on. While younger children learn by observing older children at work and just interacting with them, this combination and interaction helps older children build leadership abilities. While younger kids pick up new language and imitate appropriate behaviour from their older peers, older students develop their self-confidence.

Learning with all five senses: Learning does not always involve listening to lectures, taking notes, copying from the board, and memorisation techniques. Here, kids learn with their hands, nose, tongue, eyes, and ears.

Learning at the child's own pace: Each person is unique, and no two students learn at the same rate. Some people learn more slowly than others. They should not suffer consequences for learning too quickly or slowly.

No competition: In the Montessori approach, kids look out for one another in case of spills on the floor, weeping friends, younger kids needing help with puzzles, etc. Since it wants to foster a cooperative environment, there is no room for competition.

Assessment - No pass or fail: The school tracks and monitors each student as closely as carefully as it can, rather than using terms like pass or fail for assessment. Every minor success or difficulty is noted by the school in black and white. This aids in fostering the child's needs and abilities rather than passing judgement on them.

Freedom of Choice: Trained instructors provide age-appropriate activities to each kid one-on-one. These are referred to as 'presentations'. The youngster is then free to select whatever activities they like. A student will be encouraged to work with resources from all subject areas which may include practical life, sensory, language, mathematics, arts, and culture. The primary environment's (until 6-year-old) goals are to provide children with the keys to education, draw them into the interesting world of self-directed learning, and make learning enjoyable.

Freedom of movement: Around the world, traditional schools restrict children's movement. They must be seated still and pay attention to the instructor. This has a detrimental effect on the learning process and behaviour control. This is rejected in the Montessori school (Montessori, 1912).

5.3.2 Curriculum/Areas/Subjects

Practical Life: The beneficial activities provided by the exercises of practical life help kids grow into mature, peaceful adults by honing skills like motor control, concentration, awareness of one's environment, sequential thinking, and problem solving. Exercises of Practical Life may be broken down into the subheadings of Elementary Movements, Care of the Environment (both Indoor and Outdoor), Care of the Person, Grace and Courtesy, and Exercises of Physical Coordination and Self-Control. The act of putting things away, cleaning them up, and organising them all has a secondary benefit of helping pupils with their writing and numeracy.

Sensorial: The children may classify their sensory experiences in a systematic, organised, and scientific manner with the help of the sensory objects. Sense items are graded mathematically. They have an inbuilt system for preventing errors and a single-minded concentration that allows them to maintain all other characteristics at the same level. Through direct experience, children may put names to the qualities of various materials, such as their size, shape, colour, taste, touch, sound, warmth, and weight.

Language: Through engaging in language-based activities, children are provided with the support they need to grow in their linguistic competence and their motivation to write and read. Kids may use the moveable alphabets to help them learn new words and phrases by arranging the sandpaper letters into visible words. The words are formed using the sandpaper letters. in the form of a portable alphabet

Mathematics: Addition, subtraction, multiplication and division in concrete form is taught to the students (Montessori, 1912).

5.3.3 Culture expansion

Cultural extensions include subjects like:

Geography: Children can learn about the world and its people through the use of geography resources like sandpaper globes for ‘feeling’ land and water and coloured globes for distinguishing continents and water; geography puzzles like a bespoke wooden puzzle map of Mizoram, India, and the continents; country flags and handmade impressions of various landforms; and many more.

Biology: The botany cabinet and the leaves album are two examples of how students may be exposed to the importance of learning to respect and appreciate nature via the study of botany. Children’s innate fascination with nature may be channelled into a sensory investigation of the wide variety of living things, from trees and flowers to insects and worms, with the aid of other biological resources.

Art: All areas of a child's growth are aided by exposure to art. By playing around with different hues, contours, and textures, kids learn to express their innermost thoughts and emotions while also expanding their understanding for the aesthetic value of art.

Music: Children benefit from participating in musical activities because they are given the chance to develop skills such as attentive listening, expressive movement in response to auditory cues, exploratory use of percussion instruments, and the ability to recognise and name the sounds made by various instruments. One of the permissible channels for releasing and expressing thoughts, moods, and emotions, music and movement also aids youngsters in cooperating, thinking, and problem-solving (Montessori, 1912).

5.4 REVIEW OF ACCELERATED CHRISTIAN EDUCATION FRAMEWORK

Formed in Garland, Texas in 1970 by Donald and Esther Howard, Accelerated Christian Education (ACE) promotes Christian values in the classroom. The ministry started because God put it on their hearts to provide unique, Christian education for children. Their goal was to aid educators, ministers and parents in carrying out God's mandate from Deuteronomy 6:7 which reads:

“And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk to them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.”

ACE has taken a traditional textbook and broken it down into smaller and more manageable volumes called PACE (Packets of Accelerated Christian Education), which are packed with self-guided exercises meant to foster critical thinking and lead to mastery learning.

Academics, skill development, reading practice, training in character and wisdom and familiarity with God and His Word are all provided to pupils through the core curricula. In the classroom, students who have a leg up on the competition could speed up their learning in the subjects they excel in. Students who learn more slowly are still expected to put in their best effort, but they are given the flexibility to go as quickly or slowly as they are able.

There are 12 PACEs (Packet of Accelerated Christian Education) for each grade level in each core topic. In a typical school year, students dedicate one PACE per topic every day, with different results. The outcomes of diagnostic tests are useful for exposing pupils' intellectual gaps and outlining remedial measures. It is expected that most students complete at least 70 PACEs year, with almost equal effort put into each subject area.

Math (K- 12), English (K- 12), Literature and Creative Writing (2 - 8), Social Studies (K- 12), Science (K- 12), Word Construction (K- 9), and Bible Reading (all K- 12) are among the required subjects from Levels 1 to 6.

ACE's mastery-based, self-instructional model makes it different from other curriculum. Instead than being pushed forward or held back by age, children in PACEs may absorb content at their own pace, based on their own learning abilities. For example, a kid who has been put in fifth grade by a traditional school may be taking PACEs in mathematics at the level 4, science at the level 5, and English at the level 5. Under this system, it is not uncommon for students to advance at a faster pace in certain subjects while moving at a slower pace in others.

At the beginning of their PACE work, students record their study objectives, the topics they will cover, a relevant Bible verse and a related character strength. They are prepared for each PACE from the start and take charge of their own education. No new vocabulary term is used in the syllabus without the learner first learning its definition and pronunciation. These words are practiced until it is familiarised by the students..

Each lesson is made more engaging with explanations and graphics, and the text information is reinforced with novel learning exercises. Numerous check-ups, or quizzes, addressing a specific topic from the PACE may be found in each one. The check-up will highlight any areas of weakness if mastery is not obtained. Then they may spend as much time as they need to fully understand those topics before moving on. Students are ready to take the

Self-test after doing all the exercises and check-ups. Here, students prepare on their own for facing the PACE final exam. Students who have completed the Self-test and are ready to go on to the PACE exam the following morning in school (Liana, 2020).

The academic philosophy of ACE has been and is still summed up in the following ‘Five Laws of Learning’. They are:

1. How heavy is the load? (Assigning the level)
2. How long is the stick? (Setting the goal)
3. How effective are the controls? (Providing motivation and control)
4. How hungry is the donkey? (Determining measurement)
5. How big is the carrot? (Ascribing rewards)

The Five Laws of Learning is related to basic Biblical Principles.

1. The pupil is placed on a level of curriculum where he can best perform. level acknowledges that all students are different (Romans 12: 5-6).
2. The pupil set reasonable and appropriate goals to be achieved in a reasonable period of time. Goals reflect good judgement (Luke 14: 28).
3. The pupil receives motivation through encouragement and support and achieves control through guidance and discipline in order to assimilate, use and experience the educational material. Motivation is that inner desire prompted by the concerned supervisor/tutor (Colossians 3: 23). Control acknowledges the necessity for discipline, guidance, and responsible leadership (Proverb 22: 6).
4. The pupils learning must be measured, which relates to accountability (Luke12: 48).
5. The pupil’s learning receives recognition and rewards for its significance (Philippians 3: 13-14).

Therefore, the ways ACE program works can be summarised in these Seven Key Foundational Concepts:

1. Integration of Biblical Principles (Scripture memory, wisdom principle)
2. Godly Character Training (A.C.E characters, 60 character traits of Christ)
3. Mastery-Based Learning
4. Built-In Reinforced System of Learning
5. Individualised Learning
6. Development of critical Thinking Skills
7. Socialisation.

Thus, this study observes that these curriculum frameworks have contrasting differences with one another towards the approach of learning. Each follows their own unique ways of imparting knowledge. These guidelines have specific goals and objectives in it which are to be imparted in the children. While the NCF was more focussed on reducing burden of children and make learning as fun as possible, Mariah Montessori guidelines was more focussed on the individualistic portrayal of a child as the knowledge constructor and that the child must be given its space, Accelerated Christian Education focuses on the spiritual realm of the child and included this in every PACE work they have. Montessori guidelines follows a more constructivist method when dealing with children while NCF uses a more authoritative method. A.C.E uses an individualistic approach when it comes to dealing with children. Both NCF and Montessori guidelines focus on building the knowledge and character of the child and try to develop the child into a helpful citizen.

5.5 CASE STUDY

In order to analyse the different types of pedagogical practice, an interview was conducted with the head of institutions of three different schools following three different curricula and pedagogical practice was conducted on 2018. The names of the three schools are as follows:

1. Holy Heart School, Republic Veng

2. La Montessori School, Mission Veng

3. Faith Learning Centre, Tuikual North Veng

Secondly, in order to find out the relationship between the prescribe curricula and the pedagogical practices, an observation of classroom was conducted using non-participatory observation technique during 2018.

5.5.1 Holy Heart School

According to the headmistress Mrs. Lalbiakzami, “The curriculum they are using is not just inclusive but is beneficial to students because it is more or less related to the understanding of a Mizo child”. In terms of teaching in English medium, she believed that children vocabulary improved tremendously along with speaking and understanding level.

They used study-teaching material/aid for different subjects. For example, they used ‘fun thinkers’ which is a match frame box with 16 tiles of red, yellow, blue and green. The school used this technique-aid in English and Maths and this help to develop thinking skills. They also have logico-mind practicing and learning system for children designed by the Germans to facilitate the special requirements of the children’s various intellectual development stages. She believed that it inspires children’s interest in studying and stimulates brain power. They have talking books for audio aid as well which is an activity based projects that are done based on their subjects, audio-visual aid is used. The peculiarity of their curriculum material is that it is based on concepts, hands-on and is focussed on increasing the general awareness of the child. She believed that her school do resemble her ideal type however the fact that it cannot achieve her ideal type is due to the lack of funding. Commenting on the NCF 2005, she believed that:

“The curriculum they are following is an ideal curriculum for teachers and students. The teachers should always be ready to help students with clearing their doubts. The school is in its becoming stage and will hopefully resemble an ideal type in the future but for now, there is a lot of work to be done for a better tomorrow.”

The respondent also said that the SCERT textbooks were provided by the Mizoram board, but since it became too easy and basic, they started to mix the textbooks with other publications like Oxford. Regarding training of teachers, the school trains teachers at the start of the year, and also provide a physical training. She employs mostly graduate. In this context, she stated:

“The school provides fresher’s training course for old and new teachers because every year we need to revitalise themselves a month before school starts. They are trained to motivate, for personal gains and development and handle kids with problems and tantrums. Since teachers are the role models for kids, teachers should be particular with what they wear, what they say and what they do. So, we incorporate this into the training as well.”

The head of institution believed that B.A. general is quite enough for teaching till high school standards. For a CBSE course she believes that even a Bachelor could teach fluently and if it is an ISC, M.A. would be better off. Because she believes that that much amount of space is being created in case of difficulty level.

The respondent believes that there is a need for improvement in the Mizoram system of education; she believes that the system should stop the practicing of learning by heart and memorising notes. She stated:

“The fact that we are too result oriented cause us to produce children that cannot use their rationality.”

She also recommends academic and character building, to teach life skills and business skills to students for a holistic learning.

Regarding conducting examinations, the school give reports by entering marks in the report card by each teacher and are then forwarded to the head of institution for checking. The teacher tests the child and gave marks. From class I-VIII they have exams/test every Monday which is the guidelines of the CCE system. And kindergarten did not have exams.

Regarding the inclusion of religion in education, she said that they have not had any complaint regarding the teaching or imparting religious teachings from parents. The head of institution believed that

“The concept of communalisation is a Hindu concept so here in Mizoram I think the government and textbook writers are not focussing on inclusion of religion. But, the concern is more on objective learning.”

On the matters of conducting morning devotions and saying of the Lord’s prayer every day. She stated:

“The school respects all religion. Even in different states, if a person goes to a Hindu school the child conforms to its practices. In the case of Mizoram, though we recite the Lord’s prayer and observe morning devotion, it is fine since we are not trying to convert the children.”.

At school, morning devotions are held in their respective classrooms and this is important to her. She said:

“Teaching christian value is important but we do not make it mandatory with the intention to convert.”

The respondent believes that her children would become independent, humble and focused and successful in their own profession and useful for the society. Based on her observation there are positive feedbacks. She believes that they impart moral values that start from character building to hard work. On the context of teaching outside of the curriculum, she believes:

“Teaching outside the curriculum sometimes is necessary when the teacher feel the student will benefit from it. They use detention and community service for punishment.”

When asked for suggestions for improvement, she stated:

“The present curriculum does not need to change much but there is always a need for improvement. I believe that the teachers should teach more in Mizo during the formative years and when class increase, communication in English between teacher-students and students to students should be more and more.”

5.5.2 La Montessori School

The Headmistress Mrs. Hannah Lawmpuii mentioned the teaching aids they used include flash cards, arithmetic learning with beads, alphabets and numbers are learnt by blocks of wood etc. They follow a Constructivist method, activity based, based on the (pacing) of the individuals attention, groupings, project works, audio-visual aids, teaching aids in order to make the kids independent. She also said that they provide hands-on, conceptual, learning with the five senses, as it caters to the whole Garner's Multiple Intelligence procedure. When asking her thought on Mizoram education, she stated,:

“The education system of Mizoram is too old and that it is too focussed only on the marks that it failed to give importance to teaching integrity, moral, manner and character building to students.”

She stresses upon a focus of a wholesome education of the child not only in academics but also on the importance of vocational skills like teaching resilience, communication skills and the process of not giving up. According to the headmistress the teachers employed were all trained rigorously and there are drop outs as well because of the inability to follow certain sets of procedures and devices for a teacher to learn. She also said that a teacher who is of a traditional background would get lost if she/he joins the school without training. She also says that Montessori also provides fresher training on a need basis before the start of the session because there are Obsessive Compulsive Disorder children in each class.

Montessori used a mix of Indian published textbooks, Maria Montessori International material and the MBSC. She believed that learning should not just include books but the child should learn character and manners as well, as it is important for the child when he/she becomes an adult. The respondent stated:

“Our school resembles the ideal type but the only thing stopping it is due to the lack of funding, the fee structure has to be adjusted to suit the parents' budget”.

The respondent vision of the school in the next 5 years, 10 years and 15 years are: to slowly establish her school. Their plan is to teach till class 8 and the long-term goal is to open

till 12 and once they open high school she thinks of opening up French and foreign language classes.

Regarding examination, results of students are prepared by teachers wherein a report card contains spaces for writing what the child achieves in character and their progress. Evaluation is done by the teacher by giving test to the child and looks at her/ his character and marks the child accordingly. Examination is done in their school by giving test to the upper classes in which best of five are taken. The Headmistress said:

“They are fortunate to have very open and broad minded parents in her school. So, we do not have any problems like letting the children recite Christian prayers”

The head of the school condemn communalism of education towards any religion but she stated:

“If it is for the betterment for the society, and in a homogenous community like the *Mizos*, I believe it is fine.”

With regards to separating the religious and academic sphere the respondents believe that it should be based on the circumstance and mutual respect. For the children’s prayer they sing in a song type in three languages English, Hindi and Mizo. And before meals one child conducts the prayer and collectively recites. They have devotion every week twice a day. She believed that Christian values have to be instilled right from a young age. In this context, she commented:

“We have circle time and group times and use this groups to teach various skills which are held in their own classes. I think religion should be taught in such a way that you respect other religion, but if the school is situated in some kind of a particular pro-religious set up, you also have to respect that. And in the case of Mizoram, we are a Christian state and outsiders need to blend in with the crowd”.

Montessori head said that the parents need to know what their child is doing at all times. So, the frequency of sharing of information depends on the needs of the groups of parents. The students are allowed to take two books every week from their library. They have

used about Rs. 10,000/- rupees each year to replace lost books. The books are ability based. Basic readers like vocabulary readers etc.

She envisioned her students after 10 years, 20 years and 30 years as smart, capable, useful for the family, society and successful in their own profession. Based on the feedbacks from the parents and the satisfaction they have in sending their kids to schools and from neighbours the respondent thinks that they are successful in imparting the values that she wanted. Because she said that their kids are different from other students. The values that she wanted to impart are:

“The values that we want to impart in our school are faith in prayers, respect, independence and an all-round development of the child.”

She believes that the teacher teaches outside of the curriculum for the children to understand so it seems there are no restrictions when it comes to what the teacher teaches inside the class. For punishments the respondents said that they give time-outs but the disadvantage is that sometimes kids do not understand. Apart from this, they also call the parents when there is no other option. They are always open to learning. So, they repeatedly alter different parts of the syllabus based on the suggestions of the teachers and parents. She believes that the school is inclusive with one special need student in each class and she also says that the best part is that students do not differentiate and that is the beauty of the innocence of children.

5.5.3 Faith Learning Centre

When asked about the nature of education in Mizoram, the head of the institution Ms. T. Lalhmachhuani said:

“The education system in Mizoram is not good enough because it doesn’t cover the whole needs of the children which may be spiritual in nature”/

Her school is different as they have their own curriculum from United States of America and wishes Mizoram’s education system could use these type of systems. When probing her on the accessibility of the school, she says:

“Ours cannot be the answer for all because it is costly. It approaches is on individual learning and this may not suit the learning preference of some parents. Moreover, the school can accommodate only 12 students in one class. I think it will not be possible for a mainstream school to run a curriculum like ours since it would not be practical for other schools to meet the goal of the curriculum in a mainstream school”

The respondents criticises governments schools by stating:

“We have teachers more in number than students with lesser number of children and what happens is that the teacher becomes lazy as well. But in our school, the teacher student ration is 1:12.”

The school work along with the parents and report of the child is sent daily to the parents. They do not have a separate room for computer classes but a sharing room where they also provide computers for parents as they want to share some files of their kids. We have a library for upper lever classes. The books that they are using are related to Christian values. They do not want their kids to read scientific theories like ‘man evolve from apes’, she laughed out loud when she said this. They collect different books with a mix of ACE book with MBSE books on Mizo, Hindi and social science. She envisioned her students will be leaders of the nation wherever they are and that they will be a man and women of God and will be useful for mankind. So far, the school opened only for one year and they have seen the changes in their students’ behaviour. She said:

“Those parents who have sent their children to traditional schools and have problems with their child sent their child here in Faith Learning Centre and saw a lot of improvements spiritually and academically”.

The respondent wanted to impart Christian values because “it’s the best” she said. Teachers in this school are not allowed to teach anything outside the curricula.

When it comes to punishments, they call it ‘merits’ and ‘demerits’. They use detention and let them sit at the corner and let them go home late. The respondents stated that the ACE curricula is beyond their dreams, and they loved this curricula because it has been proof to work for more than 45 years. She says that the curriculum is not only for *Mizos* but it is for everyone. She says that this type of system is everywhere in the world be it Russia, China, Thailand, Malaysia has this type of schools with the same curriculum. She said that the people

loved it not only because of the Christian based study but because of the culture of learning that they set up.

They follow an individual learning system when it comes to teaching. They connect lessons with bible verses at the end of each book and make the curriculum based on their own levels of study. She said that some can be very easy and some can be hard for the child, so keeping that in mind they (ACE) develop the manual. She gave the researcher a picture of the manual. Since it is bible based, its focus is on academic excellence with a sound foundation of biblical foundation. She also said that the kids become intelligent with equipping themselves with Godly characters. She strongly suggested providing an individual learning approach where each child can focus on themselves and in this process the child will move forward based on its own time and understanding. The fast learner goes faster and the slow learner goes in their own pace. They do not like to teach in a wholesale manner as it could lead to negligence.

The books they studied are published by Accelerated Christian Education and once a year under ACE the teachers are trained. They also provide fresher course the week before school reopens and mid-year and on a regular intervals. She said that the school provides training on a need based as there are OCD, ADHD children in which one child with this problem are put on each class.

The teachers are trained in Hyderabad, and there are some who are not trained yet but will be trained later. The teachers have to be a graduate and a born again Christian. For them the teacher student ratio is not applicable because we have to follow the 12:1 procedure. So, even if there is only one student there has to be one teacher. She said:

“The kids worked very hard and their students are taught to train and to think like the whites.”

In her school, a students has to understand the concepts. She said that the teachers cannot tell them the answers completely and that they help them to learn. Until and unless they learn, students do not go to the higher level and since it is mastery based learning, they have to

understand and test themselves so that the child could learn the art of honesty. The child has to score 90% above. If not then the child cannot go higher. The ACE used to come and inspect us and we have to do what they say. She said that they are like the offshoot of ACE. If the inspectors see them as neglecting, they can take away their licence and if they see progress then they reward them by improving their status to quality status and they can participate to different conventions held in different places every year she also said that their rewards also include a free trip as well. These people can also allow them to expand outside of their place. So, when the students scores good marks, then they can go for foreign exchanges in other ACE institutions. When asked on the place of religion in education, the respondent stated,

“It is not only important but it’s necessary to teach religion because I believe that as a spiritual being, if our spiritual life is low the child cannot progress.”

Devotion is held every day from 9:00 to 9:30 morning assembly. They have meal prayer and going home prayer as well. Other recitations are held in their respective classes except for morning devotions. The respondent says. “It is not necessary to separate between religion and education”. She also said that Christianity is not only about religion and if we want our kids to have a close relationship with God. Then, we have to include christian value teachings, it should be used as a moral guideline. “This is the most important role for schooling”. When asked about communalisation of education, she said that they do not use doctrines nor impart hate towards other religions.

Regarding the question on whether the education in Mizoram is in favour of Christianity or not she says that “I think so. For us, it is in favour of Christianity.”

She said that they do not have students that are non-Christians. When they see their syllabuses that are based from the Bible they do not prefer to put them there. In her school, there are no exams, no fail only test. She said that it is very exciting as there is not fear of exam. The fact that they cannot fail gives calmness in students. But they do not take it as an

advantage because if they fail to perform in the Self-test, they cannot go to the next level. Student don't compete with others nor say what marks they get. They compete with themselves.

During tests, the child tests herself/ himself, and the teacher gave the marks. There are supervisors for the teachers as well. The children submit their marks to teachers then the teacher sends it to the head of the institution and is later sent to the headquarters. It is like a chain.

Regarding the vision for the school, the main achievement is to have a good status as an institution towards ACE headquarters and to grow and expand as a young institution. She said that though they cannot afford to have big infrastructures; what we want to achieve is to fill the hole in a child's heart by compassion, understanding and patience. If we could achieve that then it is good. For example, the respondent said that they have one case of a boy who is like a zombie and who talks like YouTube influencers, but today he is ok. She also said that there is this one child who cannot do well in other schools can do very well in our school and is one of the best students who went fast in its progress till now because "God healed him."

Thus, this study observes that each respondent from each school believes the curriculum framework that they follow is the best type of curriculum. The similarity seen in all these schools is that all respondents are not fully satisfied with the quality of education that is currently available in Mizoram. They all view that education transforms individual and society for the better. For a better tomorrow, they believe that education should be transformed. Also, all respondents are open to the idea that moral values should come from religious source. The religion that they opt is Christianity. They are all tolerant of the religious ideology related chapters seen in Mizo subject textbooks. They all believe it to be morally ethical to observe morning devotion and compulsory recitation of the Lord's prayer everyday. They all believe that practice like this is one of the most important characteristics of the culture of learning in Mizoram. In contrast, this study observes that all the respondent were quite insensitive towards other religion. They all condemned saffronisation of education while appreciate

communalisation of education in favour of Christianity. This study also observes that the major difference among the three curricular framework is on the approach towards learning. For example, NCF 2005 entails more on secularism and learning without burden. Maria Montessori's guidelines entails more on personality development and Accelerated Christian Education emphasises more on Christian based learning.

5.6 CLASSROOM OBSERVATION

Bernstein (1977) has argued that curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation are the three messaging systems through which formal educational knowledge is realised. Curriculum denotes truthful information, pedagogy denotes the effective transfer of that knowledge, and evaluation denotes the truthful application of that knowledge by the students. This section of this study focuses on pedagogy and evaluation. A non-participatory observation on three schools was conducted in the year 2018 that follow National Curriculum Framework 2005, Maria Montessori Guidelines and Accelerated Christian Education Curriculum respectively to map out the differences in the approach of teaching and learning at schools in Mizoram. This is hoped to highlight the different culture of learning at schools in Mizoram

5.6.1 Classrooms observation of Holy Heart School

On 2018, a classroom observation was conducted in Holy Heart School, Republic Veng. The researcher observes the Class 5 Social Science class for a period of one month.

Classroom setting: The room was pale with one white board and a marker. There was one teachers table and one cupboard to store the children's textbooks. There was one row of seats for the children sitting two by two on each bench. The children were being taught spelling and dictation. The teacher makes them learn the spellings that were written on their notebooks.

Classroom observation: The children started to learn the spellings and kids who are confident enough went to the teacher for an oral test. One child went to the teacher frequently

believing that he has learnt and when the teacher asked him the first answer, he made direct mistake and the teacher told him to sit back and read it again. While the children were learning, the teacher did not sit still rather walks around and help kids who had difficulty pronouncing the spellings from their books.

There were three students who had finished and cleared their oral test and were free. These children were made to put their heads down and sleep. The weaker students were a bit slow in memorising and they have their own time. The teacher communicates both in Hindi, Mizo and English. They were 11-12 years old and there were 6 non- Mizo students in the class.

One kid was frequently fidgeting and playing with his book and the teacher scolded the child and told the class not to play but respect their books as the book gives knowledge. The teacher addressed the student from the locality where he belongs. The teacher also threw a broken pencil to attract the students attention.

When the tiffin bell rang, the teacher made the students who are done with the oral test to stand and say the Lord's Prayer. The kids then have a break. But the ones who do not complete are then separately made to stand and say the Lord's Prayer. These children were allowed to eat tiffin but were disallowed to have a break and study their spellings. The teacher did not look after their learning during this break and the students were left alone to study.

At 12:32, after their break the observation was continued. The teacher told them to take out their dairies. So, these dairies were meant to cover their test so that their friends will not copy. The teacher then gave out their test paper sheet with set of questions on the paper. Before their test, the teacher told them not to look at their friend's paper or ask for help. The teacher also told them that if they copy they will get 'sick'. The children were covering their papers with their dairies while writing. The children were told to write slowly and to write with one finger spacing on their paper. The teacher encouraged the children to use and practice good handwriting and was praising two children who had a nice handwriting. The teacher uses

‘mama thak’⁴⁵ as a motivating reward and told them that if they score the full mark they would get ‘mama thak’ and also the person who has the most beautiful writing.

Its 1:30 and the children were still writing their test. Some went to the teacher and asked her to explain the question in Mizo and some went to the teacher to submit their paper. There was peace and quiet in the room. The teacher sat on her table correcting the children’s work. And no invigilation is done on the teacher’s part.

Their subject includes: English I, English II, MIL, Maths, Hindi, G.K, Value Education and Spelling & Dictation.

There was a notice on the wall that the teacher has to grade the students on Value Education, Handwriting, Spelling/Dictation, G.K and Art education. That there is no particular exam date fix for the graded subject. Unit exam for graded subject is taken when the teacher is ready to conduct the exam within a given month.

The teacher is in charge of registering the child’s progress on their report book. The children have weekly tests of different units on different subjects and the final marks of all the subjects are then added this is called Entry-A, each subject carries 200 marks with 80 as their pass mark. Each subject also has Oral test, project, assignment and portfolio which are graded and given marks separately and this is referred to as Entry-B. The grand total is being taken by adding both the entry-A as well as entry-B. These systems of adding up marks are done on each subject. There is an advantage for the child wherein if he/she is weak on the learning part i.e. entry A, then he/she has a higher chance of covering up their marks by doing good on their entry B. At the end of the result what are most important are the percentage and the grade and not how much the child scores.

The teacher takes two types of assessments: One is the 1st half-yearly and the 2nd half yearly assessment. And at the final assessment the child is evaluated by adding up the sum total

⁴⁵ Mama thak is a ready to eat snack.

of both the marks scored on the 1st and 2nd half yearly assessment. So, there is no more final exam.

The school also adds the 'student's performance profile' which keeps a record of the child's:

- i. Life skills which include thinking skills and social skills
- ii. Emotional skills which includes dealing with stress and managing emotions.
- iii. Attitudes and Values which includes attitude towards teachers, towards school mates, towards school programmes and towards value systems.
- iv. Records are kept on their personality development which includes courteousness, confidence, and care of belongings, neatness, regularity and punctuality, initiatives self-control, sharing and caring and in games.

The administrator of the school was asked regarding the system they follow. She then replied saying that it was impossible to follow the exact prescriptions has been given out by the CCE. She said that "The CCE procedures included that the assessment of the child unit exam has to be five. But due to time constraint we changed it into four units. So, if the child gives 30 marks as full mark for a given subject if we round up four times it adds up to 120. So, all these entry are all entry A", as given in the above information. She also says that they give as much assignments as they want and from there the best two are taken for their final assessment. Every subject has their own project and so different subject has two projects on one assessment.

It was observed that rote learning was used popularly in this school. Students were asked to mug up the lessons most of the time. Hence, there was not much of classroom interaction between the teacher and the pupils. When the teachers exercised authority inside the class, it was well received by the students. In this way, students are trained to be submissive, obedient and discipline followers. Also, this study observes that teachers reward those

personality traits like perseverance, consistency, dependability and punctuality. These traits are considered to be traits of submission to the established order.

The classroom reflects what Goffman has referred to as the ‘front regions’, according to analysis of this circumstance and interaction in the classroom. The environment of the classroom is crucial because, in the words of Goffman, ‘those who employ a particular location as part of their performance cannot begin their act until they have got themselves to the appropriate place and must finish their performance when they leave it’ (Goffman, 1973). The classroom may also be thought of, in Thapan’s words, as a situated activity system to the degree that teachers and students are perceived as performing ‘situated roles’ and their performance is dependent on the setting and on one another. It would be wrong to disregard the fact that interactions in the classroom are influenced by events and relationships outside of it.

Regarding the ‘context’, one discovers that the particular classroom environment has imposed itself upon the meanings ascribed to it. According to Woods (1983), a lot of physical situations convey important messages ‘from their makers to their users’. According to him, the current classroom scenario exemplifies the ‘conventional classroom setting’, which is ‘both a symbol and a reinforcement of centrally regulated interaction’. The teacher is forced by the circumstance to ‘speak at the students’. Decentralised group work and student participation on their terms are impossible in this situation. Thus, the conventional technique of instruction that is also known as the ‘recitation’ approach in the United States of America and the ‘chalk and talk’ method in the United Kingdom follows from this context. This is essentially a coping mechanism used by the instructor that is determined by the situation rather than by any particular educational philosophy.

Another focus area of interactionism in the school are the perspectives which are manifested in broadly three areas: teaching typologies, teacher typologies of pupils and teacher perspectives on the deviance. According to Woods (1983):

“In seeking to understand teacher action, we need to examine its basic constitution in perspectives. This involves matters like how teachers define their task, how they view pupils, what constitutes good and bad pupils and good and bad work, their views on how to teach and subject content”

The teaching typologies are governed by two paradigms: the psychometric paradigm, which is based on the conventional mode and considers knowledge as produced and children as having an endless capacity, and the phenomenological paradigm, which is based on the progressive mode. The three steps of assessment- speculation, elaboration, and stabilization are the foundation for the teacher's student typologies. The teacher already has a solid and clear understanding of the student at this point. There are two types of teachers when it comes to deviance: ‘deviation-provocative teachers’ and ‘deviance-insulative teachers’, who think that all students are generally good and that deviance only occurs under specific circumstances.

We discover that the ‘psychometric paradigm’ is essentially how the teacher-teaching typology operates in the classroom under study. The traditional worldview that gave rise to this paradigm, which Freire has referred to as the ‘banking concept of education’, holds that the student has a finite capacity, is socially irresponsible, and is essentially a vessel to be filled. Here, the narration of educational knowledge causes it to become ‘lifeless and petrified’ (Freire, 1996). Regarding the categorisation of the pupils, the instructor evaluations of the students are classified as being in the ‘speculation stage’, which is the first phase of student assessment. This truth is illustrated by the way the teacher addresses his students according on the region they are from. The first of the three stages of student assessment, conjecture, is where a teacher tries to determine a student’s character. It is based on outward appearance, adherence to rules, academic role adherence, likeability, and relationships with peers. Such a description develops over time from direct observation, experience, and background information gained through staff meetings about the students. Due to the vast instructional unit pedagogy, class, ethnicity, and most importantly locality fall under the ‘catch-all’ category. The instructor is a ‘deviance-provocative teacher’ based on how he interacts with the pupils in the classroom, including

throwing pen at them and verbal reprimands (Woods, 1983). According to this viewpoint, deviant pupils purposefully resist and avoid doing their job, and they are anti-authority. Due to this viewpoint, the teacher engages in the provocative behaviour of ‘picking on them’.

The ‘two third rule’ as it is known by Delamont (1976), is the first of the teacher’s methods in this classroom setting. The majority of the talking in the classroom is done by the instructor, who speaks for more than two-thirds of the time. The remaining one-third of the time is used to create and maintain control, or the ideal environment for instruction. The teacher employs the ‘coping method’ to manage his troubles on the one hand, and to ensure his survival on the other, by strictly controlling the students’ bodily motions. He struggles with a high student-teacher ratio, resistant customers, low morale, an examination-driven curriculum, and a lack of resources. As a result, he uses dominance as a survival tactic, with the goal of ‘keeping them down’ (Woods, 1983). This tactic is referred to by Hargreaves (1972) as ‘policing’. Crowd control and setting up the environment and activities are both parts of policing. According to Hargreaves, there are three main components of policing: strict and systematic control over student talk and movement; an explicit articulation of the rule system and public display of the hierarchical relationship between teacher and student; and moral features of the classroom taking precedence over the cognitive. This is evident in the way the teacher interacts with his students. In this sense, according to Hargreaves, “forms of teaching [...] and specific negotiative methods [...] which are organised essentially on principles of social control come to be” at the very least, comparable to forms of teaching that are cognitively oriented.

According to an analysis of this classroom from the students’ perspective, it can be concluded that the students use the ‘detachment’ approach (Woods, 1983). Their actions border on ‘mucking about’, which is stupid behaviour that seems to be the result of boredom. Woods (1983) makes the following observation in this regard: Evidence suggests that the majority of students have a fundamental orientation toward school that is mostly and possibly supportive

of the official programme. Their reverence for strict control is another indication of this. However, as multiple studies have shown, students believe it is unjust when a teacher is overly tough, and in their eyes, it is one of the worst offences a teacher may commit since they dislike being ‘put down’ or ‘picked on’.

5.6.2 Classrooms Observation of La Montessori School

The researcher observed the classroom during 2018. Upon reaching the place, the researcher met one teacher whom the headmistress prescribed her to meet. After discussing on how and where the observation shall be conducted the researcher left the staff room. The researcher went up to the stairs and on the first floor there was a room called Linguistics class and on the upper floor the MASE class 1. Observation is conducted on class 1.

Classroom setting: The researcher entered the MASE (Maths, Art, Science, and EVS) room and sat on the corner of the class where it seemed to be a reading pad. There was a mat with books on the side and cushions. The seats of the children were arranged in two rows. The front row consists of 3 short tea tables like desks wherein the kids who sit there have to sit on the floor. At the back of these short tables slightly higher tables with chairs were kept. The headmistress told the researcher that students who are a bit weak are made to share one table wherein the teacher focuses on them from the rest of the weaker ones. On the left corner a computer was put on the side of the room and beside it there were two racks. One used for storing the kid’s materials like text books and another for putting their learning aids. There was a pledge on the walls and class rules were also posted on another pillar.

Classroom observation: The teacher told the students to take out their Environmental Studies textbook. While the teacher was explaining, many of the students weren’t listening. The first row of the three tables was very responsive. Finally, the teacher scolds the students if they make noise they will not be put in the class. The kids settle down for a minute and resume their playing.

Interactions were smooth in English and the teacher says ‘please’ every time she let the children do some class work. Later, after their class-work was done, the teacher then sends kids out to wash their hands 3 by 3. After the kids washed their hands they hang their own towels on the rack and came in the room.

The teacher then asked the students who would be willing to conduct a prayer. The children raised their hands and the teacher picks one child and is followed by the child to conduct the prayer.

There were only two classes 1-2 so each class took separate turns on occupying the MASE and Linguistics class. Rather than teaching students’ different subjects in one class. The kids are shifted to another class when they are about to finish their lessons so that each class has a different environment.

After their lunch class 1 has moved to the Language class from the MASE class. The researcher followed them in the room. The Linguistics class was also setup the same way as in MASE class but there were some few differences on the children’s learning aids. Mostly all were about alphabets and grammars. So, the children were taught ‘a, and, the’ by the teacher. When the teacher asks questions, most kids were in their own bubble playing and talking.

The teacher then moves on and talked about singular and plural. One student told the teacher “language class is really boring”. The teacher ignored. The teacher does not force the children to listen and focus on the children who are listening. The teacher keeps on teaching in English and most of the kids do not pay attention. The teacher basically talks and explains at the same time with examples. The teacher pronounced one word wrong and her student laughed at her. The child laughed at the teacher for a while and the teacher did not react at all. She keeps on lecturing and the kids keep on playing. Disciplining the child is less talked about in the class room.

After teaching the children, the teacher gives 5 questions so that they could know whether they know or not and if they cannot response, the teacher told the students that she will repeat it again. A girl who was busy playing was scolded by the teacher and told the girl that her reports will not be good. The teacher then gave some notes on the blackboard and told them to write on their book which will be checked later. After they finished, they went to the teacher's desk for checking. There were CCTV in the class room and the teacher was on her phone while the students were writing. The researcher left the 18 children in the class at 11:17 am since there was no more activity to do in the class.

In this classroom, where the teacher also has a position of authority, she makes an effort to create an environment in which students have the flexibility to engage in active participation. In terms of viewpoints, the teacher initially adheres to the 'psychometric paradigm' of teaching typology, which is the conventional way of instruction. She generally backs up her students. Despite being restricted to the first stage of assessment, i.e., 'speculation', her characterisation of students borders on elaboration- the second stage of assessment- as she seeks to verify students' behaviour in a circumscribed manner. The instructor, who Woods has referred to as a 'deviance-insulative teacher', has faith in her students' goodwill. She respects and trusts each of her students, and she cares about them all.

The teacher's commitment to her profession is motivated by the 'missionary ideology' because she sees herself as a 'social and cultural missionary'- a form of secular priesthood devoted to the advancement of civilisation. She is 'liberal' because she places a strong emphasis on improved instruction and classroom management. She is aware of the high regard in which English is held as a 'epistemic community'. She uses 'socialisation' tactics, the essence of which is 'educate them right' and 'fraternisation'. We observe that there is an underlying negotiation, a working consensus between the teacher and the students, as much of school life is about negotiation. A working agreement, sometimes known as a 'truce', is a body

of unspoken understanding that preserves the social order in the classroom (Woods, 1983). The teacher and students in this classroom would have discovered terminology that best suited their interests and were acceptable to everybody. Here, the students have used ‘supporting’ or ‘teacher-pleasing tactics, as described by Hargreaves.

The pupils perspectives on teachers are homogenous. The students find the teacher to be humane, able to teach, make them work and exercise control.

5.6.3 Classrooms Observations of Faith Learning Centre

On the May of 2018, the researcher reached the field site. The researcher conducted a non-participant observation at Faith Learning Centre, Tuikual South.

Classroom setting: One whole floor has been rented out for the learning centre with a small balcony as a playground. As the researcher entered, the first thing that was noticed was Biblical Scriptures printed and put on frames which were hung on the walls. One such scripture included Proverbs 22:6 New King James Version i.e. Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it. The classrooms comprised of 5 partitioned walls and each was written with K- 3, K- 4, K- 5, Level- 1, and Level- 2. For them, Level two was the highest. The centre of their room had one large table where all the students except for the kindergarteners eat their own lunch. The headmistress has her own room while teachers do not. A small kitchen was in place for the teachers to eat their lunch as well.

Classroom observation: For conducting the non-participant observation the researcher chose to enter the room of Level-2. In the class the researcher sat on the corner of the room on a chair and the researcher could see each children’s back. Each child was being seated on their own cubicles called ‘offices’ with separate seats. These offices consist of:

- a) File stand: Where they keep their text-books which are called ‘PACES’ in ACE terminology.
- b) Two Flags on a stand: These flags have two different symbols on it. One consists of the Indian Flag while the other consists of blue and white parted cross on the flag. The child is

expected to raise the flag when in doubt. If the child raises the Christian flag that means the child has some problems, doubts, to be asked to the teacher. The Christian flag is related only to the problems related to the paces. The Indian flag is raised only when the child needs to clear his or her doubts in a yes or no answer from the teacher.

c) A small dustbin: To throw in their waste so that no mess is found in the class.

d) Bible: This is arranged/ kept on the right side of each office.

e) Pencil stand: To put their pens, sketches and pencils.

f) Goal card: Each child is expected to set a goal each time they enter to the class and were expected to finish the goals that they set for the whole day. This is mandatory.

g) Progress chart: each child is expected to finish the goal set by themselves under the supervision of their teachers. Once their goal has been checked, corrected and marked, the teacher puts a star sticker on the progress chart.

The classroom has one cupboard to store the text books. There was one table in the height of students called the (scoring station). This scoring station has books on its shelves called pace scoring books which contained answers of different pace books. In this scoring station the child test himself/herself, and check the correct answers by using the scoring books.

On one table there was file storage where four compartments were separately put. These compartments are marked as follows:

a) To test- the papers for testing the child is put at the top

b) Testing-The papers put aside for evaluation

c) Tested- The papers that are tested are put here

d) Conference- This is where the students who are weak in their studies are kept.

The students have their own test based on their own level of understanding. The concept of 'class' does not exist. In one class different levels of paces are learned by students. Each child advances according to his or her capability to learn. The easier the child learns, the

faster the child moves to a higher pace. Whereas, children who takes time to learn moves at a slower pace.

Homework of each individual is being written down on their (homework slip) and a Whatsapp group has been maintained by the teachers to update their children's progress as well as their homework.

The upper level students' routine consists of subjects/activities like: Devotion, Pace work, Joint devotion, Mizo, Co-ordinating test. Moral-science, Music/computer, Grammar and Hindi.

Some of the different characteristics which were observed are as follows:

1. The child who gets admission into this institution need not learn the basics of cursive writing. If they have a sound grasp of the alphabets it is considered as enough. Traditional cursive writing culture is absent.
2. In moral science, students are taught only from the Bible scriptures.
3. The students are to raise their flags and put them on the side of their 'office' so that the teacher would attend to them.
4. The class room concept is quite fluid because there is no such thing as class I, II, III,...,VIII, IX. The child learns according to his/her pace.
5. Their PACE books are all based from the Bible.
6. Teachers help with kids doubts by attending to their flags. The teachers always tap the shoulder of the child in doubt and say "How can I help you?".
7. The children are given certificates which are based on their achievements at the end of the year. E.g. the friendliest award.

When the tests are conducted, the child raised an Indian flag on the side of her office and the teacher immediately attended her problem. The teacher politely asked her "How may I help you?", to which the child replied "May I test my PACE?". The teacher granted her the

permission. The teacher then took the child to her table and then prayed for the child to do well on her paper. After the prayer, the child went to the 'scoring station' to give herself a test. After she finished answering the test paper, the child then took out one answer sheet and checks her mistake by herself. Luckily, she had no mistake. She happily hurried to her teacher and they both prayed and give thanks to the Lord for the test. After the child gave her PACE test, the teacher scored her a 95% on her test. After finishing the pace and if the child scores 90%, the child is being given a 'Dollar' - a fake currency. This dollar is being given to students who have scored well in marks or to students who can memorise their Biblical verses well.

They have what they call a 'store' where erasers, pencils, sharpeners, books, pens. These items could be bought using the 'dollar' they earn out of the good deeds they have done. The headmistress told me that the students need not ask money to their parents as they are self-sufficient. The kids earn and spend on necessary things.

Teachers would pray for the child who is planning on giving tests and after tests as well. There is no concept of PASS/FAIL. A test was conducted by the child itself and is also corrected by her/him. If there are some mistakes, the child goes back to the office and learns again. The child competes with herself/himself and not with others. Outside of the class room, the researcher observed K-2 while they were having their co-ordination test was conducted in English. In this test the children were made to tie their shoe lace, take off and put on their sweaters and were asked some questions and answers. The teacher asked one student "John (fake name) did you put your toys back at the right place after you play?" to which the child replied "yes, miss." The other child came in and the same thing was asked to which the child replied "yes, miss." The teacher then asked the child whether he folded his clothes and put them in the cupboard. The child seemed puzzled to which he replied "Miss enge cupboard? (What is a cupboard?)" And then the teacher told the child that a cupboard is a place for storing

clothes in Mizo language. The child was quite foreign with the word cupboard and how it was used because not every household have wardrobes and cupboards installed.

Thus, this study observes that religion is primarily used as a source of moral education. Also, this system of learning can be viewed as an attempt to exercise their hegemonic dominance by the Americans towards the locals. Giving fake dollar bills as a reward for achievement also promotes a love toward this worldly pleasure which goes against the preaching of the Bible which the school relies on. In this case, the school can also be viewed as acting as an agent of capitalist Apparatus.

5.7 SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

This study investigates whether pedagogy and evaluation in and of itself contribute to the reproduction of inequalities in light of the classroom interactions already covered. Bourdieu (1990) refers to teaching as ‘the mechanism of imposition’ of the arbitrary cultural norms. According to Bernstein (1996), the pedagogic situation is primarily one of interaction. In order to distinguish his own methodology from that of Bourdieu, he points out that Bourdieu overlooked the investigation of the ‘real structure which enables power to be transmitted, power to be carried’ since for him, ‘education is only a carrier of power relations which are external to the school’. This argument is unfounded because Bourdieu does accord a significant role to what he refers to as ‘the mode of imposition’ or the manner of teaching and ‘the mode of inculcation’ or the subject matter of instruction in his theory of ‘symbolic violence’.

Returning to Bernstein, it may be said that his work addresses two issues: first, how control and power are translated into communication principles, and second, how communication principles govern forms of consciousness in terms of reproduction and the potential for change. Power is transferred through the concept of classification, which results in boundaries and dislocations. Control, on the other hand, established acceptable ways of communication and is interpreted by the idea of ‘framing’. Bernstein (1977) stated that

“framing refers to the restrictions on communication in local, interactional pedagogic connections’ and that ‘frame’ refers to the form of context in which information is transferred and received [...] to the specific pedagogical relationship of teacher and taught”.

Turning to the field situation, this study examines if the pedagogical relations between the teacher and the taught and the essence of the process of classroom interactions in the schools studied, reproduce and generate social inequalities. The first classroom situation in school A shows that the teacher tries to maintain a strict control over the bodily movements of the pupils by picking on them and also by throwing pen at the pupils. He shares a somewhat similar socio-economic background with some of the front benchers. They are the ones to respond to his question while the pupils from the back bench are un-participative. Such students are generally from a low socio-economic background where none of the parents are highly educated and these students enter the school system with handicaps. The experience of schooling instead of mitigating these handicaps serves to attenuate them.

How schooling build up on what pupils bring with them to school is expressed by Bourdieu (1977) when he argues:

“Insofar as pedagogic work is an irreversible process, in the time required for inculcation, an irreversible disposition, [...] primary pedagogic action (the earliest phase of upbringing which is carried out by [...] primary pedagogic work, produces a primary habitus, characteristic of a group or class, which is the basis for the subsequent formation of any other habitus.”

The teachers also pay the back benchers less attention. However, this is a two-way process; the students also have a part in how they become marginalised in many ways. The way this scenario is handled in class adds its own force and arbitrariness to the differential distribution of cultural wealth among the pupils. Thus, it not only perpetuates the disparities that already exist but also introduces new forms of inequality. However, the back benchers’ ‘indifference’ strategy can also be seen as ‘oppositional’ behaviour because it harbours the seeds of potential change. Inside the classroom, the back benchers are disinterested. Nothing

about the circumstance is intriguing enough to hold the students' attention. Therefore, students adopt the strategies of apathy and delinquency, which typically manifest in 'having a laff' or 'mucking around'. Here, it is apt to quote Joey, 'a lad' in Paul Willis (1977) study:

"I don't know why I want to laff, I dunno why its so fuckun important. It just is [...] think its just good gift, that's all, because you can get out of any situation. If you can laff, if you can make yourself laff, I mean really convincingly, it can get you out of million of things."

Less attention is also given to the students seated in the rear. The students themselves also play a role in how they are marginalised in many ways, thus this is a two-way process. The way this situation is handled in class gives the disparate distribution of cultural richness among the students its own power and arbitrariness. As a result, it not only reinforces existing gaps but also creates new types of inequality. However, because it harbours the seeds of prospective change, the 'indifference' tactic of the back benchers can also be understood as 'oppositional' behaviour. The people seated in the back of the classroom appear uninterested. The situation is not interesting enough to keep the pupils' attention. As a result, kids start acting unruly and apathetic, which usually shows as 'having a laugh' or 'mucking around'.

This study also observes that in School B and School C the teacher is largely supportive of their pupils as teachers also shares a social background with the students.

5.8 POLITICS OF PEDAGOGY

School teachers who taught Social Science and Mizo subjects were interviewed from 10 schools to ascertain how the mediation of textbooks and what are the things that are taught inside the classroom that are outside of the syllabus.

Mr. Lalremruara, 26 years old stated, "Teaching of social science requires full preparation as it is very vast. When teaching about India's freedom Movement, we rarely see tribal leaders mentioned in it. It is high time that we include the narratives of tribal experience in the Social Science textbook as well. Also, when talking about India's diversity, we never

see North east India mentioned in it. Hence, I find the textbook culturally irrelevant for North Eastern students”

Mr. David Lianhminga, 35 years old stated, “Mizo students usually find the subject of Hindi and Mathematics difficult to comprehend. Since Hindi is not popularly used here, why students considered it to be difficult is somewhat understood. But with mathematics, students find it difficult to understand mathematical questions that contains Hindi names. So, it is a high time that we should replace all the Hindi names with a Mizo since most of the learners in Mizoram are Mizos”

Ms. Elizabeth Ramhmachhuani, 55 years old stated, “Students who are coming from Mizo medium always find it difficult to catch up with students coming from English medium background when they come to High school. Since we have to teach everything in English, students from Mizo medium would not understand it and this would result in poor academic performance or even failure. This is an unfortunate pan Mizoram scenario because we are penalising students not on their fault. We have to understand that since students from Mizo medium are culturally and linguistically deprived of English, they could not produce good answers in English. The fault lies in the system and not with the students. This has to be re-look by education policy makers.”

Mr. Ngurliana Sailo. 48 years old stated, “As teachers require to finish portions on time, we basically teach things from the textbook. But on some occasion, we would give examples from outside of the text. For example, to motivate a low performing students to perform better, the principle of hardworking and not to give up on life are cited out in the class a lot of times. Whenever we have a cleanliness drive, Bible quotes like ‘Cleanliness is Godliness’ is highlighted. So, we take stories and inspirational quotes a lot of times from the Bible”

Thus, this study observes that apart from teaching textbooks, teachers would infused teaching from the Bible a lot of times to motivate or discipline a student. Also, in certain occasion, teachers would re-enforce positive reinforcement by citing lines from the Bible.

5.9 SUMMARY

Firstly, this chapter concludes that the NCF 2005 discusses curricular reform efforts made since Independence. The NCF 2005 proposes five guiding principles for curriculum reform: (i) relating knowledge to experiences outside of the classroom; (ii) ensuring that rote learning techniques are abandoned; (iii) enhancing the curriculum to make it more extensive beyond textbooks; (iv) exams should be more flexible and integrated with classroom activities.; and (v) fostering an overarching identity based on compassionate considerations within the nation's democratic politics. It has also reaffirmed the need to address specific developments and concerns that have surfaced in recent debate, such as: keeping all students in school to achieve the goal of universal elementary education; advocating for democracy as a way of life; teaching children to respect the secularism and plurality of the constitution; and encouraging decentralisation to make it easier to produce knowledge and instructional strategies that are effective in all regions of the country.

Secondly, this chapter concludes that the Mariah Montessori guidelines are based on:

- a) Younger kids pick up new language and imitate appropriate behaviour from their older peers, older students develop their self-confidence.
- b) Kids learn with their hands, nose, tongue, eyes, and ears. The Multiple Intelligences theory of Howard Gardner pairs with the Montessori style of teaching.
- c) Since it wants to foster a cooperative environment, there is no room for competition.
- d) Every minor success or difficulty is noted by the school in black and white. This aids in fostering the child's needs and abilities rather than passing judgement on them.

- e) The primary environment's (until 6-year-old) goals are to provide children with the keys to education, draw them into the interesting world of self-directed learning, and make learning enjoyable. Being the best at everything and obtaining first place in the class are not the goals.
- f) The Montessori guidelines rejects restriction of children's movement that they must be seated still and pay attention to the instructor. This has a detrimental effect on the learning process and behaviour control

Thirdly, this chapter concludes that academics, skill development, reading practise, character and wisdom training, and understanding of God and His Word are all central to Accelerated Christian Education's core curriculum. Each PACE prepares students with the tools they need to reach their full potential. When compared to other curricula, ACE stands out due to its focus on personalised learning and independent study that leads to mastery. Instead, than being pushed ahead or held back by age, kids in PACEs can absorb material at their own pace, based on their own learning abilities.

Fourthly, this chapter concludes that the reviewed curriculum frameworks have contrasting differences with one another towards the approach of learning. Each follows their own unique ways of imparting knowledge. These guidelines have specific goals and objectives in it which are to be imparted in the children. While the NCF was more focussed on reducing burden of children and make learning as fun as possible, Mariah Montessori guidelines was more focussed on the individualistic portrayal of a child as the knowledge constructor and that the child must be given its space, Accelerated Christian Education focuses on the spiritual realm of the child and included this in every PACE work they have. Montessori guidelines follows a more constructivist method when dealing with children while NCF uses a more authoritative method. A.C.E uses an individualistic approach when it comes to dealing with children. Both NCF and Montessori guidelines focus on building the knowledge and character of the child and try to develop the child into a helpful citizen.

Fifthly, this study observes that each respondent from each school believes the curriculum framework that they follow is the best type of curriculum. The similarity seen in all these schools is that all respondents are not fully satisfied with the quality of education that is currently available in Mizoram. They all view that education transforms individual and society for the better. For a better tomorrow, they believe that education should be transformed. Also, all respondents are open to the idea that moral values should come from religious source. The religion that they opt is Christianity. They are all tolerant of the religious ideology related chapters seen in Mizo subject textbooks. They all believe it to be morally ethical to observe morning devotion and compulsory recitation of the Lord's prayer everyday. They all believe that practice like this is one of the most important characteristics of the culture of learning in Mizoram. In contrast, this study observes that all the respondent were quite insensitive towards other religion. They all condemned saffronisation of education while appreciate communalisation of education in favour of Christianity. This study also observes that the major difference among the three curricular framework is on the approach towards learning. For example, NCF 2005 entails more on secularism and learning without burden. Mariah Montessori's guidelines entails more on personality development and Accelerated Christian Education emphasises more on Christian based learning.

Sixthly, it was observed that in school A, rote learning was used popularly in this school. Hence, there was not much of classroom interaction between the teacher and the pupils. When the teachers exercised authority inside the class, it was well received by the students. In this way, students are trained to be submissive, obedient and discipline followers. Also, this study observes that teachers reward those personality traits like perseverance, consistency, dependability and punctuality. These traits are considered to be traits of submission to the established order.

Seventhly, this study observes that in school C, religion is primarily used as a source of moral education. Also, this system of learning can be viewed as an attempt to exercise their hegemonic dominance by the Americans towards the locals. Giving fake dollar bills as a reward for achievement also promotes a love toward this worldly pleasure which goes against the preaching of the Bible which the school relies on. In this case, the school can also be viewed as acting as an apparatus of capitalism.

Eighthly, this study observes that apart from teaching textbooks, teachers would infused teaching from the Bible a lot of times to motivate or discipline a student. Also, in certain occasion, teachers would re-enforce positive reinforcement by citing lines from the Bible.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The current *Mizo* society is one that is undergoing change. The people of Mizoram were completely non-literate, lived in remote, hilly regions and were animists when the twentieth century began. But, the forces of modernisation, Christianity, education, urbanisation, and political awakening have now swept through all of Mizoram, and more recently, the forces of globalisation are all set to further reshape the *Mizo* society. This study felt the need to contextualise this social transformation on the role played by the educational system. Hence, this study is titled as ‘Ideology, Identity and Schooling: A Study of Curriculum and Pedagogic Practices in Mizoram’.

6.2. RESEARCH FINDINGS

Chapter I is titled ‘Introduction’. It contains the background of the study, the significance of this study, the research objectives, the methodology which includes the technique of data collection, the key informants, experiences of the researcher in the field and chapterisation scheme of the thesis. The main objectives of this study are:

1. To study the role played by education and Christianity in transforming the social and cultural life of the *Mizos*;
2. To study the ‘politics of mention’ adopted by the Mizoram Board of School Education (MBSE) and State Council of Educational Research and Training (SCERT) in framing the school textbooks;
3. To study the mediation of curriculum by teachers inside the classrooms.

In order to gather primary data, the Director of the Mizoram Board of School Education was interviewed in 2017. The assistant coordinator of the Mizo subject committee and the Social Science subject committee was interviewed in 2018. Thirdly, hundred educators who taught Mizo and social science from 2015 to 2018 participated in an interview schedule.

Fourthly, to identify the disparities in the approaches to teaching and learning at schools in Mizoram, a non-participatory observation on three schools that adhere to the National Curriculum Framework, Mariah Montessori Framework, and Accelerated Christian Education was carried out in 2018. For secondary data, this study reviewed existing literature on sources in the field of sociology of education and sociology of curriculum including books, articles, essays, journals, and other sociological writings that are relevant to the subject. The Mizoram Board of School Education's Mizo and Social Science textbooks, which are used in both English- and Mizo-medium schools, were subjected to content analysis for this study.

Chapter II is titled 'Sociology of Schooling: Conceptual Analysis'. It contains the review of literature relevant to this study. Firstly, it discusses the functionalist theory of education by looking the works of Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons, Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore. The argument in this section is on the role of education in maintaining social solidarity. Secondly, this chapter discussed the Marxist theory on education by exploring the works of Louis Althusser, Ivan Illich, Paulo Freire, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis. The main argument is how schools secured the reproduction of labour power in a capitalist society.

Thirdly, this chapter highlights the cultural deprivation theory by exploring the works of Basil Bernstein, Labov and Rosen. The main argument is on the absence of cultural capital of the lower sections of society in the education system. Fourthly, this chapter highlights the positional theory of education by exploring the works of Raymond Boudon. The main argument here is on the importance of the individual's status in determining success and failure in school. Fifthly, this chapter discussed the interactionist view of education by exploring the works of Nell Keddie, Kitsuse and Cicourel. The main argument here is on the attainment levels of students are based on the interactions and negotiated meanings created in the classroom.

Sixthly, this chapter discussed the resistance theories on education by exploring the works of H.A. Giroux and Peter McLaren. The main argument is on the importance of human

agency and experience in analysing the relationship between schools and the dominant society. Seventhly, this chapter discussed the relationship between knowledge, power, education and relations of production in a capitalist society by exploring the works of Pierre Bourdieu and Michael F.D. Young. The main argument is on the reproduction of the dominant cultural and social capital in a capitalist education system. Lastly, this chapter discussed the feminist perspective on education by exploring the works of Mattel and Petarat. It explores the voices of the unexpressed and the marginalised sections of society.

Chapter 3 is titled ‘Education and Society in Mizoram’. It highlights the sociological meaning of education by visiting the works of scholars like John Stuart Mill, Immanuel Kant and Emile Durkheim. To have an understanding on the traditional system of learning in pre-colonial *Mizo* society, this chapter analyse the role of social institutions such as family and *zawlbuk* which played a key role in transmitting societal norms and values. How these institutions trained a child to subordinate himself/herself to the collective group and how an individual is trained to become a creature of society is dealt in this section

This chapter traces the historical development of education in Mizoram along with the analysis of the impact on the education mission. It highlights the nature in which education and prosetisation go hand in hand. The way Christianity ushered in the process of modernity and how it further led to social, cultural and political transformation in Mizoram is dealt with in this section. As this study aims to highlight the impact of education and Christianity in the present *Mizo* society in an unbiased manner, this chapter contains the interview conducted with pastors, church workers, church elders etc. to ascertain their reflections on the impact of Christianity in *Mizo* society.

The first finding of this chapter is that education is a life-long process, a process that entails guidance, direction and control to the child for a collective living. Education is also a continuous process of adjustment of behaviour. Adjustment implies to the adaptation to some

environmental demands. Thus, through education within one's community, a child inherits the socio-cultural heritage. Secondly, this chapter observes that social institutions like the *zawlbuk* and the family were the agents of learning in traditional *Mizo* society. This was changed when the British occupied Mizoram in the 1890s.

Thirdly, this chapter observed that education and Christianity have a multitude of impacts in the *Mizo* society. Some of the prominent ones are: 1. Changes in education system; 2. Improvement in health conditions; 3. Abolition of Chieftainship; 4. The abolition of *Zawlbuk* (men's dormitory); 5. Eradication of superstitious beliefs; 6. Abolition of Alcohol; 7. The abolition of *Bawi* system; 8. Changes in the celebration of festivals; 9. Changes in the dressing pattern; 10. Changes in the music pattern; 11. Changes in the marriage system; 12. Changes in the practices of death and burial; 13. Changes in the status of women; 14. Growth of *Mizo* literature, and; 15. Changes in the economic system.

Fourthly, from the primary data collected through interviews and focus group discussions, this study also observes that:

1. Because Christians are taught to love and forgive others, *Mizos* are reluctant to punish criminals and prefer to forgive those who have killed, raped, or robbed others rather than reporting them to the law. The *Mizo* Christians' willingness to forgive greatly exacerbated the crime rate.
2. Since church members actively participate in church activities, many families are unable to establish healthy family relationships. Nowadays, many *Mizo* Christians place more value on various groups and associations than they do on family ties, which inhibits family connections and causes a variety of social problems.
3. Mizoram cannot obtain a stronger position and recognition in the federal government because the state is primarily Christian. When most of the leaders in the central government come from

other religions, it is difficult for a small Christian-populated state to gain a greater understanding of the government.

4. Because many Mizo Christians desired to follow Christianity in its western manifestation and moved away from regional ways of life, it constituted a danger to the local culture and customs. Active students' participation in church activities, especially the youth events that the church sponsors harmed their academic performance.

5. Because the newly converted believe that embracing the western model of Christianity is the right path and abandoning traditional lifestyles, this has seriously harmed the *Mizo* culture and caused a loss of identity.

6. Even though the Christian ethic and teachings emphasise hard work, many *Mizos* employees who identify as Christians do not put in any effort at all in their jobs. Many employees actively involved in religious activities and held high positions in the church are often not productive at their jobs. This goes against the ideals of Protestant describe by Weber (1992) in *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

7. The principles of Christianity might become hazardous if they are misinterpreted and misunderstood. In particular, Exodus chapter 20 verse 16, which is one of the Ten Commandments and states, "Thou shalt not give false witness against thy neighbour". The *Mizo* Christians sometimes understands it incorrectly. They claimed that even when they noticed that their neighbours, acquaintances, or residents were engaging in bad anti-social activities like corruption, drug trafficking, selling illegal drugs and alcohol, etc., they were afraid to complain or report them to the authorities, which caused the frequency of such illegal activities to rise.

8. In today's *Mizo* society, the church has evolved into a center of fashion, where many individuals who cannot afford to buy nice clothes dread attending church because they are not properly attired.

9. Excessive use of social networking sites like Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, and others, aside from religious involvement and dating, is more of a contributing cause to why kids struggle academically.

10. Limiting activities by the church and giving people more freedom and space for their own family lives, education, and other pursuits may strengthen parent-child bonds, enhance family relationships and foster a more just society in general. Additionally, it is thought that allowing students more time to concentrate on their studies rather than taking part in a variety of activities will enhance their quality and performance.

Chapter IV is titled 'Ideology and curriculum: A Sociological Analysis of Mizoram Schools'. Firstly, this chapter explores the traditional and modern meaning of curriculum. Secondly, this chapter analyses the textbooks used during colonial times and in contemporary Mizoram schools. This chapter notices that in ancient Indian education, the curriculum was severely caste-restricted. But in the modern era, curriculum refers to all of the school's initiatives to shape learning, whether inside the classroom, outdoors on the playground, or both.

This chapter also notices that there are few themes that run along textbooks constructed during the colonial eras. Firstly, the textbook made an attempt to socially construct the notion of sin. Since the aim of the education mission was to transform and proselitise the *Mizo* society, the notion of sin is derived from the traditional life and practices of the *Mizos*. For example, the customs of performing sacrifices in the agricultural field was defined as a sin. It was taught that the newly convert should only worship the Christian God, and this will bring good fortune to them. In this way, a dichotomy between the traditional and modern is created in the *Mizo* society. Through education, one learns that the *Mizo* way is sinful, savage and primitive but the Christian way is towards progression. So, the education system acts as an apparatus for the colonial state to transform the mind of the *Mizos* to blindly accept the new colonial culture.

The textbook made an attempt to deconstruct the superstitious beliefs of the *Mizos*. For example, it tries to dispel the belief that big rocks and big trees have spirits and killing a tiger and rhinoceroses will lead to punishment. The textbook argues that there can be only one superstitious belief system, i.e. the belief in the Christian God. So, deconstruction and reconstruction on the notion of the supernatural occurred during the colonial times and the textbook plays a major tool in the process of this transformation.

The notion of God is carefully written in the textbooks. For example, all the textbooks constructed during the colonial times had a lesson on the notion of God where it emphasises that there is only one God. Also, each of the textbooks had a lesson on the ten commandments which highlights the expectations of humans in order to have a close connection with God. Many verses from the Bible are inscribed in the textbook to show the omnipotent and omnipresent nature of God.

Jesus Christ is introduced as a saviour of humans. 'It is through him that we attain salvation in the afterlife. We have to believe in him and that is the only passage to heaven' is contained in the textbook. The textbook also tells that reading a Bible and offering prayer to Jesus regularly will help us refrain from committing sins. In this context, the textbook contains many bible verses about Jesus and a morning prayer, meal prayer, evening prayer, night prayer and the Lord's prayer is contained in all the textbooks framed during colonial times.

The colonial masters in their attempt to stabilise the regime in Mizoram, the textbook is used as an apparatus to legitimise their race and knowledge as superior and worthy of being sought after and possessed by the colonies. For example, the textbook contains lines like- humans are divided into five big race- the blacks, the reds, the browns, the yellows and the whites. Nevertheless, the yellows are the most in numbers, the whites are the wisest and the most powerful.

Therefore, it can be said that the colonial textbooks tries to create a citizen that would be loyal and conformist to the British rule. As a result, a new class of educated *Mizos* who are *Mizos* in blood and in skin colour but had a liking towards the colonial products were created and these newly created class enjoyed privileges by acting between the colonial masters and the mainstream population.

Upon analysing the Mizo subjects used in contemporary Mizoram schools, this chapter notices that when combining all the classes from I to XII, in the poetry sections alone, there are 101 poems where 25 of them are gospel poems. The influence of the Christian ideology or gospel poems comprises of 25 percent of the poetry section. This means that in the Mizo subject alone, the influence of Christian ideology in the curriculum is one-fourth of the total poems that is studied all throughout the schooling process. Apart from the Christian poems, there are incidences where Mizo textbook contains verse from the Bible and drama which propagated the teachings of Christianity. As a whole, there are 290 chapters on the Mizo textbook curriculum starting from class I to class XII. There are 28 chapters related to the teachings of Christianity. This is 9.65 percent. When making a comparison between various classes, Class I syllabus has the highest concentration on Christianity related chapters which is 33.34 percent and class VIII has the lowest concentration of Christianity related chapters which is 3.34 percent.

The central theme to all of the gospel poems in the Mizo curriculum is Jesus and he should be accepted as a spiritual saviour. Most of the gospel poems talk of the troubles during this lifetime on earth and this can be tackled only with Jesus by our side. Even after life, it is only through him that the attainment of eternal heavenly kingdom is possible. In incorporating 'value education' into the curriculum, the textbook writers focus on Jesus as the role model for students where they should derive their moral values from.

Upon doing a content analysis of Social Science subjects and Mizo subjects, this study notices that in terms of historicising Mizo identity, it was observed that textbooks concluded that a *Mizo* is a person who performs and conduct religious rites and duties according to the norms of their own specific tribe and clan and at the end who can jointly participate in the *Khuangchawi* ceremony and who maintains exogamy among tribes and clans in terms of marriage are a *Mizos*. Even though different clans may have their own different practice, there is a spirit of universal brotherhood among one another and this actually let them possible to live in a community unitedly among themselves. They would help each other in times of need, good and bad. And those people who lived by those standards are a *Mizo* and their further descendants are also known as a *Mizo*.

Chapter V is titled ‘Curriculum and Pedagogical Practices: A Sociological Analysis of Mizoram Schools’. It highlights the difference between the National Curriculum Framework 2005, the Maria Montessori’s Guidelines and the Accelerated Christian Education Curriculum. Secondly, this chapter contain a case study of three schools namely- Holy Heart Schools, La Montessori School and Faith Learning Centre that follow the different curricula structures. Thirdly, this chapter contains the way teachers mediate the syllabus and textbooks inside the classroom.

The first finding of this chapter is that the curriculum frameworks have contrasting differences with one another towards the approach of learning. Each follows their own unique ways of imparting knowledge. These guidelines have specific goals and objectives in it which are to be imparted in the children. While the NCF is more focussed on reducing burden of children and make learning as fun as possible, Maria Montessori guidelines is more focussed on the individualistic portrayal of a child as the knowledge constructor and that the child must be given its space, Accelerated Christian Education focuses on the spiritual realm of the child and included this in every PACE work they have. Montessori guidelines follows a more

constructivist method when dealing with children while NCF uses a more authoritative method. ACE uses an individualistic approach when it comes to dealing with children. Both NCF and Montessori guidelines focus on building the knowledge and character of the child and try to develop the child into a helpful citizen.

Thus, the major difference among the three curricular framework is on the approach towards learning. For example, NCF 2005 entails more on secularism and learning without burden. Maria Montessori's guidelines entails more on personality development and Accelerated Christian Education emphasises more on Christian based learning. This study also observes that in Faith Learning centre, religion is primarily used as a source of moral education. Also, this system of learning can be viewed as an attempt by conservative Christians to exercise their hegemonic dominance towards children. Giving fake dollar bills as a reward for achievement also promotes a love toward this worldly pleasure which goes against the preaching of the Bible which the school relies on. In this case, the school can also be viewed as acting as an agent of capitalism.

This study also observed that each respondent from each school believes the curriculum framework that they follow is the best type of curriculum. The similarity seen in all these schools is that all respondents are not fully satisfied with the quality of education that is currently available in Mizoram. They all viewed that education transforms individual and society for the better. For a better tomorrow, they believe that education should be transformed. Also, all respondents are open to the idea that moral values should come from religious source. The religion that they favour is Christianity. They are all tolerant of the religious ideology related chapters seen in Mizo subject textbooks. They all believe it to be morally ethical to observe morning devotion and compulsory recitation of the Lord's prayer every day. They all believe that practice like this is one of the most important characteristics of the culture of learning in Mizoram. In contrast, this study observes that all the respondent were quite

insensitive towards other religion. They all condemned saffronisation of education while appreciate communalisation of education in favour of Christianity.

This study also observed that apart from teaching textbooks, Social Science subject teachers in Mizoram often infused teaching from the Bible a lot of times to motivate or discipline a student. Also, in certain occasion, teachers would re-enforce positive reinforcement by citing lines from the Bible.

6.3 CONCLUSION

This study submits that the experience of colonialism by the *Mizo* society is marked by a great socio-economic and cultural transformation. Education was used as an apparatus for transforming the locals into the colonial citizens. The pull factors behind this were a promise of progress, advancement, removal of ignorance, power, joy etc. by the colonial masters; and the push factor was the belief in attaining freedom from the shackles of being ‘primitive’, ‘savage’, barbaric’ and ‘uncivilised’ condition. In this way, the colonial masters were able to sell their culture as superior and worthy of being sought after and possessed. They took up a role of an adult and the colonies were treated as a child. In this way, colonisation of the mind started. In other words, it can be said that the goal of the education mission was to prepare the native to live as a loyal citizen of the colonial powers.

The textbooks studied by the *Mizos* had a large content of moral indoctrination. The notion of sin which was derived from the *Mizo* culture was a popular concept enshrined in all the textbooks framed during the colonial era. Textbooks contains lessons on not to believe in the superstition. At the same time, it tells the student to worship the Christian God. This created a sense of confusion between what is considered as ‘tradition’ and ‘modern’ in the *Mizo* society. Tradition is frown upon and the exotic is now welcomed. So, the colonial state uses the educational system as a tool to rewire the *Mizo* minds so they will easily accept the new colonial culture. For example, colonial textbook contains a lesson that emphasise the white skin people are the wisest and most powerful race of

humans. Hence, this study submits that the labelling of whatever 'traditional' or '*Mizo*' as lesser than its western counterpart is a colonial construct.

Lastly, this study submits that the legacy of the colonial education mission continues even after 76 years of independence. Today, the neo-dependency is still very much alive in the *Mizo* society. The contemporary textbooks are still framed in a similar structure where there is a reproduction of the ideals of the education mission in our contemporary school textbooks. For instance, the inclusion of Christian related chapters is done whenever and wherever possible. This led to the indigenisation of Christian identity and this establish Christian values as one of the most legitimate knowledge in the *Mizo* society.

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Appendix I

Interview for Heads/Principals of Institutions

1. Name of the school with motto:

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2. Name of the teacher with phone number (if any):

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3. Sex : Male/ Female

4. Age:

5. Educational Qualification:

6. Management of the school: Govt./Govt.Aided/Private/Church

7. If church, which denomination:

8. Level of school (From Kindergarten till what class)

9. Number of regular students enrolled as on date:

10. Monthly fee structure of the school:

11. Number of teachers:

12. How many males and how many females?

13. What are the recruitment procedures for becoming teachers?

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14. Does the school organise refresher training course for teachers? If so, on what interval?

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15. Who developed the Curriculum/syllabus/textbooks of your school?

NCERT/SCERT/Mixed/Private Publisher.

(If specify is needed, please specify)

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16. What according to you is the ideal curriculum and pedagogy for schools? Does your school resemble your idealtype?

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17. Do you think the textbook you used is inclusive or alienating for Mizo students? If so, in what way?

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18. Do you feel the need to change/alter any part of the current curriculum? If so, give detailed explanation?

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19. What are the values that the school tries to impart on students?

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20. Is the school successful in imparting those values to students?

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21. How is punishment of students done in your school?

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22. Do you think teaching of religion is necessary in schools? If so, in what ways?

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23. Do you held devotion in your school? How many times devotion is it held in a week?
How is it held?

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24. What are the kind prayers that are taught to students for collective recitation? And what
are its contents?

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25. Do you feel the necessity to separate religion from education or combine religion and education?

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26. Does the school have its own library?

27. Does the school have access to internet?

28. Does the school have computer room? If so, how many computers are there in the ICT lab?

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29. In general, how do you see the education system of Mizoram and do you have any suggestion for improvement?

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30. Is there anything that you want to say that are left out in the questionnaire?

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Thank you
R. Lalhrualiana

Appendix II

Interview Schedule for Mizo and Social Science Teachers

1. Name of the school with motto:

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2. Name of the teacher with phone number (if any):

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3. Sex : Male/ Female

4. Age:

5. Educational Qualification:

6. Have you receive any training course for teaching? If so, specify?

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7. What classes do you teach and what are the subjects?

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8. Who developed the Curriculum/syllabus/textbooks of Mizo/EVS and Social Science?

NCERT/SCERT/Mixed/Private Publisher.

(If specify is needed, please specify)

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9. For each class, how many periods per week are allocated in school time table for
Mizo/EVS and Social Science subject?

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10. What according to you is the ideal curriculum and pedagogy for teaching Mizo/ EVS and Social Science?

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11. Do you think the textbook you used is inclusive or alienating for Mizo students? If so, in what way?

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12. Do you feel the need to change/alter any part of the current textbook? If so, give detailed explanation?

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13. What are the values that you try to impart on students?

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14. Are you successful in imparting those values to students?

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15. What according to you are the important lessons that are there in the subject that you currently taught and why are those lessons important to you?

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16. What according to you are the irrelevant lessons that are there in the subject that you currently taught and why are those lessons unimportant to you?

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17. What are the important values/ideologies that you teach the students that are outside of the textbook?

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18. How is punishment of students done in your school?

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19. Do you think teaching of religion is necessary in schools? If so, in what ways?

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20. Do you feel the necessity to separate religion from education or combine religion and education?

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21. Do you ask students to read books apart from their textbook? If so, specify?

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22. In general, how do you see the education system of Mizoram and do you have any suggestion for improvement?

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23. Is there anything that you want to say that are left out in the questionnaire?

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Thank you
R. Lalhrualiana

Colonial Impact of Education Mission in *Mizo Society*

Lalhruailiana, R

Abstract

Mizo society experiences transformation due to the process of education. This article addresses the issue of proselytisation among the Mizo and how education acts as an agent of this transformation and most specifically the colonial impact of education mission in Mizoram Society is discussed. Accordingly, this paper divides itself into three parts: a) History of education in Mizoram, b) Colonial impact on the education mission and finally c) the paper concludes with an overview. The scope of the paper is descriptive in nature relying on available secondary data.

Keywords: Education, hegemony, modernity, proselytisation.

Introduction:

Mizoram society is in transition. It is people entered the twentieth century confining in areas of remote and obscure hilly tracts, practising an animistic faith, and completely unlettered. Today, modernisation, chiefly Christianity, urbanisation and political awakening has swept the lands of Mizoram and in recent decades, the forces of globalisation are all set to further transform the Mizo society. At such a historical juncture, it is important to understand the role of education to this process of change and the impact it has on the larger Mizo society. Accordingly, this paper divides itself into three parts: a) History of education in Mizoram, b) Colonial impact on the education mission and finally c) the paper concludes with an overview. The scope of the paper is descriptive in nature relying on available secondary data.

History of Education in Mizoram: In the traditional *Mizo* society, the family served as

an agent of education by transmitting down customs, laws, legends etc. from generation to generation. Apart from this, there used to be a *Zawlbuk* (a men's dormitory) which was an organised social institution for young men where they got training from the elders and learned to be responsible members of the society. All the instructions in these two social institutions were verbal in nature (MBSE, 1999).

Modern (western) education was introduced in Mizoram for the first time by the Christian Missionaries who showed great enthusiasm for spreading literacy among the *Mizos*, besides converting them to Christianity. It should be noted that the colonial missionaries took upon themselves the task of proselytising the *Mizos*. In order to read the Bible, they knew that literacy was needed and education was used as a convenient tool for proselytising the locals. For example, the in-

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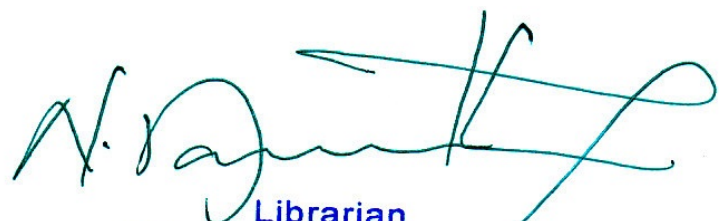
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Ideology, Identity and Schooling: A Study of Curriculum and Pedagogic Practices in Mizoram

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