REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The review of related literature has been prescribed in this section under the following headings:

A. Concept of Social Structure.

B. Review of related studies.

A. Concept of Social Structure:

In its ordinary meaning, the term 'structure' refers to building construction, but during the sixteenth century, it was also being used, mainly in anatomical studies, to refer to the interrelations between the component parts of any whole. In Social Sciences, this term has been borrowed from the Natural Sciences. Hobbes did not use the term structure but he did apply organic analogy to describe the State as an artificial organism composed of different parts. This term was incorporated into the conceptual scheme of Sociology from the very beginning, by Spencer (1858) who was interested in the study of the structure of society.

Marx (1859) was, however, the first to elaborate the idea of social structure. He gave primacy to the economic relationships
which are indispensable with and independent of man's will. The stage of technological development determines the mode of production and the relationship and institutions that constitute the economic system. In his own words, 'the sum-total of these relations of production constitute the economic structure of society, the real basis on which rise legal and political super-structures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness'. Despite his criticism of economic determinism in certain quarters, Marx has wielded a great influence on the later contributions made in this field.

Durkheim (1893) has later on, used this term rather flexibly, referring to any or all features contributing to the make-up of societies and with him it has become synonymous for system, organization, complex, pattern, type and indeed does not fall very short of 'society' as a whole. For Mannheim (1936), social structure is the 'web of interacting social forces, from which have arisen the various modes of observing and thinking'. Meanwhile Linton (1936) incorporated Webrian ideas of status and role into his concept of social structure, whereas Bateson used this term for 'logical order discernible in the modes of behaviour, typical of a people'. Evans Pritchards (1940) restricts social structure to the inter-relations of groups and excludes personal relations of the individuals. Herskovits (1948) describes the structure of culture as a 'progressive combination of traits', which according to Fideleman is a 'common axiom set'.

Ginsberg (1947) considers that 'social structure is concerned with the principal forms of social organization - type of groups, associations and institutions - and the complex of these which constitute society ..........'. A full account of social structure would
involve a review of the whole field of comparative institutions'.

Parsons (1949) regards 'the integration of stable systems of social interaction' as social structure. In narrow sense of the term, social structure 'is a system of differentiated roles, the types of which it is composed, how they are distributed within the social system and how integrated with each other ..........'. Murdock (1949) has mainly concentrated on the re-interpretation of information about tribal societies, particularly the structure of marriage, family, kinship and community, leaving aside the political and economic institutions of these societies.

For MacIver and Page (1950), various modes of grouping — together comprise the complex pattern of social structure. In the analysis of social structure, the role of diverse attitudes and interest of social beings is revealed. For Eggans (1950), it consists of interpersonal relations, between parts of social structure in the forms of status positions occupied by individuals.

According to Radcliffe - Brown, social structure is referred to as 'some sort of ordered arrangements of parts or components ...... The components or units of social structure are persons and a person is a human-being, considered not as an organism but as occupying positions in a social structure ...... The social relations, he goes on, 'of which the continuing net work constitutes a social structure are controlled by norms, rules or patterns, and the established norms of conduct of a particular form of social life are called institutions'. Thus, Radcliffe - Brown's concept of social structure includes not only persons as occupying positions in a net work of social relations, but also the institutions, and interests and values which guide the people.
Firth has criticised Radcliffe-Brown's views on social structure for not distinguishing between ephemeral and enduring elements of social activity and its inability to distinguish the idea of social structure of a society from that of the totality of the society itself. He studied social existence in a community in terms of four constituents: social alignment, social controls, social media and social standards. Social alignment that included 'social structure' in narrow sense of the term, comprised not only of corporate groups of more permanent type based on sex, age and kinship, but also associations of persons for such common aims as work or recreation. The division of the people of a community by occupation, their gradation by rank, and in any ritual hierarchy were included, as also their arrangements by social role and social status. In other words, social structure was 'that much of social alignment, so much of social relations as seem to be of critical importance for the behaviour of members of that society, so that if such relations were not in operation, the society could not be said to exist in that form'. He distinguished between social structure which was 'that important system of elements which lasted and which every body took account of, and social organization which was the arrangement of elements for getting things done. 

In his efforts to view the social structure of 'little community', according to the conceptions of Firth, Redfield found it alright to study the structure of isolated communities, but inapplicable to examine the institutions, originating outside the village, which he considered as forming parts of the 'growing edge of social structure'. He, therefore, viewed social structure as 'an ethical system of all the forms of thought for characterising and analysing a little community'.

Levi-strauss (1953) held that the term social structure had nothing to do with empirical reality, but with models which were built after it. Social relations consisted of the raw material out of which the models making of social structure were built while social structure can, by no means, be reduced to the ensemble of social relations, to be described in a giving society. Bottomore regarded this idea of social structure as model-building useless, since it raised philosophical, not sociological issues. For Leach, who studied the political system of Burma, social structure consisted of a set of ideas about the distribution of power between the persons or groups of persons.

In his efforts to build 'the theory of social structure', Nadel, (1957) after examining the view of sociologists and social and cultural anthropologists, came to the conclusion that there was little to be gained from trying to reconcile these various conceptions. To him, 'structure indicated an ordered arrangement of parts, which can be treated as transposable being relatively invariant, while the parts themselves were variable, and the structure of society could be arrived at through abstracting from concrete population and its behaviour the pattern or net work (or system) of relationships obtaining between actors in their capacity of playing roles, relative to one another. Relationships were specific ways of acting towards one another and they were institutionalised. The institutionalised relationships were roles. Thus, his analysis of social structure fell in line with that of Weber and Parsons and boiled down to the problems of role analysis. The importance of the concept of role in the analysis of social structure was high-lighted by Girth and Mills, according to whom the concept of
of role was 'the key-term of our definition of institution, and just as role was the unit with which we build our conception of institution, so institution is the unit with which we build the conception of social structure'.

'A structural analysis', for Bailey, 'emphasised the regularity, the continuity, the phenomena of certain forms of social interaction and of groups of persons'. Structure ...... was an abstraction, a set of generalisations abstracted from regularities of behaviour. Distinguishing between structure and sub-structure, he mentioned that a sub-structure was made up of groups and institutions which were classified by their content or by what they were about. There were sub-structures which concerned primarily with politics or economics or ritual or kinship and so forth ...... The word structure, strictly used, referred to a higher level of analysis at which inter-connections were sought not within a political or a ritual sub-structures but between them. Structure, then, carried with it the idea of total social structure, while sub-structure referred to divisions, classified on the basis of the 'referent or content of sodal relations'. Emphasising the use of these ideas, he mentioned that while one needed whole structure in order to establish the direction of change, one could not analyse the process of change without dealing with structure, because the immediate contradiction was between these sub-structures rather than between total structure. Change, according to him, 'must be conceived of not as the replacement of one total structure by another but by changes in sub-structures within one or another field'. Bailey's views on social structure being the outcome of his work in Indian rural setting were of special use for the present study not only because they indicated how
the theory of social structure was to be used in field work, but also because he was concerned with the study of change and presented a modified theoretical form specially useful for the study in hand.

Bottomore (1962) also examined various definitions of social structure, and according to him, the most useful definition was that which regarded social structure as the complex of major institutions and groups in society, because there was little disagreement among the sociologists about which were the major institutions. Thus, according to him, economic, political, family and kinship, public opinion, religion and morality, all were 'elements of social structure'. Bottomore was not alone to describe social structure in terms of institutions. Cohan conceptualised an institution 'as a systematisation of human relationships around specific needs and goals with specific rules and personnel and clearly defined reciprocities and thinks of a social structure as constituting a totality of institutions that is a series of interlocking systems within one total system', or again, 'social structure refers to the institutions of society and to the particular ways in which these institutions are arranged into patterned wholes'.

The idea of structure that was borrowed from the Natural Science and incorporated into the conceptual scheme of Sociology and Social Anthropology over a century back, became a major point of discussion among the social scientists in the middle of this century. The definitions of the concept have been conditioned by the area of interest of a scientist, and the type of society under consideration. Most of them had been concerned with a particular phenomena but efforts had also been made to work out a general definition of social structure applicable to a wider range of societies and as a consequence thereof,
the problem of analysis of social structure had taken the form of role analysis. The cessation of the debate on this problem in the sixties did not necessarily mean that its relevance and application to the social phenomena had in anyway decreased. On the contrary, it is symptomatic of the fact that the matter had been thrashed out and scientists had reached some understanding about the meanings to be attached to this term.

In the present study, the village has been conceived as a 'whole', a structure, comprising some sub-structures. These sub-structures are various types of groups of people engaged in different activities, the roles of which have been institutionally defined. It is a study of institutions, like economic, caste, religion, family and the traditional Panchayat, etc., as have automatically evolved in the village, while others like, school, legal Panchayat, cooperatives, etc., are those which are being incorporated into the village structure. The changes taking place in them and the assimilation of the incorporated institutions are, in short, the subject-matter of present investigation.

B. Review of Related Studies:

Dube (1955) opined that the people of India had started settling down in the villages as indicated by the reference to the 'Gramas' in the Vedas and subsequent scriptures. According to Mukherjee (1965), the systematic study of Indian villages was, however, initiated in the 17th century only, by the East India Company, that wanted to control the land and the people of India, for which it, later on, requisitioned the services of Dr. Francis Buchanan, in order to report on the conditions in towns and villages. The work was carried on along others by Baden-Powell (1872–1899) and Henry Maine, whose works like
Indian village community are too well-known to the students of Indian rural setting. Darling concentrated on the study and reforms of Punjab village community.

The perpetual exploitation of the Indian rural folk at the hands of the foreign and native commercial classes shook its agricultural system, and the inability of the rural system to face any crisis led to the appointment of the first Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1926. National movement led by Congress party also awoke to the problems of village communities. Consequently, various agencies were set up to enquire into the problems of rural folk. In Punjab, the Board of Economic Enquiry was set up in 1925 which selected several villages in different districts of Punjab with a view, primarily, to understanding the socio-economic life of the villages, the findings of which were published in thirties. Some of these villages were re-studied in the fifties to see the changes that had taken place in these communities. In addition, the board had constantly been conducting surveys of various aspects of village life and the schemes sponsored by the Government. A similar board was set up in Bengal in 1935, and this institution was, later on, made a part of the machinery of every State.

Besides these investigations undertaken directly by the State, a number of studies were conducted by various academic institutions. In Bengal, the initiative was taken by Viswa Bharati, which undertook to study some villages in its vicinity and the efforts of the Indian Statistical Institute accelerated the work. Thomas and Ramakrishanan (1940) in Gujrat Vidypeth, undertook the survey of Matar Taluka in Gujrat. In Maharashtra, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics (1940) and individuals like Deshpande, Ghurye (1925) and Aiyar (1952) conducted some
studies. The efforts of these institutions and many others that later on sprang up in various parts of the country, have made substantial contributions towards objective understanding about rural India.

The tradition of penetrating and objective general observation of the rural phenomena set by Baden-powell was carried on in Punjab by Lord Beyrne in whose writings this approach was mixed with that of a missionary aspiring to ameliorate the lot of the ruralites. This was in line with the efforts made by the State for the uplift of the village life. A collection of Gandhi's ideas on various aspects of rural life with indications about the things required to be done in the villages, appeared in 1952. Agrarian unrest that broke out in some parts of India just after independence, and the voting behaviour of the village people in the General Election of 1952, along with some other factors, had its bearing on the policy and actions of the ruling party which adopted a socialistic pattern of society and in addition, action programmes, legislation was proposed to be undertaken to put ceiling on land holdings. It was in this background that a section of rural society was threatened of its existence, the feelings of which were voiced by Gowda (1952).

Shah (1945) studied every aspect of people's life, social as well as economic, to find the co-relation between them and to probe deeper into some of the significant phenomena of rural life such as enforced unemployment among various classes of population, social stratification and community life, village administration and to explore the scope and method of State and voluntary rural reconstruction schemes.

Desai (1955) outlined the scope of rural sociology and
provided a general framework to look at the economic and political life of the ruralites, the caste system and the structure of family, their religion, the role of education and other facets of rural phenomena. Later on, the scope of this work was broadened by indicating in its corpus the observations of scholars on different approaches - regional, historical, ecological - to the study of rural phenomena and their views on the problems connected with it, particularly the Community Development, Bhooman and Gramdan movements, Panchayats, Cooperatives, rural education and the like.

The year 1956 saw the publication of three volumes edited by Srinivas, Marriott and Majumdar which included research papers by the social scientists working in the field on various aspects of rural social life. The papers included in Indias' villages (1955), were oriented to highlight the unity of village life and the publication included quite a number of studies on the social structure of Indian Villages. Describing the social structure of a Mysore village, the editor pointed out the role of caste, sub-caste, Panchayat and the village functionaries, like headman and accountant, to show that despite the existence of factions, the interdependence of castes and their participation in religious functions made the village a unity. Kathleen Gough was of the view that despite the distances in the special distribution of houses of different castes, the unity of the village was fostered by the economic inter-dependence of castes, their participation in the village festivals and the kinship-ties. In 'social structure and change in a U.P. village', Marriott described the economic groupings, lineare, convivial grouping, ranking of these groups, the structure of power and the obstacles caused by this structure in the way of developmental programmes. In the 'social structure in the Punjab'
Smith pointed out the inter-village dependence, the relationships between different 'parties' of the same village, its economic-organization, official ties and the role of governments. Mandelbaum described the structure of family, the caste structure and the relations between village and the Government. Miller described the interdependence of castes, caste organisation and highlighted the sociological importance of the concept of 'desam'. There is, however, not much difference between the studies that described the social structure, and those that did not, because whatsoever the angle might be, from which the rural phenomena was viewed, the subject matter was the same. Thus, describing 'A Hermit village in Kulu', Roser pointed out to the division of Malana into two Behrs, two castes one of which was divided into eight clans, the egalitarian nature of this isolated community, its political and judicial organization, the functioning of direct democracy and the role of Jamlu in maintaining the unity of the village, whereas Newel described three sub-structures of 'A Gaddi village in the Himalaya'— caste, gote and Birton.

Marriott's (1955) collection contained comparatively a lesser number of papers, but they presented more exhaustive an account of the problems taken for study. Srinivas viewed the village as a system and studied the structure of relationships, of role and status, the system that is a 'matter of pushing, trying and perpetually re-arranging'. Despite the competition within the system, village unity was kept up by sentiments and ceremonies. The castes had been classified into three groups, the peasants and agricultural castes, priestly castes and serving castes which were in a hierarchical order and the relationships between caste and occupation, which were not unchaotic, its traditional economy and the changes that took place in the traditional authority
structure of the village have been noted. In the 'social structure of a Tanjore village' Miss Gough classified the castes into three broad categories: the Brahmans, the non-Brahmans and the Adi-Dravidians, which were in a hierarchical order, described their inter-relationships to show how in Kamlapatti, declining integration and growing dependence on urban or national institutions and a wider economy, break up the traditional social structure, and how the shift of land from the Brahmans to the lower castes, and the development in business had lent to political organizations and agitations. In 'the changing status of a depressed caste', Cohen showed how the urban employment sought by the Thakurs, the traditional owners of the village, who were secularising and westernising themselves, and the outside employment of the Chamars have led to the collapse of the traditional authority structure. Beals studied 'interplay among factors of change in a Mysore village' which under the effect of urbanization was adopting the occupations of trade, transportation, manufacture and government employment, in the orbit of cash economy, and thus studied not the social structure of village as an isolate, but that of urbanization as it appeared in a village. While Marriott and Mandelbaum described the role of 'little communities' and the 'world view of Kota' respectively, Stead chose to examine the process of personality-formation in a village, and Lewis compared the peasants of India with those of Mexico.

Papers edited by Majumdar (1955) examined one or the other aspect of social structure of rural communities. Thus Raddy studied the functional relationships of Lohars in a North Indian village and examined the extent to which the traditional Yajmani system was operative. Hopper divided the village population into three groups to find out the extent
to which the work was available to them. The editor himself reported
his findings about *the demographic structure of a polyandrous village*
and the type of marriage and family prevailing in it. In the
'population and economic structure of an Indian village community',
Edwin Baines studied sex composition, family size, caste and the
relationship between the caste and education and the caste and land
holding, etc. Dube worked out the ritual hierarchy of castes living
in a Hydrabad village and classified them in five categories. Majumdar
and others have shown the inter-dependence of different castes (elements
of the village social structure) at birth, at *Mundan*, at marriage,
at death and at *Katra*, and the changes that are taking place. Puri
worked out some aspects of village economy in ancient India from
various texts, whereas Goodall evaluates the working of a community
development programme. Srinivas high-lighted the significance of village
studies whereas Max Hallis discussed the methodological problems in
research.

In the second volume of *Rural Profiles*, Majumdar (1960)
described the sources of, and the problems of communication in a village
community. Mayers was interested in the elections to the village
Panchayat in a Malwa village. Prabhat Chandra in his paper on Hindu
social organization discussed the social structure of the village *Majra*
in terms of its caste composition, the relationship of caste with
education, occupational structure and income and the inter-relationships
among different castes. Akhauri examined the socio-cultural barriers
to the rural change, whereas Jain following Murdock and other anthropologists interested in the kinship organisation, described the
relationships between different relatives from the kinship terms used
by them. Mathur described the relationships between caste and occupation in a Malwa village, while Bailey after Leach described the change taking place in the political structure in a village in Kondmals. Jyotirmoye Sharma emphasised the secular status of caste structure, an aspect of the phenomena of caste, that had hitherto not attracted the attention due to it, whereas Rayan and others described the process of secularisation in a Ceylon village and the factors that had contributed to it.

In addition to these brief studies dealing with various aspects of rural life, some detailed and full-fledged monographs also appeared in the last two decades. Among these, Dube (1955) was the first to present from a purely socio-anthropological viewpoint a complete picture of Shamirpet, a village in Hyderabad. He has carried on a detailed analysis of its social structure which included the substructure of Verna, caste, subcaste, gotram, vanam, its power and authority structure by describing the role of village functionaries like, Deshmukh, Patwari, Kamgar and the Panchayat, the structure of family, religious structure, the economic structure and the way in which different structural elements and groups were brought into interplay in economic as well as social and ritual activities at birth, pre-puberty rites, marriage and death, with the implicit implication that social structure occupied a place that preceded economic structure. In another equally authoritarian account (1958), he recast on the social organisation of a village with a view to seeing the reaction of the rural folk to the developmental schemes sponsored by the government and the bottlenecks that the existing arrangements caused in the way of these schemes.

Mukherjee (1957) presented the views that the social structure
of rural society and the changes taking place in it cannot be studied without examining its economic structure. Questioning the egalitarianism of village communities, he asserted that stratification was possible even if the economic disparities were not great. He pointed out to the existence of three classes in rural Bengal, having distinct functions to perform, and social organization (caste system) which he viewed essentially as an Indian institution. Caste, according to him, had specific functions to perform in that structure but because of the changes in the economic structure, it had outlived its utility and any effort to perpetuate it should be avoided. Later on (1965), he reviewed the studies being conducted in this field and advocated an integrated approach to the study of rural existence. In the opinion of Rao (1957), association of occupation with caste and hereditary matrilineal descent, readiness to pool family labour, and caste as unit of economic structure constituted the traditional order. Technical knowledge and reformatory movements had led to the change in the occupation of tody-tappers which resulted in the changes in the Tarwad, monogamy taking the place of polyandry and hypergamy, decrease of religious activity and ancestor-worship and change in leisure time activity of the individual.

Bailey (1958) whose main interest lay in the structure of power, presents an exhaustive account of a village in Kondmals, which was sometimes an isolated community, which the migrants from the north had captured by overpowering the indigenous population and where a specific structure had evolved before the British occupied that area. With the extension of the borders of new administration, commercial economy also expanded, bringing this community in its orbit. Service in new
administration, employment in transportation and opportunities of
doing labour in a leaf-company availed of by some groups and decrease
in the size of land-holdings brought about by the increase in population
rendering them uneconomic, resulted in new proportions of wealth with
different groups, generated some stresses and strains in the village
polity, as a result of which some groups enhanced their status while
others failed to do so, thus creating new balance of power within
the existing structure without bringing about changes in it. The
study presented a multi-dimensioned picture of village life, painted
by combining different approaches - political, historical, economic
and anthropo-sociological - for the purpose.

In his exhaustive account of village Mokana, within a
distance of ten miles from Lucknow, which had not been covered by
either of the Community Development or N.E.S. programmes, Majumdar(1956)
found it difficult to classify fifteen castes of this village according
to Verna scheme. He showed the inter-relationships of different castes
with a concentric approach placing Thakurs in the centre and describing
their obligation with other castes at birth, Mundan, marriage and death
ceremonies. He gave a detailed treatment to the religious structure
by describing their beliefs, superstitions, festivals, mode of worships
and various other religious practices, described the sources of
information available to the people and their political affiliations.
He viewed the village not only as a 'way of life' but also as 'a concept',
having certain values, and unless changes were brought about in the value
systems by improving the means of communication, the desired changes
could not be brought about. The mobility was only horizontal, not
vertical, and the process that took place was that of secularisation in
all castes and not that of Sanskritisation. The drawback of community
Development Programme, according to him consisted in not having utilized any of the existing institutions, nor creating any new.

Lewis (1958) emphasised the feature of economic functions of the caste system - the Yajmani system - which bound the members of different castes together, and in his own words 'of how these groups interact with one another in the production and exchange of goods and services' and how they were 'exchanged' in an Indian village. Another outstanding contribution of Lewis was the detailed analysis of the castes, and formation of factions within castes and the role that they played in the village social structure. The type of the religiousity of the Jats and how it differed from the religious ideas of a Brahman was another point worthy of special attention.

Ghurye (1960) restudied Lonkand studied previously by Surgeon Coat in 1819 and noted the penetration of market economy in this village, the disappearance of slaves and immigrants, changes in the hereditary service and the increase in litigation caused by the new Tenancy Act. Mayers (1960) who considered village a unit based on ritual and village kinships, described the ritual hierarchy of castes, high-lighted the importance of subcastes and described the structure and functions of other structures like, gotra, lineage, kul, extended family and household and interpersonal relationship of members in the family. While describing the authority structure, he pointed out the importance of roles to be performed by the headman in various situations and the way in which comprehensive committee controlled the defacto authority as before and set limits to the functioning of the village committee (the new Panchayat).

Ali (1960) restudied Goalpara, a village near Shantiniketan,
after twenty five years and found close relationships existing between the economic stratification based on land holding and social stratification based on caste. He pointed out the existence of three classes, Brahman 45%, Artisans 15% and Sudras 42%. On the basis of his free observations about the ruralites, Nair (1961) indicated the specific characteristics of people in various parts of the country.

Sekena (1961) examined the attitude of the refugees towards government, towards local people, towards fellow refugees, towards Muslims and towards the members of other castes. Benedixt (1961) described the organization of the Indians in a multi-racial society in Ceylon. Baljit Singh (1961) viewed the village communities in U.P. as essentially the 'faction society' lacking in 'we feeling, an identity of purpose, solidarity and cohesiveness'. Six villages studied by him had sixty castes and 28 alone among them had 175 factions. These factions were caused by disparity of wealth and the mutual distrust caused by utter poverty. A faction society did not and cannot progress and in a certain sense did not desire progress. The present land reforms had had only limited effect and 80 per cent of the village population desired total re-organization of the community and only 9 per cent were against it.

By suggesting a ceiling of 15 acres of land holding, he advocated a total re-organization of the village community.

Basu (1962) conceived village as a concentric organization, with high caste serving as a nucleus and lower castes forming a periphery, which might be more helpful in appreciating the organic nature of rural society. He agreed that economic structure was related to social structure and noted that out of 287 households only 151 pursued traditional occupations, 40 pursued subsidiary occupations and 116 were engaged in the pursuit of entirely different occupations. This was indeed
a big change in the traditional structure.

Wiser and Wiser (1965) restudied Karimpur, a village near Agra, in 1960, after thirty years. On the basis of free observations they concluded that though deeper foundations of the village society had not changed, some of the people had got land, religion now occupied less central place in their lives, medical care was more easily available, pattern of crops had changed, people now accepted technical advice more readily and people had become more receptive. New Panchayat had come into being but the authority structure of the village had not much changed as it was controlled by the offsprings of the old leaders of the village.

Caste, according to Mathur (1964) was related to occupation and he found that 175 were pursuing the same occupation, 40 primarily the same and 56 were pursuing unrelated occupations. He analysed the village social structure in terms of kinship system, caste and the village community. His major concern was with the Hindu ritual and the Hindu values of life that influenced the lives of the villagers.

Aiyappan (1965) restudied Mayur, a village already studied in 1957, and observed revolutionising changes in the cultural pattern of Iravas, a backward community of Kerala.

Ishwaran (1966) included in his concept of the social structure, the structures of caste and subcaste in their hierarchical order, the Aya system, the values of the people and the changes taking place in it. Both subjectively and objectively, the Brahmans did not occupy the highest place in the village hierarchy, and the Verna, according to him, never existed in practice. On the basis of historical records and field observations, Pradhan (1966) examined the kinship organization.
and the political system of a Jat clan (gote) which spread over a large area.

Finding it difficult to accept the conclusion that caste tensions resulted from discriminatory caste practices or the conflict over the removal of social distances between castes, Singh (1967) on the basis of his observations in two villages, found caste-level, socio-psychological and personality variables to have most significant relationship with inter-caste tensions. After the model provided by Radfield, Chauhan (1967) sought to provide a wholistic picture of a Jat village and traced its development from a hamlet to a full-fledged community. From amongst the four criteria of a community, he observed the presence of its smallness and distinctiveness and marked the absence of homogeneity and self-sufficiency. In religious sphere, the process had been neither of secularisation nor of Sanskritization, but of enhanced ritualization. Of the Verna, caste, sub-caste, clan, lineage and family - the parts of social structure, Verna was not of any value in rural society.

In addition to these studies of rural communities, attention had also been given to the study of tribal people. A brief review of such studies is in order. Furrer - Haimendorf (1959) made multi-dimensional observations about the life of the Naga. Paniker (1959) had given a detailed account of the Son Kolis living near Bombay, while Ghurye (1965) described the situation of the Mahadev Kolis. Sher Singh 'Sher' studied the Samsis of Punjab (1965) and in another book concluded that the Sikligars of Punjab (1966) another criminal people were a Gypsy tribe. Shah (1964) conducted study of the various aspects of the life of the Bhanakas of Gujrat and the changes that were
taking place in their tribal set-up. Incidentally these people were also living in many villages of Haryana and were included in the lowest rungs of the village community. Sachchidananda (1964) presented a detailed account of the Munda and Oraon tribes of Bihar underlining the changes taking place under the influence of the missionaries and their assimilation in the Hindu tradition, as a result of their contact with them.

The Summing up:

The rulers' interest only being in the collection of taxes from the villages, the historian of pre-British India was not interested in what happened on the village side. The British Administration, being new to Indian way of life, however, wanted a better understanding of it, not only for a smooth administration, but also to capture its economy - to provide raw material to the factory in England, and sell finished goods in its colonies. The extension of 'economic frontiers' after the political ones, led to the perpetuation of a different class at national level having its ramifications in the village, and in this process a stage was reached when, as a consequence of the land gradually shifting away from the tiller to the mere creditor, the little community fell 'sick'.

The efforts to diagnose the disease were started after the first world war in the first quarter of this century and the remedies suggested found expression along either of the two lines. The advocates of one line observed a close relationships between the economic structure and different other super-structures, with the implicit implication that the village life could be made better by bringing about changes in the basic structure. Another school of thought tried to establish the
priority of social structure along with various other sub-structures, to which the economic structure corresponds and advocated improvements in the communication system to change the values of rural folk. In between these polar types, have been the studies to supply the planner and the executive, with the necessary information and advice to solve the problems faced by him.

Methods of enquiry followed by the social scientists have been changing. The start with the studies were based on general observations about various aspects of social phenomena. But with the passing of the time, the attention was directed to have a deeper probe into some specific features of rural existence and to present the findings in brief, in the form of statistical and mathematical complex. In the studies of rural communities, anthropological approach had dominated the scene, because the village, being a small entity, was more easily manageable; and the generalizations at higher level were based on the case studies of some villages in different parts of the country.

The present enquiry into the changes in the social structure of rural Punjab was aimed at providing some insight into the structural pattern of a society, which is, in many ways, different from the rural folk inhabiting other parts of the country, that has till recently been the gateway of India, and from where different racial groups have been entering into the country, most of them settling here and continuously renewing the cultural patterns; where the people had always to keep fit to meet new invasions, and where the traditions had to be constantly renewed. It has been conducted at a time, when lot of information has already been collected about the village communities in other parts of the country, and when so many schemes have already been in operation for
a time sufficiently long to be effective. Under the circumstances, the purpose of this enquiry is primarily to study the changes that have taken place in the institutional pattern of the Punjab village communities, the effect of the institutions being incorporated into the village structure from outside, and the type of interaction that is taking place between them.