Chapter XIII

THE STRUCTURE IN DYNAMICS

The preceding sections furnish in brief compass a quantification of socio-economic data, and here some thought is given to understand the significance of the social-economy of the primitives in its dynamic form with reference to this community, the Abujhmarhias.

The main object of the analysis is not the Abujhmarhia as an individual, but the network of his socio-economic relationship in which he is involved. The quantitative data are used to bring out the significant relationship between categories of social phenomena like economic-jural relations, jural authority, socio-religious cohesiveness of groups, such as village/hamlet and pargana etc. in a dynamic perspective. It has been already pointed out that the Abujhmarhia economy shows a gradual change in its productive activities and in the concept of property; the other factors which are correlated here, with this change are the divergent aspects of village composition, authority (i.e. leadership) and power (i.e. coercion) and some aspects of their socio-religious behaviour.

One of the classical analysis of social structure in terms of economy is that of Portes where he considers the relationship between lineage organization and household composition among the Ashanti (1949). But his main object was to correlate these facts with other aspects of the
principles of matriliney and conjugal status. Some of the very interesting facts are also reported by Mitchell from the 'Yao' village (1956), in reference to the prestige and power (i.e. authority), and their correlation with other facts, such as, the size, composition of the village and history of the village. But no one has tried fully to correlate social change with economic aspects of the society. How and why do the village composition and the size of the village change? This is the basic question which must be answered first, than we can observe the relationship of this change with village life in context to prestige and power and not in reference to village composition. Here an effort is made to analyse the observed facts on the basis of data collected from the sampled villages of the AbuJhmahrhia community. The categories (supra. 215) are the results of analysis of data, made on the basis of mode of production, distribution, and the composition of households as the productive units. Here it has been attempted to see the relationship, if any, with village composition and leadership in general and with sacred and secular authority.

Redfield (1941) talks about this type of change in terms of the scale of society, in a broader perspective, as societies like the AbuJhmahrhias are defined as 'small scale' societies. But 'small' is obviously a relative term, when applied to territories, it usually refers to either area or population or both (Burton Benedict:1966:223).
Nadel's (1951) model of small scale society is that of the segmentary societies, which exhibits the concept of mechanical solidarity (Durkheim, 1947). The criteria given for small scale societies by Radfield (1955:4), like smallness, homogeneity, self-sufficiency, etc. are conceptual, which may indicate the 'static' form of the small scale societies.

The Adujmarshia society on the basis of its homogenous culture, small area, population, self-sufficiency can be defined as a small scale society. But when we observe this community in its dynamic form, we find changes not only in existing status and role relationship, (i.e. specialization), but also in productive activities, concept of property, village and household composition and in aspects of their socio-religious life.

So far as the socio-economic structure in this context is concerned Firth's statement of the general proposition, that "the economic organization of any community is very closely bound up with the social structure in such manner that each serves to reinforce the other" (1959:140) holds good here. Some of the functional anthropologists stressed out the concomitant variation and mutual dependence in tribal societies of economic systems, kinship and descendant institutions (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940, cf. Firth 1929, 1939, cf. Richards 1939 and cf. Vorskvlits 1940). The systems of production, consumption, exchange and the distribution of wealth and other components; certainly act as media
for the development of kinship institutions, norms and relationships, social cohesiveness, and solidarity. For instance in the A type villages the introduction of plough has left a great impact not only economically but also politically in terms of jural relations. Decision-making in economic, political, and socio-religious fields, in these village has passed from the hands of sacerdotal authority to i.e. of the secular authority. Some of the significant facts in this context are mentioned below:

1. The size of the village and the household;
2. Village composition (in terms of uni-clan and multi-clan members);
3. Sacred and secular authorities; and
4. Other changes in socio-religious institutions, if any.

The village, nar is a well-knit unit in the Abujharrias social structure, next in importance perhaps only to the family. The village consists of a number of families any thing between five or six and forty and more. Sometimes these family groups are divided into two or three groups locally called para. The name of the villages, their area in squire miles are also mentioned in preceding chapters. Hence the correlation of the ecological adjustment with the economic structure is discussed, concurrently with the influence of economy on the social structure. However, the villages are divided into three categories (supra. 216), the villages which have started plough cultivation are multi-clan villages (Infra. 682) and the population is also higher in these villages in comparison to interior villages,
though all villages possess a majority of native-clan families. The social structure is reinforced by the system of economic structure. In most of the villages the size of households varies between 11 and 20 (supra. 213). The other facts are as follow:

1. More than forty households are found in those villages which are on the way of plough cultivation. There are a few villages having more than forty households without the system of plough cultivation due to lack of cultivable land, these villages have started domestication of cattle. The important fact is that these are uni-clan villages. Here it can be said that the villages having more than 40 households are plough cultivating (A type), and these are multi-clan villages, but the villages having more than 40 households and lacking the resources of plough cultivation are still uni-clan villages. Thus it can be said that the Abuja MARIA villages which have started plough cultivation, first of all become multi-clan villages and in this process not only the population and the number of families increase but the size of the family also becomes larger in comparison to interior villages. The villages having more than 40 families, or those where the population has increased so that they have no extra cultivable land, take to domestication of cattle. These villages still remain strictly uni-clan, as they are not in a position to give shelter to their affinals or other kin.
The interior villages are scattered type of villages. If means that once the number of families increases, say to more than twenty, the village is divided into two or more hamlets, which are situated at quite a distance from one another (sometimes more than 3 miles). The A type villages are inhabited by a large number of families and the distance between hamlets is quite close, not exceeding more than one mile. This type of social arrangement of human groupings in the Abujmahrbia society is an expression of its ecological adjustment. Whenever there is shortage of natural resources in the Abujmahrbia economy, the population divides and sub-divides into smaller groups, but when there is an increase in population, and no place for village division, then they have to adopt other means of livelihood. The principles of human grouping in these villages never change (i.e. segmentary system remains intact). The area in which there are a lot of facilities for livelihood, viz. good land for cultivation, they have started plough cultivation; and once they start this type of cultivation, they require more and more man power; and therefore other Abujmahrias, whether they may or may not be their clan or lineage members get land to settle down in the village.

To understand this process of change clearly the following facts will be found very useful.

Size of the village

On the basis of table (XIII:1) we find that the size of the village not only increases but it becomes double
from C to A type villages; i.e. 10.5 average households in C change to 26 households in A villages. In general it is seen that the average size of the house-holds is 10.11 and the maximum is 40 and above which is found only in A villages.

Size of the family:

The family size is also increasing from 3.70 to 5.25 to 6.10 in C, B and A villages respectively. Table (VI:2) in appendix also shows that there are more than one independent members in a single household, in A type villages, whereas there is not a single family having more than one independent member in C type villages.

Composition of the village:

The table (XIII:2) also makes it clear that in all types of villages the majority of families are from native clans except in Sachchapal (B type village). In this village the people of the Riddal clan had settled after the desertion of their respective village Kutul in 1965. Now they are again preparing themselves to return, as it is a rule that they cannot stay in another village for more than twelve years; if they do so, then, they will have to continue to live there for a longer time. Therefore the Patel of this village had allowed them to stay only for 10 years, after that if they ever stay, then the native clan members can insist on them to leave the village. The same is the case with interior villages, where we find one or two families of migrated clans, but not a single outside family in those villages is found which is living there for more than seven years. Usually, these are the kin of those
villages where they took shelter only for a few years due to desertion of their respective villages. Put in C and A type villages the migrated clans are living for more than one generations. Now they cannot be insisted upon to leave the village until one of them is not suspected as a witch or a wizard, chandwali. These A villages are not only multi-clan villages but they are also on the way of being multi-ethnic villages. In Kohkawa and Koshagaon, except Panka (Kotwar) there are Rawats (cowherd-man) who have settled before 3 to 11 years there. There is one Valar family in Jharnwahi, so is with Orchha, Bindawada, and Lanks, which are not mentioned in the above table. I defined those villages as uni-clan villages in which not a single migrated clan is found continuously living for the last ten years from the date of investigation (1968-69). There are a few clans in C villages living there from 2 or 3 years. In the note of the same table (XIII:2) Number (1) villages are multi-ethnic, (2) villages multi-clan villages, and the villages of number (3) are absolutely the uni-clan villages, in which not a single member of a migrated clan is living for more than 10 years.

Composition of the family

The families are also changing gradually from being nuclear families to compound, from C to B and A villages. In A type villages there are a few neolocal or matri-local families, which have settled there, or in a nearby villages after marriage (by service).
Office distribution

It is clear from the Table (XIII:1) that in all types of villages the Gaita's office is found in the native clan. And the office of the Patel is taken up by the migratory clans, 'one' in B out of 3, 'two' in A out of 4 offices, whereas all the offices of the Patel are in the native clan in C type villages. Not only so, but 'nine' out of 10 offices of the Patel and Gaita remain in the same family of the native clan, and 'nine' offices of Sirpanch out of 10 are also found in the native clan. Whereas all the offices of Sirpanch are taken up by the migratory clans in B and in other (A type) they remain in the native clans. This change in the possessions of office leads to a change in the process of decision-making in the Abuhyarhia village pargana community. Other differences are mentioned through the Chart (XIII:1).

Chart (XIII:1)

Changing institutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>Types of the village</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Clan</td>
<td>Multi-clan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Multi-clan</td>
<td>Uni-clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>Village endogamy has started</td>
<td>Village endogamy has started as at Kachchapal</td>
<td>Village is an exogamous unit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Family (a)</td>
<td>The compound or extended families are coming in existence</td>
<td>The rare cases of compound nuclear families are family-villages found such as one at Kachchapal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>Neolocal and virilocal families are found</td>
<td>Neolocal families are found</td>
<td>Only patri-families are found</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>Types of the village</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gotul</td>
<td>Boys and girls may tease or chit-chat in the Gotul</td>
<td>The girls are not allowed to enter inside the Gotul except at Baraat; they can only sing and dance outside the Gotul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Patel and Gaita (a)</td>
<td>Patel's office is very powerful, the Patel and Gaita are from different clans but as far as the native clan. The Patel is concerned with the village, his decisions are final. The Gaita is now simply a tithial leader to perform the ceremonies in Talur. (b) The Gaita is only a ritual functionary. He has lost his economic power over his village folk, as land has come under individual possession.</td>
<td>The Patel and Gaita are from the native clan. They work in co-operation. The Patel may dominate the decision of the Gaita in the village, but as far as the native clan. The Patel lends voice is a verdict. The Gaita is now simply a ritual leader to perform the ceremonies in Talur.</td>
<td>The Patel's office is not usually in one family. The man works as Patel, when he is young &amp; when becomes old he functions as a Gaita and his elder son works as a Patel. If the Patel is dead and his son is a minor the Patel's younger or elder brother works in his name. socio-religious, socio-political decisions rest with the Gaita.</td>
<td>The Gaita has socio-economic authority in the village. His importance as a ritual &amp; economic leader is higher than that of the Patel. Since the Patel works as an administrator of the village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>Types of the village</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sirpanch</td>
<td>There is a great increase in the importance of this office. This office remains as important as the Sirpanchas are from those families which are economically well off.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>Mixed cultivation is dominating. Predominantly shifting cultivating villages is common.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Property</td>
<td>Individual ownership in land and trees come into existence. Only few hoe paddy fields are in individual possession.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Religion (a)</td>
<td>Koning: The ritual in a very few villages they have started to perform this ritual. To collect the forest produce before the performance of the Koning is polo.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>Priest: The office in a few villages of the Nata priests other than the Patel's. In the society, most of the Nata priests are from the Patel's family. The office coincides with the office of the Patel.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Magic and witchcraft</td>
<td>The cases of witchcraft are prevalent in these villages. Magic is used while there are very few cases of witchcraft. Except one or two cases of magic; no cases of witchcraft are found.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the Chart (XIII:1) it becomes clear that in this society it is its resources and economy which are changing first, then they lead to other changes; such as in
technology, settlement, concept of property, marriage pattern, government and religion. In this reference the concept of change advocated by Murdock (1949:202) seems to be exageratory. He says "It is in respect to residence that changes in economy, technology, property, government or religion first alter the structural relationships of related individuals to one another, giving an impetus to subsequent modifications in forms of the family in consanguineal and compromise kin-groups, and in kinship terminology".

The changes which are taking place in A type villages are not due to just one factor, but these are due to many factors. The major ones are:

1. Change in the economic structure;
2. The uni-clan villages becoming multi-clan villages; and
3. The contact of outsiders (i.e. the Muria, Bundawi and Chanda Marhias).

These three factors are interdependent, one leading to next below it. The villages which come in contact with outside villages living in the revenue villages, borrow from them their means of production (i.e. implements and techniques). A question may be asked as to how and why the uni-clan villages become multi-clan. One reason for this can be suggested that, once that there is a change in the economic activities; demanding more man-power in these villages. Therefore any outsider without the preconsent of the Gaiga and Patel can get shelter in these villages. This is quite
impossible in B and C type villages, where not only the consent of the Gaitha and Patel for giving shelter to any outsider is important but the consent of all the heads of minor lineages is equally important and necessary. Thus the room for individual choice in A type villages as compared to C type villages is wider. The marriage pattern is also affected with this economic change; wife-servitors who are ready to serve their future father-in-laws for six or seven years are profoundly preferred in these villages. Generally after their marriage, they take shelter in their wife's natal villages. They are also not permitted to return to their paternal villages. The other minor factors which are responsible for giving rise to multi-clan villages are:

(a) The fear of man-eaters;
(b) Witchcraft and sorcery or the conflict between the clan members;
(c) Death of parents making some youth unable to pay the bride-price, causing them to serve for wife; and
(d) Shortage of land in some villages, and excess of it in others.

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