A VILLAGE IN INDIA: AN APPLICATION OF THE THEORY OF INCREASING SCALE OF SOCIETAL ORGANIZATION

D. Stanley Eitzen
University of Kansas

Introduction[1]

The problem. The discipline of sociology has been and is limited by the paucity of sociological theory amenable to empirical verification. Theory construction must be our goal, because our job is to logically and systematically explain social phenomena on higher and higher levels of abstraction. The general purpose of this paper is to explore the applicability of an organizational theory of social change — the process of increasing scale of societal organization. Such a theory provides a model for the analysis of and an explanation of changing social structure. Since theory begs to be verified, it is the specific problem of this paper to explore the relevance of the theory of increasing scale of society to a particular village in India. Our question: Are the social changes observed in this village from Time I to Time II explained by the increasing scale of society? In other words our hypothesis is: The increasing scale of society is the independent variable which controls the structural changes occurring within a given society.

Initial assumptions.

1. We explain the variations and the changes in society from the formation and the operation of groups. *Society is a function of its subgroups.*

2. The dynamics of social change derive from social organization.

3. The group is our focal unit of analysis. For any behavior the group is our explanatory variable.

4. The situation of the acting unit (group) is a key variable.

5. The structuring of groups is based on interdependence.

Design of analysis. The focus of analysis in this paper is a complex group — a village — which is a group of groups. From the many possible areas where the model of increasing scale might be tested, the writer chose to study a village of Northern India — Karimpur. This site was selected on the basis of the book by William and Charlotte Wiser[2] which is actually two books — one a study of Karimpur in 1930 and the other a description of Karimpur in 1960. Our description of this village from a secondary source will inevitably suffer from oversimplification. This source does, however, lend itself to the problem of this paper.

Following a structural analysis of Karimpur in 1930 (Time I) and again in 1960 (Time II) this paper will define and give the characteristics of increasing scale of societal organization. The task of the concluding chapters will be to ascertain whether increasing scale is the independent variable which explains the structural changes in this village in the 30 year interval.

Conceptual framework. Our attention is focused on the basic units of social organization — social groups, social roles, social categories and society.

1. Social group: A social participation structure (role scheme) which is situated in an identified environment or membership. The group is a unit of action. It is a design for cooperative action.

2. Social role: A distinct, recurrent participation (uniformities of action) by which a specified social category is connected with a group operation.

3. Social category: A population identified by common characteristics.

4. Society: A macro-group consisting of a framework of social units (groups, roles and categories). These organizational units are interactively related forming a framework of conceded role interdependence. Thus, society refers to the total framework of interdependence.

Time I: Structural Analysis

The social organization of this or any community refers to the implementation of functional interdependence and definite communication whereby social units are involved as participants in a situated

group action. The arrangements of units will be referred to as frames of interdependence. Interdependence implies mutual dependence and constraints or limitations. The analysis of the village structure of Karimpur at Time I will stress the internal and external frames of interdependence.

I. INTERNAL FRAMES OF INTERDEPENDENCE

Karimpur in 1930 was an agricultural village of 754 inhabitants. The internal frame of interdependence distinguishes between: (1) division of labor; and (2) differential control distribution.

Division of labor. The division of labor in Karimpur is based on the caste system. Each caste and subcaste is traditionally associated with a particular occupation.

The caste system is a framework of particular constraints. The rules of Hindu society settle beyond doubt the religious, social and economic standing of every person by birth. Nothing he does will alter his position. Especially in the villages of India is orthodoxy the rule. The attitude that God has created each man to fill a certain position in the great religio-socio-economic order fosters contentment, or at least resignation. Rigid occupational specialization requires interdependence among the castes and subcastes. Each group has a vested interest in the system as a whole because each group enjoys security in its monopoly and yet depends on others for a livelihood. So long as everyone accepts his position in life as deserved, the system provides stability and security. Every group or category knows exactly what is expected of it and what to expect of others.

This interdependence within the village is exemplified by the bond between the Sudras and their patrons. The patron depends for his livelihood upon the help of those Sudras indebted to him. The patron, in turn, has a responsibility to the Sudra families bound to him (to give loans, medical help, food and gifts at festival time).

The Wisers sum up the interdependence of Karimpur as follows:

> No new order can afford to ignore the strong ties which have bound the different castes together into one village body. When the harvest is plentiful, all prosper together. If the harvest is poor, all suffer together. Each man may not consciously recognize himself as a necessary part of the whole. But he knows his livelihood is dependent on that of his neighbors, just as theirs is dependent on him. They cannot count on outside help. This interdependence has developed a sense of unity worth preserving.[3]

Differential control distribution. The external constraints in terms of power and authority will be discussed in the following section. At this

point we are interested in the local authority structure. In certain instances, however, it becomes difficult to divorce the local aspects from the external.

The acknowledged leaders of Karimpur are the Brahmins. They exert tremendous control through their religious, social, political, and economic influence. The formal power of Karimpur is vested in the village "panchayat" (assembly of arbitrators) whose members are all Brahmins. The "panchayat" has authority (areas of initiative with conceded support of others) in many areas: control over wells, waterways, grazing areas, fuel, some employment, etc. In fact any new technological device must be approved by these leaders and the burden of village responsibility rests on them.

The most important individual in prestige and influence in Karimpur is the village headman. He is a resident of the village and a member of the "panchayat." He is further appointed by the British colonial government to represent the village.

The village also has a constable and two village watchmen appointed by the "panchayat." These positions are the only ones in the formal authority structure of the village which are not occupied by Brahmins. At the time the Wisers studied Karimpur in 1930 the two watchmen were untouchables. It is apparent, however, that there is only one avenue for access to real political authority, economic wealth and social position — be born a Brahmin.

II. EXTERNAL FRAMES OF INTERDEPENDENCE

Superficially one assumes Karimpur to be an almost totally autonomous village rooted in a feudal, subsistence economy and bound by coercive tradition. The Wisers characterize the British imperial rule, for example, as firm, unchallenged and quite distant from everyday village affairs. British colonial rule, however, does affect village life.

British framework of control. The administrative machine under the British was highly efficient, impersonal and bureaucratic. Table I shows how the colonial administration filtered down to Karimpur.

TABLE I

BRITISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA

Secretary of State
for India
(member of British Cabinet)

Council for India
(centered in Great Britain)

Governor-General
of India

Executive Council
(12 members — none of whom
were Indian until 1909)

Governor of
each Province

District Officer
(one for each of the
250 districts in India)

Karimpur
(one of the estimated
550,000 villages in India)

We learn from other sources that the district officers played a key role in colonial administration especially in the dispensing of justice and the collection of revenue. "By no means a desk man, the district officer spent much of his time touring the countryside, checking the crops, investigating crime, helping to fight plague, and always meeting the people."[4] Each district also provided health services, veterinary services, minimal encouragement in agricultural matters, etc.

The British monopolized the highest posts in the administration of India. Not until shortly before Independence (1947) did Indians share in the formulation of policy. Indians were allowed to serve in the Indian Civil Service, however, which was the heart of British administration in India. This system did encourage Indians of ability to serve in areas of some authority.

Areas of relations with significant others outside Karimpur. The village of Karimpur must be considered as one of many systems within the larger socio-religio-economic system in which it exists. What are its relations with significant others in the larger action frame and what are the consequences of such relations? We shall explore these in the institutional areas of participation.

1. Polity. The bureaucracies of police, revenue systems and courts are not local but administered through the British colonial administration. Thus taxes, justice, laws, etc., are levied from outside.

2. Economy. Generally speaking, one-third of all goods produced in the village are sold outside. Many products, services, animals, etc.,

are purchased from outside sources. The transportation and communication networks provided by the British aid in furthering economic and other contacts with other villages and cities. Most of the property in Karimpur is controlled by two landlords, both absentee, who send their agents to collect the rent from tenants. The Wisers report that the villagers judge the government and the landlords by their most subordinate representatives — the agents of authority — with whom they have personal contacts in the village world.

3. Kinship. Daughters of the village move out for marriage, wives of the villagers move in. McKim Marriot in his study of another Northern Indian village found that, "... fifty-seven marriages currently connect Kishan Garbi with sixteen towns and cities. Half of the marriage ties of groups in Kishan Garbi connect them with places more than 14 miles away, while 5 per cent connect them with places more than 40 miles distant."[5]

4. Religion. Marriot reports that, "Seen through its festivals and deities, the religion of the village of Kishan Garbi may be conceived as resulting from continuous processes of communication between a little local tradition and greater traditions which have their places partly inside and partly outside the village. Only residual fragments of the religion of such a community can be conceived as distinctive and separable."[6]

We now see that a village such as Karimpur, which at first blush appears highly autonomous, is in fact a component organizational unit of a wide system of relationships through its economy, marriage customs, political structure and religion. Even in a "traditional" society, the social structure of a rural village reflects an interdependence with surrounding villages in its district, the colonial administration and the British Parliament. Thus, at Time I, the social system of Karimpur "... reaches beyond its central locus far out into the outside world, while the outside world in turn reaches into the most central core of village society."[7]

Summary of Time I. The Wisers characterize the people of Karimpur in 1930 as:[8]

1. Opposed to change. "Refusal to change is the armor with which we have learned to protect ourselves."

2. Fatalists. "Everything is in the hands of the gods."

3. Favoring the old order. "The old order has served us well for centuries. It has provided a task for everyone who is born into it. And it has provided for the carrying out of every task needed for village self-sufficiency, by men trained from childhood."

4. Putting the family first in allegiance. The family serves as a source of protection, insurance, and help for the individual.

5. Full of fear and mistrust. "We do not trust the outside world, and we are suspicious of each other. Our lives are oppressed by mean fears. We fear the rent collector, we fear the police watchman, we fear everyone who looks as though he might claim some authority over us, we fear our creditors, we fear our patrons, we fear too much rain, we fear locusts, we fear thieves, we fear the evil spirits which threaten our children and our animals, and we fear the strength of our neighbor."

The overall picture of the villagers reveals a tradition bound people. In their relatively isolated life the actions of family and caste are predictable. Despite fear and mistrust the people are highly dependent upon one another.

In summary we should note some of the constraints[9] upon the village of Karimpur reflected in its social structure.

Constraints of precedent. The constraints of mores, folkways and morality are evidenced by:

1. The rigidness of caste lines. The idea of pollution dictates behavior.

2. Purdah (the secluding of women). This custom is rigidly adhered to by the upper castes. It emphasizes women's role as subordinate to the male.

3. Patriarchy. No matter how humble a man's position in the village, he becomes a personage when he he enters his own courtyard.

4. Religious beliefs. For example, the belief in reincarnation, the compulsion for religious pilgrimages, and the acceptance of one's station in life as God-given.

External constraints. Examples of the external coercive actions on village life are:

1. British colonial government.
   A. Policies, laws, taxes, courts, etc.

B. Governmental agents.

2. Economic trade.
   A. Sale of surplus products.
   B. Purchase of products.

3. Absentee landlords.

Internal constraints. Internal coercive actions on the structure of the village are:

1. The demands of caste.
2. Village government (laws, taxes, etc.).
3. The bonds between patrons and debtors.
4. Poverty.
5. Fear and mistrust between families, castes and other subgroups.

Time II: Changes in Structure from Time I

Mrs. Wiser[10] reports that after 30 years the outward aspects of village life are little changed. The villagers are still absorbed in their work and still bound by debts to others. The tasks of women have altered very little. Animals are still quartered in the house or compound. The family is still the center of interest and loyalty. Caste still separates one village group from another in social relations and provides the organizational frame for economic relations. Finally and remarkably, every house is occupied by the family that occupied it 30 years earlier.

There are, however, some rather remarkable changes evident in this village. The structural changes occurring in the 30 year interval will be the subject of this section.

I. INTERNAL FRAMES OF INTERDEPENDENCE

Division of labor. Karimpur, still very much an agricultural village, increased in population from 754 to 1129. The division of labor is still based on the caste system. However, some very important changes have occurred affecting relationships, role-skills, etc. Increased trade among villages and between village and city has adversely affected several occupationally specialized castes (weavers, oilsmiths, cotton carders, etc.). More efficient methods used in the cities have replaced the village worker with these role-skills. The increased contact with other towns has produced new roles (merchants, messengers, salespeople, shopkeepers, bus conductors, and even "blackmarketeers.").

Greater contacts in schools, new occupations, and transportation have helped to decrease caste restrictions. Three caste conventions remain: (1) Refusal to accept food from someone of lower caste; (2) Forbidding of marriage outside of caste; and (3) The great gulf between the untouchables and members of the accepted castes. Aside from this remaining residue of the caste system, personal relationships across the caste lines are quite prevalent. Taya Zinkin reports that in the cities and villages of India business comes before caste. When an untouchable can pay for a service his money and presence are acceptable and not "polluting."[11] However, the constraint is still very strong to feel satisfied with one's station in life.

Numerous innovations in agriculture have also affected the division of labor. New types of seed, implements, mills, irrigating systems, artificial fertilizers, etc., require new role skills and education.

Differential control distribution. How has the local authority structure changed since Time I? The "panchayat" of 30 years ago has been replaced by a new type of village council with more powers. The "gram panchayat" is composed of 23 members elected for five year terms by their fellow villagers. Thirty years ago there was no such election. This new council is composed of younger men, most often sons or nephews of former leaders, but being a Brahmin is no longer a prerequisite. Thus, members of other castes now have access to authority. It will be recalled that 30 years ago the most influential person in the village was the Brahmin chosen by the government to head the "panchayat." Now the most important post is that of "pradhan," the president of the village council who is elected by the villagers.

The "gram panchayat" is endowed with legal and fiscal powers exceeding the old "panchayat." It is expected by the government (external constraint) to take the lead in self help and by the villagers (internal constraint) to tap the government bounty.

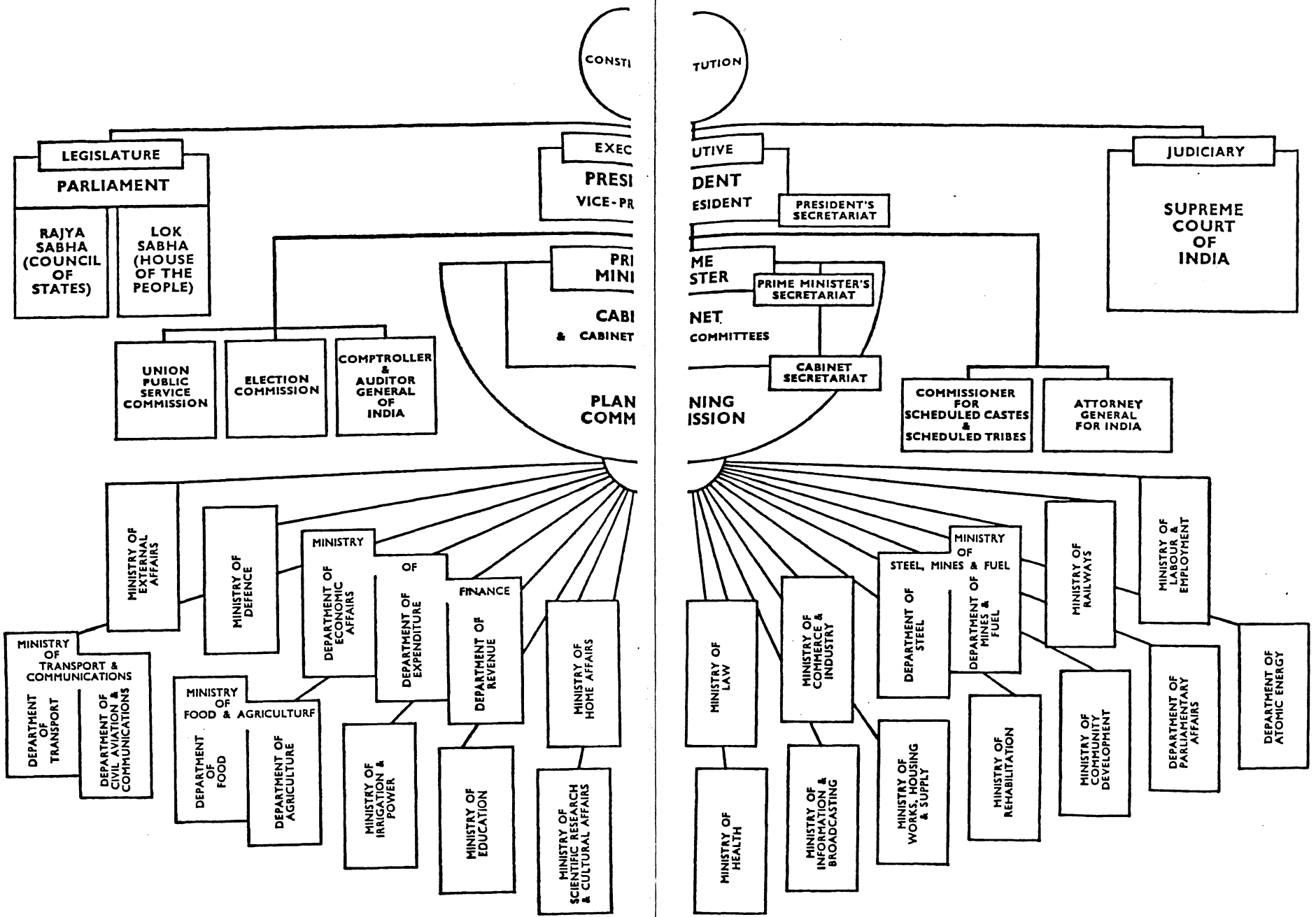
Three representatives of the "gram panchayat" serve in the "adalati panchayat" (district court) with members of other "gram panchayats." This court hears both civil and criminal cases for the district.

II. EXTERNAL FRAMES OF INTERDEPENDENCE

To whatever degree Karimpur was autonomous in 1930, it is now more and more interdependent with other villages, the national government and even with other nations of the world.

The Republic of India framework of control, Table II shows the government bureaucracy centered in New Delhi. The government of India extends into every village and district in the nation. In addition to the usual governmental functions such as tax collecting, police protection, judiciary, defense, etc., the central government since

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA



Independence (1947) has instituted some remarkable reforms which have touched villages such as Karimpur. The major reforms are:

1. Land reform. Following Independence a law was passed taking away all land which the landlords and their families could not cultivate themselves. This was transferred to the men who had formerly rented it.

2. Constitutional provision outlawing untouchability. The government has done everything legally possible to remove the stigma attached to untouchables. Members of this group are encouraged to make use of governmental assistance offered to obtain an education. Where the government provides scholarships, first choice is given to members of the untouchables. It is now possible for the untouchables in a given locality to form a cooperative society subsidized by the government (to secure loans for productive purposes or to buy tools at reduced rates). The Wisers report that this has had an effect in a few villages but in Karimpur untouchables remain "untouchable."

3. The Community Development Program. The purpose of this program is to provide every villager with an opportunity to produce more, earn more, consume more — to enjoy a better living. Particular success is evident in improved techniques and better agricultural crops.

4. Five-year plans. A series of five-year plans was begun in 1951. These glorified public works projects have pumped money and improvements into the village economy by providing jobs in new plants, building dams and wells, increasing output in iron and steel, etc.

Each of the other government bureaus in Table II has varying degrees of contact and effect on the lives of the individual villages. Under the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, for example, new wells were drilled in Karimpur, advice was given to villagers and, most important, a government worker was stationed in Karimpur to supervise and control the wells and irrigation. The government has also set up a "Larger Cooperative Credit Society." Through the establishment of cooperatives member farmers are able to get loans for seed, implements, fertilizer and well drilling. These cooperatives are subsidized by the government and administered by government officials who supply the credit and marketing assistance.

Institutional areas of wider participation. What are the relations of Karimpur and its villagers with significant others in the larger action

Table III demonstrates the way governmental policy filters down to Karimpur with respect to community development.

TABLE III

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Prime Minister

Cabinet

Planning Commission

Ministry of Community Development

Chief Administrator

District Magistrate
(one for each of the 250 districts in India)

District Planning Office
(in charge of 15 blocks within the district)

Mainpuri Block
(rural India is divided into blocks. The average number of villages in a block is one hundred.)

Block Development Officer
Assistant Development Officers
(each with training in a special area — agriculture, animal husbandry, cooperatives, rural industries, sanitation, etc.)

Karimpur
(each village has a "gram sevak" (village companion). This government official is to discover the special problems of the farmers and demonstrate better farming methods.)

frame? As we did for Time I we shall explore this with reference to the institutional areas of participation.

1. Polity. The national government system is similar in some ways to the British colonial rule. It is readily apparent that in Time II, however, there is much greater contact with the government and its agents than was evidenced in Time I.

2. Economy. Significant advances in communication and transportation from Time I to Time II have made marketing trips easier and more frequent. Some villagers even commute to jobs in nearby villages. Much more credit is now available for expanding one's business. New techniques, implements, crops and artificial fertilizers have made farming more profitable. Outside markets are necessary for selling the surplus.

3. Kinship. Governmental laws have had an effect on marriage and kinship patterns in Karimpur. Some examples of these laws are: (1) It is now legal for women to inherit property; (2) Polygamy is outlawed; and (3) Persons of different faiths are allowed to marry without renouncing their faith.

4. Religion. Religion still dominates the lives of the villagers. As the caste system shows the beginnings of breakdown, so a certain doubting about the religion in general would seem to appear.

Indirect relationships of Karimpur with other nations. Karimpur, as the other villages in India, is dependent upon other nations. These nations are important to India directly, to Karimpur indirectly. Some evidences of this are:

1. The Community Development Program which began in 1952 was supported in part by United States funds. Since that time life expectancy in India has risen from 32 to 42 years, literacy 7 per cent and agricultural production 33 per cent.

2. Since 1947 India has received more than four billion dollars in loans and grants from foreign sources.

3. The World Health Organization of the United Nations has helped to control malaria in all of India.

4. As part of the British Commonwealth, India receives privileges which encourage international trade with member nations.

5. International crises such as the threats of war, inflation, and poverty may have an effect on the lives of the villagers.

Increasing Scale as the Explanatory Variable for Change

Changes in the social structure of Karimpur from Time I to Time II are readily apparent. Our task now becomes to explain these changes by the theory of increasing scale of societal organization.

I. DEFINITIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF INCREASING SCALE OF SOCIETY

The concept of increasing scale was first elaborated and applied by
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Godfrey and Monica Wilson in their anthropological studies of Africa in 1945. They saw increasing scale of society as, "... the number of people in relation and the intensity of those relations."[13] By intensity of relations they refer to the extent of cooperation, communication and dependence within the group and with the larger society. Several other writers have made an important contribution to our understanding of increasing scale. It appears, however, that the concept and its implications for theory approach fruition in the works of Scott Greer and Leo Van Hoey. Our discussion of increasing scale is almost totally indebted to these two sociologists.[14]

Definition. Increasing scale of society refers to the relative magnitude of the frame of reference and communications by which participant social units are involved in a comprehensive group action. Generically, increasing scale of societal organization refers to a changing situation, from multiple group unit isolation to a situation of interdependence and communication among formerly more autonomous units. Thus the once isolated unit loses some of its autonomy through interdependence with other units in various areas of common participation. From an organizational perspective, the dynamics of increasing scale are derived from social organization — more specifically the group — making progress. The basic assumption is that society changes when the internal structure of society changes. Thus, the coercive variables which account for this evolving increase are structural properties. The key structural property is the formation of new social participation structures.

Characteristics of increasing scale of societal organization. The key to increasing scale is interdependence between formerly autonomous units. This interdependence is evidenced by the following characteristics of increasing scale:

1. Interdependence between two or more units is measured by the common areas of activity in which they participate.

A. Degree of intensity (common areas of participation between units).
B. Scope of interdependence (number of units involved in the participation structure — categories, groups and/or persons).

2. An increase in role differentiation and number of roles means an increase in scale.

3. "The dominance of bureaucracies is a product of organizational evolution, accompanying increased scale of society."[15] "As societies increase in scale, the major functional segments ordering work, education, recreation, and other activities become separated out, specialized, and formalized. These segments are increasingly dominated by bureaucracies that fuse through organizational absorbtions and expansions into cartels of one sort or another."[16]

4. The growth of bureaucracies increases the proportion of workers whose job is the making, processing, and distribution of messages — that is, order and control.[17]

5. "The shrinking space-time ratio (cost in time for traveling a certain distance) becomes a channel for integration. It allows the use of human actors who are increasingly widely separated to coordinate their activities just as closely as before."[18] In other words, the potential for interaction at Time I is less than at Time II.

6. With increasing scale we find a dwindling rural population and a subsequent urbanization. "... the growth of cities is a direct result (and a reinforcing mechanism) of the increase in scale of carrying societies."[19]

7. The control systems of bureaucracies are centered in the cities. These control systems have three major aspects:
A. Widening of the radii of interdependence.
B. Increasing range of communications flow.
C. Widening span of control and compliance.

8. The impetus for an increasing scale of society is the emergent enterprise(s). The launching of a new sort of enterprise requires new role skills, formation of new categories, and an evolving scale of differentiation.

9. Larger, more comprehensive participation structures are formed. This implies: increasing social inclusion and operational (spatial) expansion.

10. The process of increasing scale is from small groups to large and from few to many. This comes about as a result of the creation of larger participation structures.

According to Scott Greer, increasing scale has very real consequences for specific subgroups in the society. The following are pertinent for our analysis of Karimpur:

1. Loss of autonomy

2. Loss of economic self-sufficiency.

3. Exposure to conflicting norms and wider horizons.

4. Many subgroups and individuals are torn by a two-way pull of influence (commitment to the local group and also to the larger organization).

Greer concludes that, "... when a society increases in scale it experiences an initial increase in differentiation, becoming in many matters polyglot and conflict ridden ... However, as the process continues, the society moves toward cultural homogeneity and conformity to the larger order ...."[20]

II. INCREASING SCALE AS THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

It appears that we can accept as valid our hypothesis of increasing scale as the independent variable explaining the structural changes from Time I to Time II if we can determine that: (1) The village is increasingly interdependent with external units; and (2) This interdependence directly changes the internal structure of Karimpur. This raises four major questions:[21]

1. What social structures existed at Time II and how do they differ from Time I?

2. What expansive enterprises came forth?

3. What new role schemes were conceived?

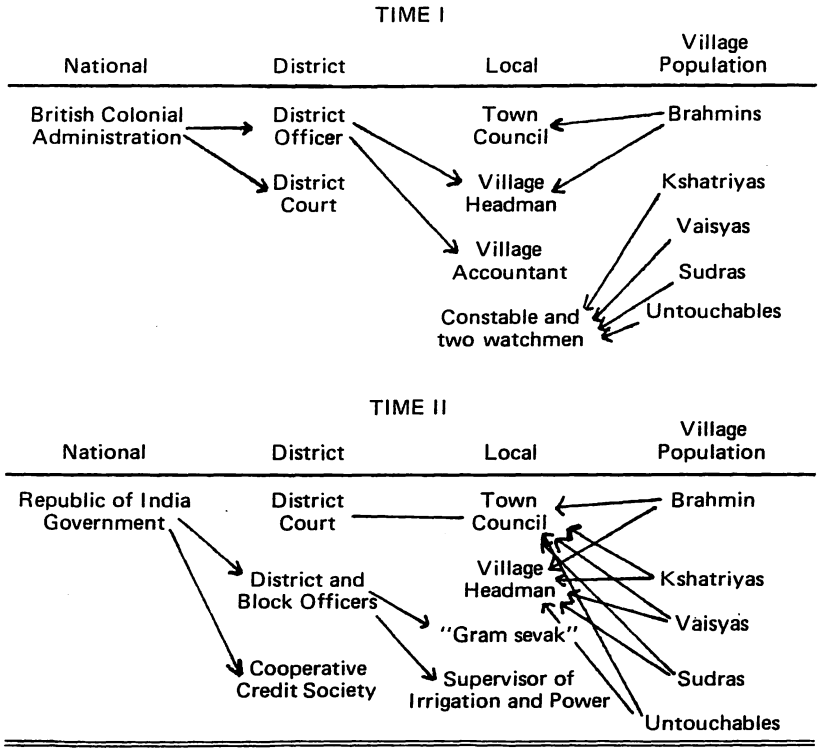
4. What constraints determined the differential participation in these evolving role schemes?

Sections II and III of this paper have, in the general description of the structure at Time I and the changes seen at Time II, indirectly

answered these questions. It is our present task to summarize the facts pertinent to each of these questions in the light of our hypothesis.

Question 1: Comparison of the social structure of Karimpur at Time I and Time II. Table IV demonstrates the rather dramatic changes in the structure of the government and administration of Karimpur. Inspection of this table shows the changes in the composition of the local town council and the changes of governmental agents in Karimpur. It also demonstrates the differential access to the various units of government.

TABLE IV
STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION IN KARIMPUR[22]



This chart shows an expansion in the social organization of Karimpur from Time I to Time II. There is an increase in governmental units and the village population now participates in national and local elections. Karimpur is increasingly interdependent with other units.

Question 2: What expansive enterprises came forth? What operations were being launched which resulted in the integration of social units in an evolving framework of interdependence? This implies a change in society through the formation of new groups. The process is an organized action initiated somewhere in the prevailing structure (carrying society). This action has an expansive and integrative effect on other groups in the larger structure. We have alluded to this phenomenon indirectly in other parts of this paper. For our present task we will consider two emerging enterprises: (1) The newly formed independent government of India; and (2) The Community Development of the government.

A. *The Government of India.* One of the first acts of the newly independent government was to modify the existing structure by integrating the villages into a working unit. This was done by dividing the nation into districts and further into blocks. In this integrative process new units, new administrative roles, new sets of relations, differentiation and increasing interdependence were developed. This resulted in a more efficient bureaucratic organization with more constraints coming to the village from the larger units. In turn the village has feedback constraints on the larger units through universal suffrage, greater contacts with district and block officers, etc.

B. *The Community Development Program.* The government initiated a new enterprise in 1952 — The Community Development Program. This program was described in the third section but now we focus on it as an expansive enterprise. Its organization, like that of the government, is based on district and block divisions. The purpose of the program is to encourage each village to utilize the technoligical help available and thereby improve the village and the nation. To fulfill its purpose the organizational hierarchy impinges upon the village in the form of district officers, assistant development officers (who specialize in problem areas — agriculture, animal husbandry, *et al.*), and the village companion ("gram sevak"). These outsiders have been instrumental in bringing about considerable change in the agricultural sphere of village life. In cooperating with these officers and other villagers in its block Karimpur has become integrated in a nation-wide effort at self improvement. In short, Karimpur is no longer autonomous, but is dependent upon others in ever-widening scope.

Three by-products of increasing scale which are at work in the changing structure of Indian life are urbanization, improved communication and transportation. Emerging enterprises coupled with these concomitant phenomena give evidence of change produced by the process of increasing scale. Urbanization, for example, results from numerous factors, one of which is a central location for administrative hierarchs (cadres). The phenomenon of urbanization has had a profound effect upon Indian life even in the outlying villages. Residents

of Karimpur visit larger centers of population and see various castes mingling in business and transportation without being "polluted." Some villagers even leave the security of the village to make a better living in urban centers.

Advances in communication and transportation (newspapers, radio, post office, government and private bus lines, etc.) have had dramatic economic and social effects on village life. Goods are produced for sale to outsiders and outside products are purchased. Other villages have mills, sugar presses, etc., which are used by Karimpur. Villagers are no longer bound to their own village. Some commute by bicycle or bus to neighboring villages to work, some role skills are no longer needed, others are sought. The effect is that the villagers are increasingly dependent on outsiders for the necessities of life.

To summarize the effect of emerging enterprises, we find spatial expansion, social inclusiveness and increasing interdependence from the local units relative to the preexisting structure.

Question 3: What new role schemes were conceived? The changing organization of society by the action of expansive enterprise involves changing standards defining eligible participants (relevant skills for the operation of the enterprises). Do these standards of social differentiation differ from the operant criteria which prevailed in the antecedent group structures and, if so, in what respects? Again, this was previously alluded to in another context. We will summarize the relevant information.

What are the new role schemes in the village that have resulted from the new governmental units and policies?

1. "Gram sevak" — the village companion.

2. The government "tube well operator" who oversees the irrigation and power projects of the village.

3. The governmental block and district officials.

4. The arbitration committee of villagers who protect the village interests in matters with governmental officials.

5. The village council is composed of elected officials from all castes. The council has considerable autonomy over purely local matters.

6. With land reform the farmers became owners (albeit of small tracts of land) rather than renters.

7. The village council president ("pradhan") has become the most

influential person in town. Since he is elected he has become a politician in the real sense of the word.

What role changes have come about because of the economic interdependence with other villages and towns?

1. New roles are needed such as shopkeepers, grain brokers, sugar press operators, seed cleaners, truck drivers, *et al.*

2. With the advent of new products and techniques some role skills are no longer needed (weavers, tanners, oil-smiths, *et al.*).

Question 4: What constraints determined the differential participation in these evolving role schemes? What coercive actions from expansive enterprises become organizational concerns of existing groups?

A. *Constraints of precedent.* The people of Karimpur, like other tradition bound people, resist change. They appreciate the new innovations but cling to the security of the oldways. The constraints of precedent listed for Time I are still present in Time II, to a lesser degree, perhaps, but are still a force shaping the acting of groups. For example:

1. The attitude toward the untouchables remains the same.

2. Brahmins feel they cannot grow vegetables because it has been done by another caste traditionally.

3. Although all castes must be represented on the village council, Brahmins are still the acknowledged leaders.

4. The notion of "pollution" still prevails in the rural villages. This affects business and social relationships.

5. Children of untouchables still do not attend the village school.

6. The occupational specialities of the castes and sub-castes have become burdensome. Some of these occupations are now outmoded and the individuals are not trained for any other type of work. The belief that God wants them to stay in the occupation for which they were born is a very real constraint on the caste and its members.

B. *External constraints.* Examples of the external coercive actions on village life are:

1. Governmental laws, policies, taxation, court decisions.

2. The proliferation of governmental agents either residing in the village or in occasional contact with it.

3. Extension of credit from outside the village.

4. Dependence on goods and services from outside sources.

C. *Internal constraints.* The internal coercive actions which become concerns of internal organization of the village remain much the same. Again, the change is a matter of degree, not kind. Some examples are:

1. The ever present poverty.

2. The demands of caste.

3. The "pradhan" (village headman) and the "panchayat" continually prod the villagers toward accepting new innovations which will help them and the village prosper.

4. Fear and mistrust between families, castes and other subgroups.

Conclusion

While in many superficial ways it appears similar, the structure of Karimpur has changed. We attribute this change to the participation of this local group in the increasing scale of societal organization. Karimpur in Time II is ever more interdependent with units to which it formerly had few ties, if any. Furthermore, the expansive enterprises of the government itself and some of its programs have encouraged this interdependence and even created new units. Thus there was a change from few to many units and from small to large. Karimpur is no longer a relatively closed, stationary system. Its feudal economy is being replaced by an expanding capitalist economy. It is a part of a series of units in a bureaucracy (village, block, district, state, nation) from which it receives aid and to which it pays taxes, elects officials, etc.

We accept the hypothesis that increasing scale is the independent variable explaining the structural changes from Time I to Time II. We believe this to be true since it has been demonstrated that (1) The village is increasingly interdependent with external units; and (2) This interdependence directly changes the internal structure of Karimpur.

FOOTNOTES

1 The writer wishes to acknowledge his reliance on the sociological approach and teaching of Professor Leo Van Hoey in this paper.

2 William H. Wiser and Charlotte Wiser, *Behind Mud Walls: 1930-1960* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963); all references in this paper to Karimpur are from this book. Other sources on Indian village life are used where applicable.

3 Wiser and Wiser, *op. cit.* p. 131.

4 K. M. Panikkar, *A Survey of Indian History* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1963), p. 71.

5 McKim Marriot, "Little Communities in an Indigenous Civilization," *Village India: Studies in the Little Community*, edited by McKim Marriot (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 175.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 218.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 178.

8 Wiser and Wiser, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-122.

9 Constraints are external factors (coercive action exerted by social units or selected environmental elements) which become concerns of internal organization.

10 Mr. Wiser had "passed away" in the intervening years.

11 Taya Zinkin, *Caste Today* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 47.

12 Norman D. Palmer, *The Indian Political System* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961), pp. 110-111.

13 Godfrey Wilson and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945), p. 25.

14 Scott A. Greer, *The Emerging City* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1962), pp. 36-67; Scott Greer and Peter Orleans, "Political Sociology," *Handbook of Modern Sociology*, edited by Robert E. L. Faris (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1964), pp. 824-844; Leo F. Van Hoey, *Emergent Urbanization: Implications of the Theory of Social Scale Verified in Niger, West Africa*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1966.

15 Greer and Orleans, *op. cit.*, p. 836.

16 Greer, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 45.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

21 These four questions are suggested by Leo F. Van Hoey, *op. cit.*, as the key questions of process analysis.

22 The arrows in this chart refer to recruitment.

EDUCATION AND THE CHANGING SOCIETY IN SIERRA LEONE

Gerald O. Windham
Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

Introduction

Ethnologies have described fairly adequately the cultural system of the major tribal societies in Africa. The tribal groups in Sierra Leone have received their share of attention in ethnographies of the Mende, Kono, Limba, and Sherbro and in less comprehensive studies of the Temne and other tribal groups.[1] In addition, the non-tribal Creole society in the Western Area has been of interest to social scientists and laymen alike since the colony for freed slaves was established by Europeans in the early 1700's.[2]

Traditionally, Sierra Leone consisted of approximately 15 tribal groups. Each had its own language and culture. There were major differences among the societies with regard to specific customs and practices. However, because of a similar physical environment the societies were amazingly similar with respect to the economic, political and family organization. The following patterns were more or less uniform among the tribal societies.

The economy was based on a subsistence agriculture consisting chiefly of upland rice and, where suitable, swamp rice, cassava, groundnuts and an assortment of tropical vegetables. Goats, sheep and chickens were the only livestock, and these were used more for ceremonial purposes than for the protein that they could provide in the soup for the rice. There was no draft power and an abundance of child and female labor was necessary for the accumulation of "wealth". A pagan god was at the center of the religious system and there was a strong belief in spirits, magic, witchcraft and sorcery. Most social occasions had religious significance such as burials, the planting of rice, making sacrifices to the ancestors and so on. Each tribal area was divided into a number of political units known as Chiefdoms. A ruling clan provided the Paramount Chief who ruled his subjects autono-