# SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

## BA SOCIOLOGY

## V SEMESTER

**CORE COURSE**

**2011 ADMISSION**

# UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

## SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

**CALICUT UNIVERSITY P.O. MALAPPURAM, KERALA, INDIA - 673 635**

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## *SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY*

Prepared by:

MODULE I & II          :                    Dr. Sara Neena. T.T.
                                                          Associate Professor,
                                                          Dept. of Sociology,
                                                          Vimala College,
                                                          Thrissur

MODULE III & IV    :                    Dr.N.P.Hafiz Mohamad,
                                                          Former H.O.D, Farook College, Kozhikode

                                                          'Manasam',
                                                          Harithapuram
                                                          Chevayur,
                                                          Kozhikode-673 017

Scrutinised by:                            Dr.N.P.Hafiz Mohamad,
                                                          Former H.O.D, Farook College, Kozhikode

                                                          'Manasam',
                                                          Harithapuram
                                                          Chevayur,
                                                          Kozhikode-673 017

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# MODULE 1

# INTRODUCTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY

## Anthropology: definition, meaning , nature and scope.

Anthropology is the study of various elements of humans, including biology and culture, in order to understand human origin and the evolution of various beliefs and social customs.

The term anthropology is a combination of two terms 'anthropos' and 'logus', the former meaning human and the later meaning discourse or science. Thus anthropology is the science or discourse of man. It is the science or discourse of human beings. Aristotle first used the term 'Anthropologist'.

### Definitions of Anthropology

1.   **The concise oxford dictionary**: study of mankind especially of its societies and customs; study of structure and evolution of man as an animal".

2.   **Kroeber**: "Anthropology is the science of groups of men and their behaviour and production".

3.   **Herskovits**: "Anthropology may be defined as the measurement of human beings."

4.   **Jocobs and Stern**: "Anthropology is the scientific study of the physical, social and cultural development and behaviour of human beings since their appearance on this earth."
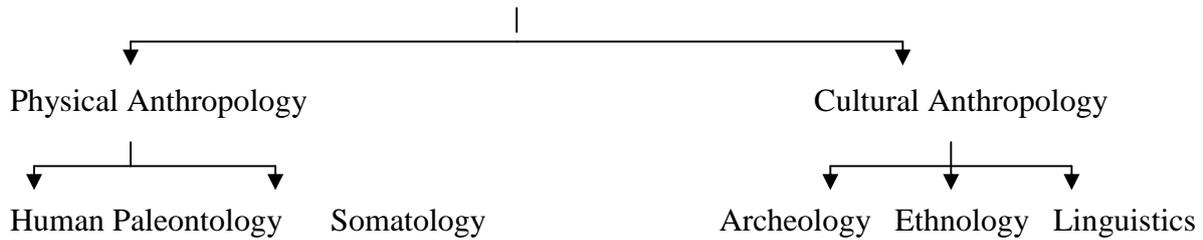
### Divisions of Anthropology and their relationships

Anthropology has been divided into two main branches: Physical anthropology and cultural anthropology. These two main branches have been again, sub-divided into several other branches which have been given in the following chart:

### Classification of anthropological sciences

**Anthropology**

Physical Anthropology                                    Cultural Anthropology

Human   Human   Ethnology   Anthropometry   Biometry      Prehistoric      Social

Genetics  Paleontology                                        Archeology     Anthropology

## LINTON'S CLASSIFICATION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Physical Anthropology                                    Cultural Anthropology

Human Paleontology     Somatology          Archeology   Ethnology   Linguistics

## PIDDINGTION'S CLASSIFICATION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Physical Anthropology                                    Cultural Anthropology

Human Genetics        Anthropometry              Prehistoric          Social

                      Or Somatology              Anthropology      Anthropology

1. **Physical Anthropology**: Physical anthology studies human body, genetic and the status of man among living beings. Some of its definitions are as follows :

1. **J.E. Manchip White**: "Physical anthropology is the study of bodily appearance of man."

2. **Hoebel**, "Physical anthropology is therefore the study of the physical characteristics of the human race as such".

3. **M.H. Herskovits**, "Physical anthropology is, in essence, human biology."

4. **Piddington**, "Physical anthropology is concerned with the bodily characteristics of man."

Physical anthropology has now been divided into the following five branches according to the specialization of study.

1.     **Human Genetics**: Human genetics is the branch of physical anthropology which studies the genesis of man. Human genetics is the study of human heredity. It studies the human physical characteristics that are transmitted through heredity from generation to generation.

2.     **Human Palaeontology**: Human palaeontology studies the old human skeletons of different stages. It also studies the history of earth evolution. According to Webester's New International Dictionary, "Human palaeontology is the science that deals with life of the past geographical periods. It is based on the study of the fossils remains as organisms."

3.     **Ethnology**: Ethnology studies human races. Ethnology classifies human races and studies their physical characteristics. Ethnology is based upon anthropometry and biometrics, since both these measure racial characteristics.

4.      **Anthropometry:** According to Herskovits, anthropometry may be defined as the measurement of man. Anthropologists have decided certain definite traits by the measurement of which human races may be classified. Anthropometry, again , has been classified  into two branches, study of the physical structures of living human beings and study of human fossils.

5.      **Biometry**: In the words of Charles Winik, Biometry is the statistical analysis of biological studies specially as applied to such areas as disease, birth, growth and death". Thus biometry is the statistical study of biological characteristics.

**2. Cultural anthropology**

Cultural anthropology studies human cultures. In order to carry on his personal and social life man invents some sort of system, develops and establishes it. This total system is culture. It is social heritage. It is however, not transmitted through heredity. It is learned through imitation, experience and understanding. Cultural anthropology studies human customs, mores, traditions, social life, religion, art, science, literature and economic and political organization. According to **E.A. Hoebel**. "The phase of anthropology that devotes its attention to the customs of mankind, is called cultural anthropology".

Cultural anthropology has been classified into the following two classes:

1.      **Prehistoric Archeology**: literally speaking, archeology is the study of ancient time. Thus it studies ancient things. Archeology studies the ancient history which has no written records. Things and articles discovered by archeological excavations give us an idea about the culture of the people using them. It records cultural successes of a particular era and also area of its expansions.

2.      **Social anthropology**: social anthropology as is clear by the nomenclature, studies social organization and social institutions. According to Firth, "One of the broadest ways of defining social anthropology is to say that it studies human social processes comparatively."

Physical anthropology and cultural anthropology are closely related. Different branches of physical anthropology have close bearing upon the study of social anthropology, a branch of cultural anthropology. Again archeology has been helpful in the study of various branches of physical anthropology.

**Social Anthropology**

Social anthropology is an important branch of anthropology. Social anthropology is social. This meaning of the word 'social' is enough to show how the field and viewpoint of social anthropology is different from other branches of anthropology. Some definitions of social anthropology are as follows:

1.      **Piddington**: "Social anthropologists study cultures of contemporary primitive communities." This definition of social anthropology is a bit narrow because anthropology does

not only study primitive cultures but studies contemporary cultures also. From this point of view, the definition of social anthropology given by S.C. Dubey is more appropriate.

2.      **S.C. Dube**: "Social anthropology is that part of cultural anthropology which devotes its primary attention to the study of social structure and religion rather than material aspects of culture." It is clear that social anthropology studies the different aspects of social structure such as social institutions, social relations and social events, etc.

3.      **Penniman**: "That part of cultural anthropology which treats of social phenomena is called social anthropology".

4.      **M.N. Srinivas**: "it is a comparative study of human societies. Ideally, it includes all societies, primitive, civilized and historic." Dr. Srinivas has given a sufficiently detailed definition of social anthropology.

5.      **Charles Winick**: "social anthropology is the study of social behaviour, especially from the point of view of the systematic comparative study of social forms and institutions."

In brief, social anthropology is a comparative study of social behaviour and social phenomena of men of all countries and ages.

**Scope of social anthropology**

While defining social anthropology, Beals and Hoijer write that "it is concerned with culture *per se,* whether it belongs to the primitive men of the stone age or the European city-dwellers of today." Although it is more properly a definition of cultural anthropology, yet it surely and clearly shows that the field of social anthropology is very wide. It includes a study of different parts of culture, social institutions and economic and political administration. The main branches of social anthropology are given below:

1.      Ethnography

2.      Familial anthropology

3.      Economic anthropology

4.      Political anthropology

5.      Symbology and linguistics

6.      Thought and Art

1. **Ethnography**: Ethnography is the main field of social anthropology. As is clear from its name, it studies the human race. Its scope also includes the study of cultures of different races.

2. **Familial anthropology**: Family is the basic institution of society. Social anthropology, therefore, studies the family also. This branch of social anthropology is known as familial anthropology. It takes up a comparative study of the families of different cultures and societies. It studies the different forms of family along with its progress. A family is based on marriage. Familial

anthropology therefore, includes a study of different forms of marriage. It also includes other blood relations along with marriage.

3. **Economic anthropology**: Economic rules play an important art in social organization. Some radical changes take place in social structure along with a change in economic administration. Social anthropology, therefore, minutely studies the economic administration of primitive and civilized human societies and of different levels of evolution in them.

4. **Political anthropology**: Political anthropology has also an important place in social structure along with economic administration. Social anthropology, therefore, studies all types of political administration, laws, governments and rules of punishment, etc. This branch of social anthropology is known as political anthropology.

5. **Symbology and Linguistics**: the study of different symbols of human behaviour, which are current n languages of different societies, supplies many important facts for the study of society. Social anthropology, therefore, studies all these also. The whole linguistic field falls within this branch of social anthropology. The main branches of linguistics are given below:

i) Descriptive Linguistics: it studies the individual and regional languages;

ii) Historical Linguistics: It s a historical study of languages;

iii) Comparative Linguistics: It studies the comparative fact about language;

iv) Common Linguistics: It studies the difference between the minimum and maximum roots of some languages.

6. **Thought and Art**: the study of thoughts in theoretical study s very important. Thought includes religion, magic, science and even legends. Social anthropology is a comparative study of all these things in ancient human society. Art is an important part of culture and culture depicts the interior of a society. Social anthropology studies sculpture, metallurgy, and even dancing and instrumental and vocal music.

**Social Anthropology and Cultural Anthropology**

Dr. D.N. Majumdar and other contemporary anthropologists have regarded social anthropology as a part of cultural anthropology. Cultural anthropology studies the mode of life of the contemporary primitive man. Cultural anthropology has four branches, e.g. linguistics and symbology, thought and art, economic anthropology and social anthropology. Social anthropology studies the different kinds of social life and its evolution. In this way, according to Dr. Majumdar, linguistics, symbology, economic anthropology and thought and art are outside the scope of social anthropology. According to this point of view, familial anthropology and political anthropology only form the part of social anthropology. This is clear from the aforesaid discussion about the scope of social anthropology. But familial anthropology and political anthropology are closely related to the other branches. American anthropologist, Morgan, was the founder of social anthropology. Social anthropology and cultural anthropology differ more in their subject matter than in their mode and percepts. While culture anthropology studies cultures,

social anthropology is a study of social structure, social organization and social relations. Morgan studied anthropology through the study of society. Durkheim showed that social relations are different form psychological relations and that both way social anthropology studies anthropology in the terms of society. According to contemporary American anthropologists, social anthropology is only a branch of cultural anthropology because culture is a wider concept than society and includes far greater scope than what is included in the study of social life.

**Nature of social anthropology**

Social anthropology is a science and to know this fact, it is necessary to understand what is science. Some begin to consider a particular subject matter to be science as chemistry or engineering etc. common people distinguish between science and art in this very sense. But it is better to let the scientists explain what science is. Some definitions of science are given below:

1.     **Beisanz, J and Besanz, M**. it is approach rather than content that is the test of science.

2.     **Green**, science is a way of investigation.

3.     **White**. Science is scienteing.

4.     **Weinberg and shabat**. Science is a certain way of looking at the world.

5.     **Karl Pearson**. The unity of science consists alone in its method, not in its nature.

Besides these scientists, Karl, Churchman, Acoff, Gillin and Gillin and many social anthropologists also have regarded science as method. It is because of method that it differs from art. It is due to method that all science even when they have separate scopes are called sciences.

**Steps in Scientific Method**

Scientific method is a systematic study of a subject matter within a limited scope. This method requires great patience, courage, hard labour, constructive imagination and objectivity. No man can utilize scientific system without a scientific notion, before starting work on a scientific system; a research scholar should minutely define the problem which is the subject of his research. The clearer is the definition the easier shall be the work of research. Main steps of scientific method are given below:

1. **Observation**: The first step in scientific system is to observe the subject matter of research minutely and carefully. This observation often needs the help of the instruments. These instruments must be exact.

2. **Recording**: The second step needed in scientific system is to record this observation carefully. An impartial objectivity is very essential in doing it.

3. **Classification**: Then the classification and organization of the collected material will have to be done. It is a very serious step. In the words of Karl Pearson, "The classification of facts, the recognition of their sequence and relative significance is the function of science". The classification is done inn such a way that a relation and semblance in the scattered elements may be seen. Thus the subject matter is arranged on logical grounds.

4. **Generalisation**: the fourth step in a scientific system is to find a common rule or to generalize on the basis of semblance in the classified matter. This common rule is called a scientific principle. In the words of MacIver "such a law is simply another name for a carefully described and uniformly recurring sequence of conditions".

5. **Verification**: A scientific system does not stop after making generalizations. The verification of these generalizations is also necessary. Scientific principles can be verified and such a verification is their necessary condition without which they cannot be called scientific.

**Essentials of Science**

What are the requirements of any study to be called scientific is now clear for the above explanation of the scientific method. The necessary elements or the special features of science are given below:

1. **Scientific Method**: As has been said before, any subject is called a science not because of its subject matter but because of a scientific method.

2. **Factual**: Science is a study of facts. It discovers real truths. Its subject matter is not ideal but factual.

3. **Universal**: Scientific principles are universal. They are found to be rue in all countries and at all times.

4. **Veredical**: A scientific rule is veridical. Its veracity can be examined at any time. As many times it is examined, so many times it will prove to be true.

5. **Discovery of cause-effect relationship**: Science discovers the relations of cause and effect in its subject matter and presents a universal and verified rule in the same connection.

6. **Prediction**: Science can predict on the subject of cause-effect relationship on the basis of universal and verified rules. It is on this belief in cause-effect that the foundation of science stands. Scientist knows that 'what will be' can ne decided on the basis of 'what is' because the law of cause-effect is universal and unchanging.

**Social Anthropology as a science**

An examination of social anthropology, on the basis of the aforesaid six rudiments, reveals that social anthropology possesses all the essential elements of a science.

1. **Social anthropology makes use of scientific method**: All methods of social anthropology are scientific. They make use of scientific techniques like schedule,, participant observation, historical procedure and case history, etc. First of all, they gather facts through observation. Then they are recorded in an orderly form. Afterwards this matter is classified and in the end, common principles are made on the basis of accepted facts. The validity of these principles are examined.

2. **Social anthropology is factual**: Social anthropology is a comparative study of the facts about social events, relations and reactions. Participant observation is its main method. In this method an anthropologist goes to live among those people whom he has to study. Thus his study is in accordance with facts.

3. **The principles of social anthropology are universal**: the rules of social anthropology are proved in all countries so long as the circumstances are the same; there is no chance of an exception in them.

4. **The principles of social anthropology are veridical**: thus the principles of social anthropology always prove true on verification and even on re-verification. Their validity can be verified b anybody and at any time.

5. **Social anthropology defines cause effect relations**: social anthropology discovers cause-effect relations in social facts, events and relations, etc. for example, an anthropologist, after his comparative study of various cultures tells us about life style to be found in a particular culture and the extent to which the life styles undergo a change with culture changes. Thus, social anthropology answers 'what' along with 'how'.

6. **Social anthropology can predict** : On the basis of cause-effect relationship, social anthropologist can guess the future and can predict about social reactions and events, etc. he can decide 'what will be' on the basis of 'what is' after knowing the cause-effect relations.

For example, by observing cultural change, he can predict about a change of life pattern.

It is clear from the aforesaid discussion of the nature of social anthropology that social anthropology is a science. It contains an abstract form of thoughts. Scientific study is possible only through abstract forms. The rules of these abstract forms decide the reactions of concrete things. In this way the rules of social anthropology are universal and veridical in practical shape. Social anthropology has brought revolutionary change in the notions of psychologists, sociologists, politicians and social reformers, has given a hope for organization of human society in future and has presented useful suggestions to decide pattern of its organization.

**Aims of social anthropology**

The primary aim of social anthropology is to gather information about human nature. Human nature is a controversial subject. Different scholars have laid emphasis upon different aspects of human nature. The primitive man and society present human nature in its most rudimentary and raw form. Therefore their study is useful for the understanding of the basic essentials of human nature without much influence of culture upon them.

Another aim of social anthropology is the study of the processes and results of cultural contacts. Most of the primitive societies are gradually coming in contact of more developed cultures. This contact is gradually creating social, religious, economic and political problems and disorganization. The administrators and the social planners require the help of social anthropologists in the understanding of processes and consequences of cultural contacts. According to the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland the most important aims of social anthropology are the following:

1. The study of primitive culture in its present form.
2. The study of cultural contact and specific processes.

This includes exploration of the influences of outer groups creating cultural changes.

3.    Reconstruction of social history.

4.    Search for universally valid social laws.

Thus the chief aim of social anthropology is to study human society, social institutions, culture, and kinship bonds in their most elementary form. Besides being useful for the understanding of present day human societies, it aids to our knowledge of human history as well as the nature of social institutions. It is hence that social anthropology is closely related to history and archeology.

**Utility of the study of primitive societies**

The primary object of social anthropology is to understand primitive people, the cultures they have created and the social systems in which they live and act." Thus social anthropology primarily concentrates on the study of primitive societies.

Ralph Piddington points out the following  characteristics of primitive societies:

1. The primary trait of primitive societies is illiteracy and the absence of writing or literature.

2. The primitive societies have social organization based upon small groups such as clans, tribes totems, etc.

3. The technological level of development is very low.

4. The social relationships based upon locality and blood relationships are the most important.

5. There is generally an absence of economic specialization and too much division of labour.

Thus the primitive societies are little communities. Robert Redfield has called it, "the folk society". According to him the absence of systematic art, science and theology is also characteristics of primitive societies.

**ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY**

**Appearance of anthropology as a discipline**

Man and his surroundings have always been a perennial source of wonder and reflection for himself. This consciousness instigated him in searching the realities. Therefore, it is futile to talk about the beginning of the study of man. For the genesis of systematic thinking we usually refer back to the classical Greek Civilization especially to the writings of Herodotus in fifth century B.C. Not only Herodotus, many other Greek and Roman historians namely Socrates, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Plato, etc. are considered as pioneer social thinkers. They first expressed their significant interest in man's affairs considering the perspective of Universe. Their approach was purely humanistic and they postulated a social theory from organismic point of view.

The emergence of anthropology as a distinct discipline occurred only recently in nineteenth century. Sydney Slotkin in his book 'Readings in early Anthropology' traced the history of many anthropological sub-disciplines form seventeenth and eighteenth century. But he also agreed that the real professional interest of the subject did not appear until nineteenth century. The unusual peoples and their unknown way of life evoked interest of navigators and other explorers. As a result in 1800 a society named as 'Observers if Man' was founded in Paris

by the union of naturalists and medical-men. This society promoted the study of natural history by providing guidance to the travelers and explorers of far places. But meanwhile, for the long series of Napoleonic wars, the commerce and the foreign travel were interrupted. Naturally the study of natural history was neglected and instead, the questions of philosophy, ethnology and politics came forward. The society could not stand long and in 1838 another society for the protection of aborigines was established in London. Eminent scholars joined in that society whose aim was political and social, rather than scientific. Again, within a very short period need of a scientific society was realized. One of the influential members, Mr.Hodgkin in collaboration with several other distinguished persons, in 1839 inaugurated an 'Ethnological Society' in Berlin. Eminent naturalist Milne-Edwards took there an active part. In 1841, a similar type of society was formed in London and soon after that in 1842 the third 'Ethnological Society' was founded in New York. The establishment of ethnological societies can be taken as an important landmark in the emergence of anthropology.

Anthropology is therefore considered as the product of scientific developments in western world. The tradition of social philosophies continued till the advent of industrialization in west and it emerged as a distinct discipline in the nineteenth century; Charles Darwin's Origin of Species (1859) perhaps boosted the zeal of all scientists in different fields. Darwin showed that life had evolved from the unicellular organism and went to the way of complex multicellular organism, through the process of evolution. This idea not only opened the new avenues for zoology, anatomy, physiology, philology, palaeontology, archaeology and geology; it also accelerated the pace of socio-cultural studies. Being influenced by Darwin, a group of intellectual namely Spencer, Morgan, Tylor reached to the conclusion that evolution did not operate only in case of physical aspect of mankind, but also in cultural life. Accordingly, the year 1859 may be taken as the date of birth of anthropology; R.R. Marret (1912) termed anthropology as 'child of Darwin'. In the same year 1859, Paul Broca founded an 'Anthropological Society' in Paris. Broca himself was an anatomist and human biologist. He advocated the idea of general biology by synthesizing all specialized studies in order to understand a man. Anthropology made a significant progress in America following Broca's light.

On the other hand in 1863, James Hunt withdrew himself from the British Ethnological Society and established an Anthropological Society in London with the dissenting members of Ethnological Society. Hunt declared anthropology as 'a whole science of man' which deals with the origin and development of humanity. In 1868, Thomas Huxley was elected the President of the Anthropological Society. Despite his biological orientation, he belonged to the Ethnological Society in London for a considerable span of time. However, this was the time form when the work of Ethnological Society in London for a considerable span of time. However, this was the time from when the work of Ethnological Society and the Anthropological Society merged together. The difference was maintained only in names.

Nearly thirty years, from 1840 to 1870, a great debate continued with the two words-ethnology and anthropology. France, Germany and England highly appreciated the subject. In fact, anthropology earned a great popularity over whole of Europe. International congresses of anthropology and prehistoric archaeology were held in 1866, 1867 and 1868 in different parts of

Europe. Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland was formed in 1871. But in 1873 there was again a split; a new 'London Anthropological Society' came out. This new society presented a journal named 'Anthropologia'. International communication, research and publication were the main objectives of this society. By this time, the names such as anthropology, ethnology, ethnography, archaeology, prehistory, philology and linguistics were firmly established.

Paul Broca in his address 'The Progress of Anthropology' (1869) had pointed out that anatomy along with Biology formed the pivotal base of anthropology upon which the subject could extract the ultimate ideas of general anthropology by means of a rigorous synthesis. After a few years, anthropology really acquired a synthetic character and honoured both in Europe and America. In Europe, the different names as anthropology, ethnology, prehistory and linguistics are still in vogue; they are complementary to each other to cover the whole study of man. But in America and most of the Asia, the word anthropology itself is sufficient, to connote the entire meaning. Before the discovery America by Columbus, American aborigines had their indigenous ideas about the nature of man. Later, European tradition of science and scholarship touched them as happened in case of Africa, Oceania and part of Asia. It is said that the English, French, German and other Europeans provided anthropology with the tradition of scholarship, the books and the theories while the Americans provided a nice laboratory close by.

Lewis Henry Morgan was one of the leading personalities of the world who combined his personal intensive field work in a native culture with comparative work and general theory. The missionaries and the others, who used to live at that time though endeavored to publish their observations, Morgan's status was different form them as his observations had a worldwide perspective. In fact, Morgan founded the great branch of anthropology, known as social-cultural anthropology through the comparative analysis of family and kinship structure.

In the last half of nineteenth century, some anthropologists became interested in the study of racial stock and also in the biological evolution of man. France contributed a good deal in prehistory and physical anthropology. Germany, at first established a psychological and later a geographical tradition of cultural anthropology. Theodore Waitz developed the basic physical anthropology, which embraced the peoples of the whole world. Adolf Bastain by surveying the cultures of people all-over the world inferred about the basic psychological configuration in man. Friedrich Ratzel blended geography with anthropology and created a new sub-field anthropogeography.

The concept of culture given by Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) established anthropology as an academically recognized discipline in Europe. Tylor has been recognized as the father of modern anthropology. The anthropologists of America also believe this. Originally the word 'culture was used in the field of biology; its German synonym 'kultur' was applied to human societies in 18th century (Kroeber and Kluckhohn: 1963) to correlate diversities of behavior with racial differences. In his epoch-making book 'Primitive Culture' (1871), Tylor first defined culture in the following words; "culture or civilization taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole, which included knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any

other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". Discipline of sociology and anthropology appeared as twin sisters particularly after industrial revolution and colonial expansion respectively.

After the First World War, outlook of anthropology changed greatly, 19th century anthropologists were totally unacquainted with the peoples with whom they were concerned. They used to depend on the stale and fabricated data collected by other non-anthropologists like explorers, missionaries, administrators etc. as the anthropologists put forward their propositions sitting merely in their libraries, many speculations were involved there. They leaned chiefly on Comparison. Brownislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) first broke that trend. He taught the importance of field-study in contrast to speculation about the primitive people.

During the Second World War, the American anthropologists became attentive to the psychological problems and issues of whole nations in order to understand the basic features of developed civilizations like Japanese, the Chinese, and the Russians etc. National character studies became very popular in this period. At the end of the world war, anthropology got the French scholar Claude Levi-Strauss whose emphasis was restricted to the formal aspect of culture.

By the end of Second World War, the physical aspect of anthropology also took a new turn. It was no longer a study limited to different kinds of measurements; study of growth and development became prominent due to the rediscovery of genetics. The progress in the study of the human genetics provided a firm basis of integration between physical anthropology and social anthropology. Anthropologists' basic interest in prehistory is more or less akin to primitive ethnography. British scholars not only gave a conceptual lead to this field, they first organized the 'International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences' (ICAES) in 1934 where nine hundred anthropologists, ethnologists and other scientists of allied field from forty-three countries had participated. By that time, the British Evolutionary and Diffusionist theories met a setback but the structural-functional theory emerged as the most important school. The period can be said as the formative phase of institutionalization of anthropology. It was further strengthened by British social anthropology, which acquired a definite recognition on the global plane. The impact of British anthropology was dominant in the next three Congresses at Copenhagen (1938), Brussels (1948) and Vienna (1952), but after the ravages of Second World War it became almost dead and deserved revitalization.

The fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in Philadelphia (USA) in 1956 showed the post-war dominance of American anthropology. It was a remarkable anthropological conference organized by Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Inc. at New York that was established under the chairmanship of A.L. Kroeber in 1952. It was also significant because Soviet delegates for the first time attended this ICAES. American model of anthropology was followed in this Congress instead of British model. According to L.P. Vidyarthi (1979) the integrated image of anthropology emerged in the Symposium of Vienna in 1952 but the approaches of planning and deliberation in the study of

'integrated man' was worked out in the fifth ICAES in 1956. A book entitled 'Current Anthropology' by William Thomas (1956) and also a journal named as 'Current Anthropology' edited by Sol. Tax (since 1960) further ascertained the image of integration. As a result, in the Paris Congress (1960), the Structural-Functional School was found to be deeply entrenched and American Model of anthropology dominantly occupied the ground.

A large number of associates of the Current Anthropology under the dynamic guidance of Prof. Sol. Tax were able to link the whole world with anthropology. The Soviet ethnography was found to be developed on the line of evolutionary theory and later that became modified by the writings of Marx, Engles and Lenin. Thus, new dimensions were added to anthropology, which was rather well balanced and free from Anglo-American influence. The concept of colonial anthropology or neo-imperialism in anthropology is comparatively a recent achievement. The scholars of the third-world countries were neglected for a long time. Now they are also getting due importance; an increased rate of participation has been noticed in different sessions of ICAES. But in spite of all these recent developments, we must not forget the beginning of anthropology that was blessed with the European and American courage.

**Growth of Indian Anthropology**

Anthropology is a young discipline in India. By the term 'Indian Anthropology', Andre Beteille (1996) wanted to mean the study of Society and Culture in India, by the anthropologists, irrespective of their nationality. There were many anthropologists inside or outside of India who took interest in the study of Indian society and culture. However, anthropology owes its origins in the later half of the 19th century with the ethnographic compilation of tradition, custom and belief of different tribes and caste in various provinces of India. Prof. D.N. Majumdar found the beginning of Indian Anthropology in the establishment of Asiatic Society of Bengal that was inaugurated by Sir William Jones in 1774. But there is no convincing evidence for an emergence of anthropology in India during 18th century. It is true that the Asiatic Society began to publish essays of anthropological and antiquarian interest in its journal and proceedings, but all those were written by government officials and missionaries who had no academic interest.

In the world scenario, anthropological work in true sense, except Tylor's pioneering work, started with 20th century. Tylor in his book 'Anthropology' (1881) considered language, race, physical features, customs and practices of primitive people as well as the old remains of people as parts of anthropology. His idea was derived chiefly from the reports furnished by the administrators and missionaries who penetrated into different parts of the world at the wake of trade and commerce, and subsequent colonization.

At the end of 19th century, the administrators and missionaries in India, like other parts of the world, wrote a lot of about the Indian people and their way of life. After colonialization, the administrators took more interest in the issues of colonial people for the sake of good administration in newly acquired territories. Trained British personnel namely Risley, Dalton, Thurston, O'Malley, Russel, Crooke, Blunt, Mills and others who were posted in different parts of India, wrote compendia on tribes and castes on India.

Throughout a whole Century after this, anthropology in India proceeded successfully. Indian anthropologists borrowed the ideas, framework and procedures of work from western anthropologists and practiced 'self-study' instead of studying 'other culture'. But their pattern of

work became unique with regard to assumptions, choice of data, criteria of relevance and some other matters. N.K. Bose (1963) published a booklet entitled "Fifty years of Sciences in India, Progress of Anthropology and Archaeology" which was prepared under the auspices of the Indian Science Congress Association from Calcutta. He discussed the progress of anthropology in India under headings- Prehistoric archaeology, physical anthropology and cultural anthropology. Next to Bose, came L.P. Vidyarthi who tried to focus the major trend in Anthropology in course of its growth in India. His paper was presented in the VIIth ICAES at Moscow in 1964. In another paper published in the same year, Vidyarthi specifically referred a few recent trends like village studies, caste studies, study of leadership and power structure, religion, kinship and social organization of tribal village, even the applied anthropology. The growth of anthropology in Indian context has been monitored time to time by both the Indian and foreign scholars. However in the light of Vidyarthi and Sinha, we can divide the growth of Indian anthropology into the following historical phases.

## 1.    The Formative Phase (1774-1919)

The establishment of Asiatic society of Bengal in 1774 is considered as beginning of scientific study of 'nature and man' in India. A number of anthropological studies were initiated by the efforts of Asiatic society under the leadership of the founder-President Sir William Jones. The Society gave birth of a Journal in which scholarly interests on the diversity of Indian customs were reflected. British administrators, missionaries, travelers and other writers used to get a scope to publish their collected information on tribal culture and rural life. Not only a single journal of Asiatic Society had made its appearance in 1784, a number of journals came one by one like Indian Antiquary in 1872, journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society in 1915 and Main in India in 1921.

The ground stones of anthropology were thus laid in an orderly way in the form of ethnographical mapping. Hence the phase is considered as the formative phases in the history of Indian anthropology. The inspiration was drawn from British anthropologists who came to work in India. For example, W.H.R. Riverse put his attention on the Todas of Nilgiri Hills; A.R.Radcliffe-Brown dealt with the Andaman Islanders, G.H. Seligman and B.G. Seligman concentrated on the Veddas of Ceylon, etc.

## 2.    The Constructive Phase (1920-1949)

The 'Formative phase' predominated by ethnographic studies took anew turn when social anthropology was included in the Post-graduate curriculum of the University of Calcutta in 1920. No discipline is supposed to be established unless it is recognized as a subject of study and research at the University level. Although anthropology found a berth in the University of Calcutta in 1918 as a subsidiary subject, it required two more years to get proper recognition. An independent Anthropology department came out in 1920 which was a great achievement for the subject itself. K.P. Chattopadhaya was the first Professor in Anthropology at Calcutta who was trained at Cambridge by W.H.R. Rivers and A.C. Haddon. R.P. Chanda became the first lecturer there. Department of anthropology in the Universities of Delhi, Lucknow and Guwahati were built up in 1947, 1950 and 1952 respectively. Thereafter, a series of Universitites namely

Saugarh, Madras, Pune, Ranchi, Dibrugarh, Utkal, Ravi Shankar, Karnataka, North Bengal, North-East Hills, etc. stated to include the wing of anthropology in their academic setup.

## 3.    Analytical Period (1950-1990)

Contact of Indian Anthropologist with American anthropologist occurred after the world war second and especially after India's Independence. The American anthropologist like Morris Opler, Oscar Lewis, David Mandelbaum and lot of their students came India to make a systematic study of Indian villages for testing some of their own hypothesis.   Among the Indian anthropologists D.N. Majumdar, M.N. Srinivas and S.C. Dube made notable contributions to community and village studies. American anthropologists namely R. Redfeild, M. Singer, M. Marriott and Bernard S Cohn devoted themselves in the study of the dimensions of Indian civilization. Redfield's Great traditions and Little traditions' as well as 'Folk-urban Continuum' were the universal propositions. K. Gaugh, E. Leach, N.k. Bose and A. Beteille were busy for unveiling the socio-economic basis of Indian society.A number of studies were conducted by Anthropological Survey of India-Apart from this,a lot of in-depth and analytical studies on of various communities were encouraged which were absolutely free from bias of western theoretical model. A notable contributions of B,K, Roy Burman A.K Das, publications of new bulletins and journals, establishment of more and more research centers characterize the analytic phase' in the growth and development of Indian anthropology particularly at the end of the 20th century

## 4.    Evaluative Phase (1990 onwards)

Recently we have entered silently into a phase of evaluation. Since western anthropology under the influence of British and American failed to explain the complexity of Indian society, a critical appraisal and reorientation of the discipline was needed for Indian situation. Indian scholars had developed indigenous models intending to apprehend the cultural matrix of India. The alternative methodological framework did not merely helped in establishing a refined concept; it also aimed at ' Indianness' for maintaining the quality of national life. In fact, Indian anthropology demands for an active, humanistic and critical outlook towards the subject matter in order to overcome the barrier of intellectual colonialism and neo-colonialism.

New types of data are encountered; the concepts, methods and theories are continually shaped and reshaped. New ways of looking at new types of data have made Indian anthropology much more distinctive ever before. Unlike western countries, in India a close relationship between sociology and social anthropology prevails from the very beginning. The great size and density of the Indian population have facilitated such closeness between the two disciplines. The present phase of anthropology in India has brought sociology much closer; both the disciplines go on investigating the tribal, agrarian and industrial socio cultural systems. Many renowned anthropologists namely M.N Srinivas, S.C Dube and others were found to penetrate into the field of sociologists to combine the two disciplines successfully, for yielding better result.

# Methods of Anthropology

## E t h n o g r a p h y

The term ethnography has come to be equated with virtually any qualitative research project where the intent is to provide a detailed, in-depth description of everyday life and practice. This is sometimes referred to as "thick description" -- a term attributed to the anthropologist Clifford Geertz writing on the idea of an interpretive theory of culture in the early 1970s .The use of the term "qualitative" is meant to distinguish this kind of social science research from more "quantitative" or statistically oriented research.

While an ethnographic approach to social research is no longer purely that of the cultural anthropologist, a more precise definition must be rooted in ethnography's disciplinary home of anthropology. Thus, ethnography may be defined as both a qualitative research process or method (one *conducts* an ethnography) and product (the *outcome*of this process is an ethnography) whose aim is cultural interpretation. The ethnographer goes beyond reporting events and details of experience.  Specifically, the investigator  attempts to explain how these represent what we might call "webs of meaning" , the cultural constructions, in which we live.

An ethnographic understanding is developed through close exploration of several sources of data. Using these data sources as a foundation, the ethnographer relies on a cultural frame of analysis.

Long-term engagement in the field setting or place where the ethnography takes place, is called participant observation.  This is perhaps the primary source of ethnographic data. The term represents the dual role of the ethnographer. To develop an understanding of what it is like to live in a setting, the researcher must both become a *participant* in the life of the setting while also maintaining the stance of an *observer*, someone who can describes the experience with a measure of what we might call "detachment." Typically ethnographers spend many months or even years in the places where they conduct their research often forming lasting bonds with people.

Interviews provide for what might be called "targeted" data collection by asking specific but open-ended questions. There is a great variety of interview styles. Each ethnographer brings his or her own unique approach to the process.

Researchers collect other sources of data which depend on the specific nature of the field setting. This may take the form of representative artifacts that embody characteristics of the topic of interest, government reports, and newspaper and magazine articles. Although often not tied to the site of study, secondary academic sources are utilized to "locate" the specific study within an existing body of literature.

Most anthropologists today point to Bronislaw Malinowski, author of such landmark ethnographies as *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*(first published in 1922), as a kind of founding father to ethnographic fieldwork, the practice of "participant-observation."  Malinowski's early twentieth century ethnographies were written in a voice removed and utterly unrevealing about

the nature of the ethnographer and his relationship to people studied. Since Malinowski's time, the personal account of fieldwork has been hidden away in notes and diaries.

Good ethnography recognizes the transformative nature of fieldwork where as we search for answers to questions about people we may find ourselves in the stories of others. Ethnography should be acknowledged as a mutual product born of the intertwining of the lives of the ethnographer and his or her subjects

**Case study**

Case studies involve a particular method of research. Rather than using large samples and following a rigid protocol to examine a limited number of variables, case study methods involve an in-depth, longitudinal examination of a single instance or event. They provide a systematic way of looking at events, collecting data, analyzing information, and reporting the results. As a result the researcher may gain a sharpened understanding of why the instance happened as it did, and what might become important to look at more extensively in future research.

Case study is a form of qualitative descriptive research that is used to look at individuals, a small group of participants, or a group as a whole. Researchers collect data about participants using participant and direct observations, interviews, protocols, tests, examinations of records, and collections of writing samples.

According to H.Odum, The case study method is a technique by which individual factor whether it be an institution or just an episode in the life of an individual or a group is analysed in its relationship to any other in group. Thus, a fairly exhaustive study of a person (as to what he does and has done, what he thinks he does and had done and what he expects to do and says he ought to do ) or group is called is called a life or case history. Burgers has used the words "the social microscope" for the case study method.

Case study method is a form of qualitative analysis wherein careful and complete observation of an individual or a situation or an institution is done ; efforts are made to study each and every aspect of the concerning unit in minute details and then from case data generalizations and inferences are drawn.

**Characteristics**

Under this system the researcher can take one single social unit or more of such unit for his study purpose, he may even take a situation to study the same comprehensively. Here the selected unit is studied intensively i.e., it is studied in minute details. Generally, the study extends over a long period of time to ascertain the natural history of the unit so as to obtain enough information for drawing correct inferences.

Through this method we try to understand the complex of factors that are operative within a social unit as an integrated totality (complete study of the social unit covering all facilities.) Under this method the approach happens to be qualitative and not quantitative. In respect of the case study

method an effort is made to know the mutual inter-relationship of causal factors. Under this method pattern of the concerning unit is studied directly.

Case study method is a very popular form of qualitative analysis.It results in fruitful hypotheses along with the data which may be helpful in testing them, and thus it enables the generalized knowledge to get richer and richer.

**Focus group interview**

Focus group research is a qualitative research method. It seeks to gather information that is beyond the scope of quantitative research. The term "focus group" is often used to describe many types of group discussions. Focus group research, however, is a true research method. As such, it uses a fairly standard methodology. Focus group research involves organised discussion with a selected group of individuals to gain information about their views and experiences of a topic. Focus group interviewing is particularly suited for obtaining several perspectives about the same topic. The benefits of focus group research include gaining insights into people's shared understandings of everyday life and the ways in which individuals are influenced by others in a group situation. Problems arise when attempting to identify the individual view from the group view, as well as in the practical arrangements for conducting focus groups. The role of the moderator is very significant. Good levels of group leadership and interpersonal skill are required to moderate a group successfully.

There are many definitions of a focus group in the literature, but features like organised discussion (Kitzinger 1994), collective activity (Powell et al 1996), social events (Goss & Leinbach 1996) and interaction (Kitzinger 1995) identify the contribution that focus groups make to social research.

Powell et al define a focus group as "A group of individuals selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment on, from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of the research".

Focus groups are a form of group interviewing but it is important to distinguish between the two. Group interviewing involves interviewing a number of people at the same time, the emphasis being on questions and responses between the researcher and participants. Focus groups however rely on interaction within the group based on topics that are supplied by the researcher.

Hence the key characteristic which distinguishes focus groups is the insight and data produced by the interaction between participants.

**Why use focus groups and not other methods?**

The main purpose of focus group research is to draw upon respondents' attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experiences and reactions in a way in which would not be feasible using other methods, for example observation, one-to-one interviewing, or questionnaire surveys. These attitudes,

feelings and beliefs may be partially independent of a group or its social setting, but are more likely to be revealed via the social gathering and the interaction which being in a focus group entails. Compared to individual interviews, which aim to obtain individual attitudes, beliefs and feelings, focus groups elicit a multiplicity of views and emotional processes within a group context. The individual interview is easier for the researcher to control than a focus group in which participants may take the initiative. Compared to observation, a focus group enables the researcher to gain a larger amount of information in a shorter period of time. Observational methods tend to depend on waiting for things to happen, whereas the researcher follows an interview guide in a focus group. In this sense focus groups are not natural but organised events. Focus groups are particularly useful when there are power differences between the participants and decision-makers or professionals, when the everyday use of language and culture of particular groups is of interest, and when one wants to explore the degree of consensus on a given topic (Morgan & Kreuger 1993).

**The role of focus groups**

Focus groups can be used at the preliminary or exploratory stages of a study (Kreuger 1988); during a study, perhaps to evaluate or develop a particular programme of activities (Race et al 1994); or after a programme has been completed, to assess its impact or to generate further avenues of research.

Focus groups can help to explore or generate hypotheses (Powell & Single 1996) and develop questions or concepts for questionnaires and interview guides (Hoppe et al 1995; Lankshear 1993). They are however limited in terms of their ability to generalise findings to a whole population, mainly because of the small numbers of people participating and the likelihood that the participants will not be a representative sample

**OBSERVATION**

Observation methods have a long tradition in organizational research, and offer the promise of 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973) of what people 'really' do as opposed to what they say they do [action science] . Although very few researchers subscribe to an a-theoretical assumption that observation allows them to 'see (and tell) it how it is', there is still a temptation to believe that observational research provides an unproblematic window on to real-world behaviors, events and settings Having said that, thoughtful and judicious use of observational methods provides one of the most effective ways to begin to understand what goes on in naturalistic settings. Depending on the degree of participation by the observer, observation can be classified as participant and non-participant.

Observation methods come in several forms, of which participant observation (q.v.) [field research] is probably the most widely known. Participant observation is traditionally associated with anthropology and particularly the Chicago school of sociology.

**Participant observation** is one type of data collection method typically done in the qualitative research paradigm. It is a widely used methodology in many disciplines, particularly cultural anthropology.. Its aim is to gain a close and intimate familiarity with a given group of individuals (such as a religious, occupational, sub cultural group, or a particular community) and their practices through an intensive involvement with people in their cultural environment, usually over an extended period of time. The method originated in the field research of social anthropologists, especially Bronisław Malinowski in Britain, the students of Franz Boas in the United States, and in the later urban research of the Chicago School of sociology.

Participant observation was used extensively by Frank Hamilton Cushing in his study of the Zuni Indians in the later part of the nineteenth century, followed by the studies of non-Western societies by people such as Bronisław Malinowski, E.E. Evans-Pritchard, and Margaret Mead in the first half of the twentieth century. It emerged as the principal approach to ethnographic research by anthropologists and relied on the cultivation of personal relationships with local informants as a way of learning about a culture, involving both observing and participating in the social life of a group. By living with the cultures they studied, researchers were able to formulate first hand accounts of their lives and gain novel insights. This same method of study has also been applied to groups within Western society, and is especially successful in the study of sub-cultures or groups sharing a strong sense of identity, where only by taking part may the observer truly get access to the lives of those being studied.

Such research involves a range of well-defined, though variable methods: informal interviews, direct observation, participation in the life of the group, collective discussions, analyses of personal documents produced within the group, self-analysis, results from activities undertaken off or online, and life-histories. Although the method is generally characterized as qualitative research, it can (and often does) include quantitative dimensions In participant observation, a researcher's discipline based interests and commitments shape which events he or she considers are important and relevant to the research inquiry. According to Howell (1972), the four stages that most participant observation research studies are

- establishing rapport or getting to know the people,

- immersing oneself in the field,

- recording data and observations,

-  and consolidating the information gathered

## Types of participant observation

Participant observation is not simply showing up at a site and writing things down. On the contrary, participant observation is a complex method that has many components. One of the first things that a researcher or individual must do after deciding to conduct participant observations to gather data is decide what kind of participant observer he or she will be. Spradley provides five different types of participant observations

**Participant Observation**

**Type Chart.**

| Type of Participant Observation | Level of Involvement |
|---|---|
| Non-Participatory | No contact with population or field of study |
| Passive Participation | Researcher is only in the bystander role |
| Moderate Participation | Researcher maintains a balance between "insider" and "outsider" roles |
| Active Participation | Researcher becomes a member of the group by fully embracing skills and customs for the sake of complete comprehension |
| Complete Participation | Researcher is completely integrated in population of study beforehand (i.e. he or she is already a member of particular population studied). |

## NON-PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

**Non-participant**, or direct, observation is where data are collected by observing behavior without interacting with the participants. In this type of observation, the researcher does not actually participate in the activities of the group to be studied. He would be simply present in the group to note down the behavior of the respondents. The researcher makes no attempt to influence or to create a relationship between him and the group.

Though the method implies non-participation, it should not be construed as complete or total lack of participation. As a matter of fact, there can be no non-participant observation of a group.

The merit of this method is that the researcher can maintain purely impartial status and be free from factionalism. He can adopt a scientific attitude and look at the happenings only from that perspective. But the greatest problem with this method is that the members of the group (i.e. those under observation) may become suspicious of the presence of the researcher and hence may not display their natural behavior. Further, under non-participant observation, the observer may observe only those activities that take place before him. He fails to understand them in proper sequence, unless he has actively participated with the group.

**Limitations To Any Participant Observation**

- The recorded observations about a group of people or event are never going to be the full description.

- As mentioned before this is due to the selective nature of any type of recordable data process: it is inevitably influenced by researchers' personal beliefs of what is relevant and important.

- This is also plays out in the analysis of collected data; the researcher's worldview invariably influences how he or she interprets and evaluates the data.

# MODOULE II
# CULTURE AND SOCIETY

Culture is a unique possession of man. It is one of the distinguishing traits of human society. Culture does not exist at the sub-human level. Only man is born and brought up in a cultural environment. Other animals live in a natural environment. Every man is born into a society is the same as saying that every man is born into a culture. The dictum *'man is a social being'* can thus be redefined as *'man is a cultural being'*. Every man can be regarded as a representative of his culture. Culture is the unique quality of man which separates him from the lower animals.

Culture is very broad term that includes in itself all our walks of life, our modes of behavior, our philosophies and ethics, our morals and manners, our customs and traditions, our religious, political, economic and other types of activities. Culture includes all that man has acquired in his individual and social life. In the words of *MacIver and Page*, culture is "the realm of styles, of values, of emotional attachments, of intellectual adventures". It is the entire 'social heritage' which the individual receives from the group.

**Definition of culture**

1.    *B. Malinowski* has defined culture as the 'cumulative creation of man'. He also regards culture as the handiwork of man and the medium through which he achieves his ends.

2.    *Edward B. Tylor*, a famous English anthropologist, has defined culture as 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'.

3.    *Robert Bierstedt* is of the opinion that 'culture is the complex whole that consists of all the ways we think and do and everything we have as members of society'.

**Characteristics of culture**

1. Culture is learnt: culture is not inherited biologically, but learnt socially by man. It is not an inborn tendency. There is no cultural instinct as such. Culture is often called 'learned ways of behaviour'.

2. Culture is social: culture does not exist in isolation. Neither is it an individual phenomenon. It is a product of society. It originates and develops through social interactions. It is shared by the members of society.

3. Culture is shared: culture is the sociological sense, is something shared. It is not something that an individual alone can possess.

4. Culture is transmissive: culture is capable of being transmitted from one generation to the next. Parents pass on culture traits to their children and they in turn to their children, and so on. Culture is transmitted not through genes but by means of language.

5. Culture is continuous and cumulative: culture exists as a continuous process. In its historical growth it tends to become cumulative. Culture is s 'growing whole' which includes in itself, the achievements of the past and the present and makes provision for the future achievements of mankind.

6. Culture is consistent and integrated: culture, in its development has revealed a tendency to be consistent. At the same time different parts of culture are interconnected.

7. Culture is dynamic and adaptive: through culture is relatively stable it is not altogether static. It is subject to slow but constant changes. Change and growth and latent in culture.

## Components of Culture

### Elements of Culture

1.      Cognitive elements: Cultures of all societies whether pre- literate or literate include a vast amount of knowledge about the physical and social world. The possession of this knowledge is referred to as the cognitive element.

2.      Beliefs: Beliefs constitute another element of culture. Beliefs in empirical terms are neither true nor false.

3.      Values and Norms: I t is very difficult to enlist values and norms for they are so numerous and diverse. They are inseparable from attitudes, except perhaps, analytically. Values may be defined as measures of goodness of desirability. They are the group conceptions of relative desirability of things. One way of understanding the values and their interconnections is to approach them through the four functional subsystems are: government, family, economy and religion.

4.      Signs: Signs include signals and symbols. "A signal (also means signs) indicates existence- past present and future- of a thing event or conditions.

5.      Non-normative ways of behaving. Certain ways of behaving are not compulsory and are often unconscious. Such patterns do exist. Non normative behavior shades over into normative behavior and symbolic behavior.

### Culture contents

        Every society has a culture of its own. Thus people in different societies all over the world have different cultures. These cultures are not only diverse but also unequal. Along with cultural diversities and disparities that are found in societies throughout the world, we observe certain cultural similarities. People may worship different gods in different ways, but they all have a religion. They may pursue various occupations, but they all earn a living. Details of their rituals, ceremonies, customs, etc., may differ, but they all nevertheless have some ritual, ceremonies, customs, etc. every culture consists of such non-material things. Similarly, people of every society possess material things of different kinds. These material things may be primitive or modern and simple or complex in nature. These material and non-material components of culture are often referred to as "the content of culture".

### Cultural Lag

It means maladjustment in culture. The concept was first introduced by W.F.Ogburn in 1922 in his book "Social Change" The idea behind this proposition was, the various parts of modern culture do not change at the same rate; some parts change more rapidly than others. As there is a correlation and interdependence of parts, a rapid change in one part of culture requires immediate readjustments in other parts of the same culture.

The extent of lag varies according to the nature of cultural material and may exist for a considerable number of years. A sudden change in one part of culture is evident due to some discovery, invention etc. The mal adjustment is the resultant of strain as the balance of the ordered structure breaks down for the time being.

### Material and Non-material Culture

### 1. Material culture

Material culture consist of man-made objects such as tools, implements, furniture, automobiles, buildings, dams, roads, bridges, and in fact, the physical substance which has been changed and used by man. It is concerned with the external, mechanical and utilitarian objects. It includes technical and material equipments. It is referred to as civilization.

### 2. Non – Material culture

The term 'culture' when used in the ordinary sense, means 'non-material culture'. It is something internal and intrinsically valuable, reflects the inward nature of man. Non-material culture consists of the words the people use or the language they speak, the beliefs they hold, values and virtues they cherish, habits they follow, rituals and practices that they do and the ceremonies they observe. It also includes our customs and tastes, attitudes and outlook, in brief, our ways of acting, feeling and thinking.

### Functions of culture

- Culture is the treasury of knowledge
- Culture defines situations
- Culture defines attitudes, values and goals
- Culture decides our career
- Culture provides behavior pattern
- Culture moulds personality

## Stages of Cultural Evolution

The word evolution describes the process of qualitative change. Evolutionism is the scholarly activity of describing, understanding and explaining of this process. The theory was basically drawn from the sociologists and appeared at the formative phase of anthropology, i.e., the middle part of the seventeenth century when Darwin and Spencer went forward to explain evolution behind all phenomena.

Evolutionism has been granted as the guiding principle of anthropology. The first attempt to define evolution was made by Herbert Spencer (First Principles- 1862). In the perspective of evolutionary bias, Edward B Tylor (1832-1917) and Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881) devoted themselves wholly to study the evolution of human society and culture.

Tylor is called the father of modern anthropology for his contribution to the concept of culture. In the book 'Primitive Culture' (1871) he first defined culture or civilization. Tylor postulated that culture was evolved from the simple to complex, and all societies have passed through same stages of development. Tylor attempted to show this in the context of religion. He explained cultural parallels as the psychic unity of mankind. Tylor pioneered the doctrine that culture was learned, not biologically determined. He eliminated the consideration of race from the study of culture.
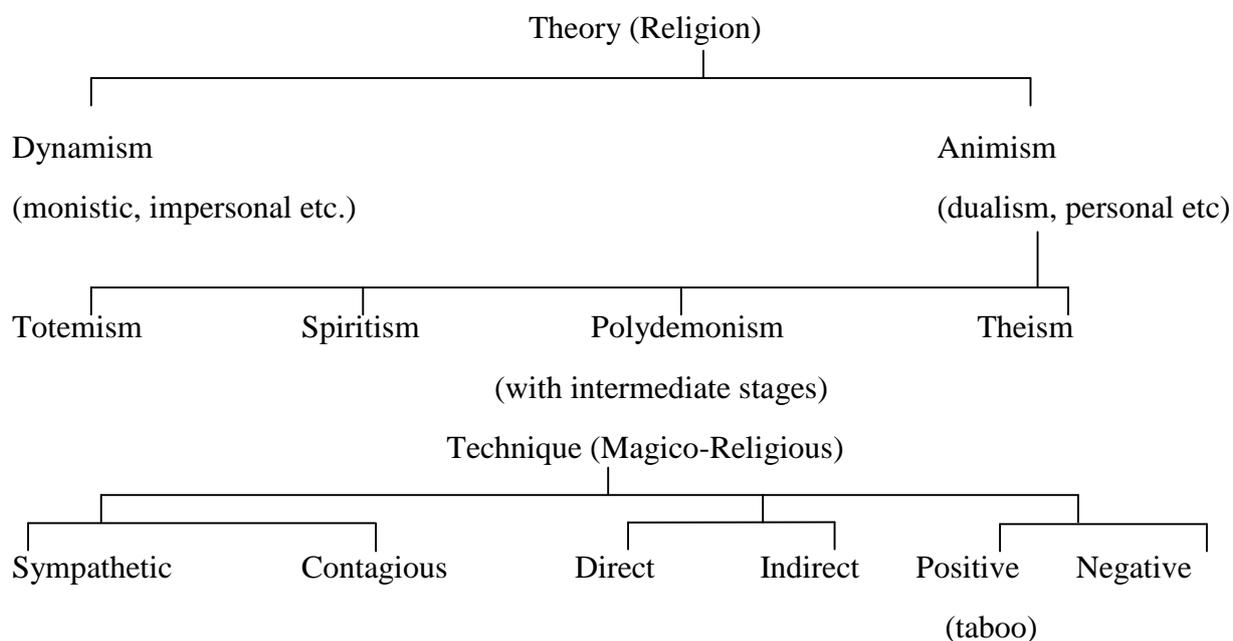
Tylor was of opinion that the study of culture is essentially a historical study, for culture is essentially a historical process. Anthropology, according to him, is the study of man's development in course of history. Tylor's definition of culture, which is given below, obviated all erroneous explanation s given earlier, and was considered to be the first scientific form of defining culture, which is the central theme of anthropology.

Tylor says "culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnolographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other ca  abilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (1871). His science of culture history was based upon a philosophy of cultural progress involving three stages viz. Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization.  He suggested that these are three universal stages of cultural progress, but he did not conceive it to be the moving power of history, rather used it as a tool for reconstruction of past conditions.

**(i)      Tylor's Contributions to the Study of Primitive Religion**

Although Tylor embraced the whole field of anthropological investigation, his most comprehensive treatment was in the field of primitive religion. He began with defining religion in such a simple way that all forms of it could be included, namely as "the belief in Spiritual Beings". He firmly stated that religion was a cultural universal, for no known cultures were without such beliefs. He also sought for an explanation of how the belief in spirits could have arisen, but before discussing it I would like to give here a brief classification of theoretical and practical religion, which would be very .useful for the students in understanding the primitive religion in totality.

A Van Gennep (1908) classified the religion in his book "Rites of Passage" in the following way:

Theory (Religion)

Dynamism

(monistic, impersonal etc.)

Animism

(dualism, personal etc)

Totemism          Spiritism          Polydemonism          Theism

(with intermediate stages)

Technique (Magico-Religious)

Sympathetic     Contagious     Direct     Indirect     Positive     Negative

(taboo)

After giving this typology of religion, A Van Gennep pointed out that the techniques and theory are inseparable. He also said that the theory without the practice (or technique) becomes metaphysics but the techniques, on the basis of different theories, become science.

Out of all the aspects of culture, Marett was deeply interested in the study of primitive religion and, therefore, wrote a classical book on *"The Threshold of Religion"*, published from London in 1909. In this book he discussed various aspects of the primitive religion and also modified Tylor's concept of animism. He argued that, instead of "soul" as suggested by Tylor, "nature" guides the destiny of the primitive people and he, therefore, coined the word "Animatism" for understanding the primitive religion.

After the publication of this book, Morgan now occupied an important place in America and was considered as a full-fledged evolutionist. In 1868 he had written a paper "A Conjectural Solution to the Origin of the Classificatory System of Relation - ship", which was published by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In this paper he traced the history of the human family from primitive sexual promiscuity through fifteen stages of evolution to modern monogamy. From this time onward Morgan began to work on the reconstruction of world history rather than that of American Indians alone. Thus, finally he produced his monumental work "Ancient Society" Researches in the Lines of Hum an Progress from Savagery Barbarism to Civilization" which c m e out in 1877.

This book brought to Morgan an international name and fame and he was universally recognised as an evolutionist. In this book he has divided all history into three main stages viz. (a) Savagery , (b) Barbarism and (c) Civilization. These three stages were further Correlated with economic and intellectual developments. According to Morgan, Savagery was the period before pottery ;

Barbarism began with the ceramic age and Civilization came after the invention of alphabets and writing.

The "recapitulation" of the evolutionary scheme which he has given in his book "Ancient Society", may be reproduced below:

| S.no | Periods | Conditions |
|------|---------|------------|
| 1. | Older (or lower) period of Savagery | Subsistence on fruits & roots, invention of speech etc. |
| 2. | Middle Savagery | Fishing and use of Fire. |
| 3. | Later (or Upper) Savagery | Bow and arrow developed. |
| 4. | Older (or Lower) Barbarism | Art of Pottery developed. |
| 5. | Middle Barbarism | Domestication of animals, Cultivation of Maize, plants by irrigation, Stone-brick buildings etc. |
| 6. | Later (or Upper) Barbarism | Invention of the process smelting Iron ore, use of Iron tools etc. |
| 7. | Civilization | Invention of Phonetic alphabet and writing. |

About these period Morgan further wrote that "each of these periods has a distinct culture and exhibits a mode of life, more or less, special and peculiar to itself" (1877).

Among the continental evolutionists, who talked about the different aspects of the origin of culture, special mention may be made of Johann Jacob Bachofen (1815-1877), Adolf Bastian (1826- 1905), Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895).

The nineteenth-century classical evolutionists mainly talked about or laws, but their findings and approaches were modified by the evolutionists of the twentieth-century in the light of their new researches and methodological approaches to the origin of culture and, hence they are known as neo-evolutionists. Among those neo- evolutionists, special mention may be made of three scholars viz. V. Gordon Childe (of England), Julian Steward and Leslie White of U.S.A. , who have made significant contribution s in the study of cultural evolution and their researches, of late, have thrown a new light on different dimensions of the origin of culture.

V. V. Gordon Childe described evolution in terms of three major events viz. the invention of food-product ion, urbanization and industrialization. Thus, analyzing the transitions that took place under the impact of these "revolutions", Childe presented an overall view of the evolutionary process of delineated its common factors.

V. Gordon Childe classified the stages of cultural developments in terms of, thus, archaeological findings, which are as follows:

| Sr. No. | Archaeological Period | Cultural Development |
|---------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. | Paleolithie | Savagery |
| 2. | Neolithic | Barbarism |
| 3. | Copper Age | Higher Barbarism |
| 4. | Early Bronze Age | Civilization |

Julian Steward's contribution to the study of cultural evolution is unique, for it was he, who for the first time gave a broad typology of evolutionists on the basis of his methodological study of different cultural areas of the world. Steward said that cultural evolution may be defined broadly a quest for cultural regularities or laws and further pointed out that there are three distinctive ways in which evolutionary data may be handled.

Firstly, *the Unilinear Evolution:* ·

The classical evolutionists of the nineteenth-century developed a formulation, which dealt with particular cultures and them in stages of a universal sequence.

Secondly, the *Universal Evolution:*

An arbitrary label to designate the modern revamping unilinear evolution, where universal evolutionists are

with culture rather than with cultures.

Thirdly, *Multilinear Evolution:*

Those who believed in multiple developmental sequences, somewhat less ambitious approach than the other two.

## 2.2 THEORIES OF CULTURE

**<u>Functionalist Thought</u>**

**Bronislaw Kaspar Malinowski**

In the early part of the twentieth century, functionalism became widely accepted as a new and important anthropological method. It was a new only insofar as it encompassed a systematic theory, but the notion of function itself was quite old. Although Saint Simon and August Comte used "functions" as a major methodological tool in creating their new science of positivism. The writings of Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) the concept of

function took on greater methodological significance he is widely regarded as functionalist by both the sociologists and anthropologists. . The\ writings of Durkheim specially his book "The Elementary Forms of Religious Life " (1912), in which he summed up his whole sociology with special reference to the function of primitive religion, influenced the two rising stars, Malinowski and Radcliffe Brown, of the British anthropologist, who later on became the champions of Functional and Structural schools of thought respectively

## Malinowski's Early Training:

Bronislaw Kaspar Malinowski was born on 7$^{th}$ April 1884 in Cracow, Germany and he died on 16$^{th}$ May, 1942 at Yale, U.S.A. He was educated in Germany and got his Ph.D. in physics and Mathematics in 1908.After working under Karl Bucher and Wilhelm at Leipzig University in Germany, Malinowski came to England in 1910. He became a Post-Graduate student his D.Sc. degree School of Economics from which he obtained his D.Sc degree in n1916.

In 1913-14 Malinowski was one of the Lecture in special subjects at the London School of Economics. He taught in the Department of Sociology, giving short courses "primitive Religion and social Differentiation" and on Social Psychology". In 1914 he was awarded a fellowship, largely through the help of C.G. Seligman to work among the tribes of New Guinea.

In 1914 Malinowski left England for field work and travelled via Australia, with other anthropologists going out for the British Association meeting in Melbourne. It was at this time when he met Radcliffe Brown for the first time and received from him what he later spoke of as valuable hints about the field work. Arriving in New Guinea in September 1914, he spent about four weeks awaiting in Post Moresby for a boat to the eastwards, and took advantage of this period to work with Ahuia Ova, Seligman's earlier informant. After some months with the Mailu, Malinowski returned in May 1915 and continued his field work till its completion in 1918.

In October 1918 Malinowski returned from the Trobrian Islanders and stayed for sometime in Melbourne, where he married Elsie Masson, the daughter of Sir David Masson, who was then professor of Chemistry at the Melbourne University . After he returned to Europe, Malinowski lived for a year in the Canary Island where in April 1921, the preface to his first book *The Argonauts of the Western Pacific*" was signed . He again took up a post as an occasional Lecturer at the London School of Economics in 1921-22 and this time he mainly delivered lectures on *Sociology & Economics of some Island Communities*. He was appointed Lecturer in Social Anthropology in 1922-23. Thus, from 1923 onwards London was an academic home for Malinowski for nearly two decades , through he travelled widely from here, specially during the summer months. In 1924 Malinowski was appointed Reader in Anthropology at the University of London.

Malinowski was a very well travelled scholar and he delivered lectures in many University of the world Geneva, Vienna, Rome, Oslo, Cornell, Harward *etc*. In 1926 he had visited the United States for the first time at the invitation of the L. Seligman Rockefeller Memorial. He returned to States in 1933 to deliver the Messenger Lectures at Cornell and again, in 1936 as a delegate of the University of London to the Harward Centenary Celebrations where he was also awarded an honorary D.Sc from the Harward University. At the beginning of 1924 Malinowski had been appointed professor of Anthropology at the Yale University, but he died before taking up this assignment.

**Malinowski Contributions to Field-Work Methods:**

Malinowski made three expeditions in all to Guinea to study the Trobri and Islanders, which has been considered as a turning point in the history of field expedition in the world anthropology.Malinowski's contributions to the field methods may be summarized under the following points.

**I Language :** Malinowski has emphasized that the researcher should collect data through the medium of the native's language and for that the researcher should collect data through should learn the native's languages before undertaking long intensive field – work among them.

**ii. Malinowski's Field Methods :**

Malinowski actively sought his information by employing a range of techniques. In the study of the Trobriands he used, what he later called, somewhat cumbrously the method involved the collection of statements of norms and concrete cases, genealogies, villages census, maps and specially the preparation of symbolic tables or charts to illustrate ownership of garden land hunting and fishing privileges, the details of rituals and technical activities in association of harvests and the pattern of gift exchange in association with its sociological ceremonial and economic aspects.

**iii. Malinowski's Ethnograpic Diary :**

Malinowski raised the problem of "*Personal equation*" of the observer. However, he believed that it could , in some measure, be taken into account by keeping the normal and typical as well as the period of field work. He also insisted that the adequate investigation of a culture demand not only the documentation of aspects of social structure, the details of behavior and emotional interaction, but also the natives commentaries on action, their beliefs and ideas.He considered it the duty of an anthropologist to render a careful and sincere account of his credentials and mistakes, committed in the field , in ethnographic diary.

**Malinowski Concept of Culture**:

One of the stimulating contribution of Malinowski to anthropological thought was his concept of culture. Malinowski defined culture in 1931 and stated that "culture comprises inherited artifacts, goods, technical processes, ideas habits and values". Social organization is also included since he argued that "this cannot be really understood except as part of culture" (Malinowski. 1931)

When we analyze Malinowski's use of the term more closely it becomes necessary to distinguish between a number of different intellectual preoccupations, which were all subsumed for him under one word culture. Firstly, he treated the concept of culture as the tribal microcosm, the functioning whole, which as fortes (1953) has pointed out, was a new and stimulating idea when it was first propounded by Malinowski. Secondly, with this idea went Malinowski's customs, institutions and beliefs, which formed part of each culture, with the different shades of meaning he gave to the word "use". Thirdly, Malinowski, in common with other sociologists and psychologists of his time, was preoccupied with the difference and between mean's biological and sociological heritage, and he identified the latter with the term *culture* right from the beginning.

Malinowski was of opinion that a culture characteristic or a trait, which is functionless would not survive, and hence no cultural survival. Malinowski argued that a culture trait should not be studied in isolation . As one trait is related to another trait in a society. It requires to be studied in an integrated manner, which Malinowski called integration theory.

Malinowski emphasized on the study of "specific culture" and not "the culture ". Again, he suggested that the specific culture should be studied as an "integrated whole". By integrated whole" he meant that the various aspects of a culture are related to each other. Thus, culture was to him an integrated machinery. Integration he meant interdependence of cultural traits. Society as an integrated group. To Malinowski culture was an instrument which enabled man to maintain his biosychic survival. He assumed that nothing is loose within a culture; all cultural traits serve the needs of individuals in a society i.e,. the function of a cultural trait lies in its ability to fulfill certain basic or derived needs of the members of a group.

Malinowski's definition of Need is quite significant. He says'By need, then, understand the system of conditions in the human organism in the cultural setting, and in the relation of both to the natural environment, which are sufficient and necessary for the survival of group and organism. A need therefore, is the limiting set of facts. Habits and their motivations, the learned responses and the foundations of organization, must be arranged as to allow the basic needs to be satisfied"

In this definition of need Malinowski has emphasized on the "system of conditions in the human organism", when involves the satisfaction of certain biologically determined impulses in a series of "vital sequences". According to Malinowski these *vital sequences* may be demonstrated as follows:

**Vital Sequences Incorporated in all Cultures**

| (A) Impulse | (B) Act | (C) Satisfaction |
|---|---|---|
| Drive to breathe; Gasping for air | Intake of oxygen | Elimination of CO. |
| Hunger | Ingestion of food | Satisfaction |
| Thrist | Absorption of liquid | Quenching |
| Sex-appetite | Conjugation | Restoration of muscular and Nervous energy |
| Somnolence | Sleep | Awakening with restored energy . |
| Bladder pressure | Micturition | Removal of tension |
| Fright | Escape from danger | Relaxation |
| Pain | Avoidance by effective act | Return to normal stage |

These impulses corresponding to various acts and satisfactions, refer to the dynamic basis of "human nature", conceived as pertaining to an individual organism . Again, this list of impulses correspond only directly to the basic needs of man as an animal species, because at this level the concept of individual and group survival is added to that of individual impulses.

Malinowski, finally constructed a table of basic Needs, which laid stress on the total conditions necessary to individual and group of survival, and merely an individual impulses .

| A<br>Basic Needs | B<br>Cultural Responses |
|---|---|
| 1.   Metabolism | Commissariat |
| 2.   Reproduction | Kinship |
| 3.   Bodily Comforts | Shelter |
| 4.   Safety | Protection |
| 5.   Movement | Activities |
| 6.   Growth | Training |
| 7.   Health | Hygiene |

The individual impulses and basic needs may also be applied on other animals including sub-human primates. But man is a very particular kind of primate, and the special characteristic, which he has acquired in course of evolution, make possible the development of that specifically human form of biological adjustment which we call culture.

Culture, then has the biological survival value. Its adaptive character is in part due to the that, though the basic needs, **Shared with other animals, provide the *Primary determinism"*** The conditions of man's life as social animal impose a "secondary determinism" Malinowski has defined it in terms of determinism Malinowski has defined it in term of derived needs" or "imperatives" .These relate to the requirements of maintenance of cultural apparatus regulation of human behavior, socialization and exercise of authority etc. According to Malinowski the :"responses' to them comprise those of economic, social control, education, political organization etc.

Malinowski was of opinion that an essential characteristic of human social life is that habit becomes transmuted into custom, parental care into the deliberate training of the rising generation and impulses into values, Malinowski calls it " *integrative imperative"* and , according to him , the key to this whole process of symbolism, which must have been present at the birth of culture.

*Thus, Malinowski's Needs uiz. Primary* , (or basic) , derived and integrative, emphasize at all levels, the biological determinants of cultural activities and so provide a principle of analysis and comparison of universal validity.

**Malinowski's Theory of Function**

The basic meaning of function is activity or operation. Each and every thing has a function and, therefore, Malinowski was of opinion that all the cultural components have function to perform, as pointed out by him while interpreting the concept culture and need.

Malinowski and his associates were of opinion that a cultural trait, which is functionless, would not survive and hence no cultural survival. One trait of culture is integrated with another and, thus if one trait is disturbed, it par paralyses the other. From this interpretation of Malinowski, emerged the integration theory of culture. The functional method, therefore, entails the examination of institutional relationship and it is more than integrative description, for it is the eliciting of what Malinowski himself called the "*invisible facts*" the principles of organization and their inter connection.

Although Malinowski's early writings do not manifest a great deal of interest in function, but gradually, he developed his theory of function to make his explanation more scientific and that's why he demonstrated his scheme of function through a Charter i.e the aim of purpose of the society. The first aim of every society according to Malinowski, is its survival. Thus, according to the charter, in every society, there are personnels, who have Norms or a set of Values. Thus , according to Malinowski these norms or values inspire the personal for material apparatus which creates activities. And activities, according to Malinowski, lead to function. It is shown below:

**CHARTER**

Personnel

Norms

Material

Activities
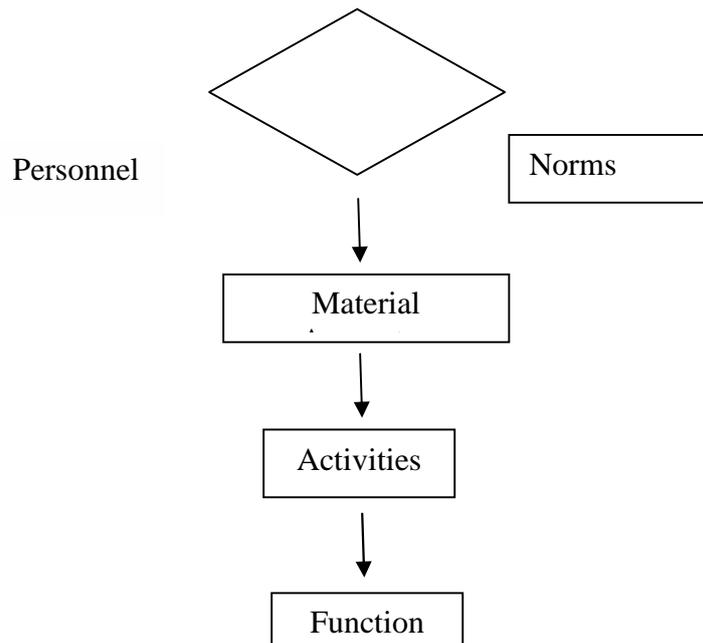
Function

Religion, although, opened up escape from emotional stress, but apart from these functions, it also makes social contributions, because it assists in the maintenance of moral law and order" , and works towards "the identification of the whole tribes as a social unit" . Thus, eventually Malinowski related psychological and social functions to biological ones, and this notion of function as serving biological needs became the core of Malinowski's functional theory.

Malinowski culture was adaptive, and without the satisfaction of basic biological needs neither man nor associated with, the satisfaction of biological needs, which he called derived needs. In brief, thus in order to understand these dimensions of culture, according to Malinowski, one should apply the theory of function. In other words, Malinowski devised a very scientific framework for the study of the dynamics of culture through the theory of function.

## STRUCTURAL THEORY

### Claude Levi strauss

Claude Levi Strauss is an anthropologist best known for his development of structural anthropology. He was born in Brussels and studied law and philosophy at the University of Paris in Paris. He first studied Law and Philosophy and there after found his real vocation in anthropology. He is honorary Fellow, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland. He holds number of assignments; he is a foreign Fellow of American Philosophical Society, American Academy of arts and science, Royal Academy of Netherlands, Norwegian Academy of Science etc. He has been awarded honorary degree of Doctorate from several Universities including Yale, Oxford etc. He lived in Brazil from 1931 to 1939. It was during the time that he carried out his first ethnographic field work, conducting periodic research forays in to the Mato Grosso and the Amazon Rainforest

Lévi-Strauss's theories are set forth in *Structural Anthropology* (1958). Briefly, he considers culture a system of symbolic communication, to be investigated with methods that others have used more narrowly in the discussion of novels, political speeches, sports, and movies.

According to structural theory in anthropology and social anthropology, meaning is produced and reproduced within a culture through various practices, phenomena and activities which serve as systems of signification. A structuralism studies activities as diverse as food preparation and serving rituals, religious rites, games, literary and non-literary texts, and other forms of entertainment to discover the deep structures by which meaning is produced and reproduced within a culture.

An early and prominent practitioner of structuralism, anthropologist and ethnographer Claude Lévi-Strauss in the 1950s, analyzed cultural phenomena including mythology, kinship (the Alliance theory and the incest taboo), and food preparation  In addition to these studies, he produced more linguistically-focused writings where he applied Saussure's distinction between langue and parole in his search for the fundamental mental structures of the human mind, arguing that the structures that form the "deep grammar" of society originate in the mind and operate in us unconsciously. Levi-Strauss was inspired by information theory and mathematics.

Like any other systematic branch of knowledge, anthropology has the tradition of revolutionizing the search for the principles of operation of society and culture. Thomas Kuhn termed general laws as 'paradigm', accepted and shared by a scientific society at a given point of time. In the long history of anthropology several paradigms successively dominated for a reasonable period, competing with one another and eventually one triumphed over others.

In the very beginning of anthropology, the theorists believed in the universality of cultural stages stemming from the psychic unity of mankind. When anthropology developed as an empirical science, evolutionism was replaced by functionalism negating the prior assumption. Later in the mid-twentieth century French anthropologist as well as philosopher Levi-Strauss introduced a new and different theoretical model in the study of culture named 'Structuralism'.

Lévi-Strauss's contribution to structuralist thought is that he provides a scientific account which shows the world as a world of meanings; he believes that structuralism can be used to reveal the unity of all cultures. Two of his works are considered classic: *Anthropologie structurale* (1958) and the earlier *Elementary PStructures of Kinship* (1949).He considers himself to be one of the few "purely structuralist thinkers". He has applied structural theory to studies of myth, ritual and kinship.

The most frequently cited area of Lévi-Strauss's work is his study of mythology.

Levi-Strauss analyzes cultural phenomena such as languages, myths and kinship systems to discover what ordered patterns, or structures, they seemed to display. These, he suggested, could reveal the structure of the human mind. He reasoned that behind the surface of individual cultures there must exist natural properties (universals) common to us all. Levi-Strauss focused his attention on the patterns or structures existing beneath the customs and beliefs of all cultures.

Lévi-Strauss is interested in the structural pattern which gives the myth its meaning. Through his examination of myths from all over the world, he has identified that myths are organised in binary oppositions (for example, good/evil) just like the basic linguistic units. Myths can be broken down into individual units ("mythemes") which, like the basic sound units of language ("phonemes") acquire meaning only when combined together in particular ways. Lévi-Strauss is then interested in the structural pattern which gives the myth its meaning. He believes this linguistic model will uncover the basic structure of the human mind, that is, the structure which governs the way human beings shape all their institutions, artefacts and their forms of knowledge. The rules which governed these combinations could be seen as a kind of grammar, a set of relations beneath the surface of the narrative which constituted the myth's true "meaning". Further, modern structuralist analysis of narrative (known as narratology) began with Lévi-Strauss's pioneering work on myth.

The new school emphasized on psychic structure as a replacement for social structure and withdrew increasingly from the tradition of pervasive empirical fieldwork and cultural relativism. This theoretical orientation searched for universalism and physic unity of mankind which is also innate in human life and in fact brought a revolutionary change what may be called a 'Scientific Revolution'( Kuhn. 1970) in anthropology.

Although structuralism searches universal laws of human mind but the inquiry and its analysis is fundamentally distinctive from the evolutionary point of view. He believed in mental structure on the basis of universal mental thought process, emphasizing on the perception, 'mental thought process is universal and innate'.

From the study of oral traditions, myths, kinship system, he emphatically revealed the dichotomous opposition the human mental structure, what he calls 'binary opposition'. Such a psychic state is truly operative in all human societies—death/life, savage/ civilized, raw/cooked, human/animal, culture/nature, love/ hatred, etc. Levi-Straussian interpretation provided new impetus to the understanding of human mind as well as the cultural world that diffused beyond the frontier of contemporary anthropology. it is important to remember that Lévi-Strauss and his structuralism provided an important contribution for debating the nature of "meaning".

### A.R. Radcliffe Brown

Although function and structure have been called as "the two was of looking at the same data" (Firth: 1951; Richards: 957 etc.), but some times the structuralists, the leader of which was A.R. Radcliffe Brown (1881-1955), over ride the functionalists m methodologies, interpretations and explanations of social phenomena, which ultimately formed a big school of thought in anthropology.

The term social structure already appeared in the works of *Herbert Spencer's* (1820-1903) *"Principles of Sociology"* (1885, Vol.I) and Emile Durkheim's (1858-1917) *"Division of Labour"*(1893),

(-AR. Radcliffe Brown, the champion of this school of thought, "the components of social structure are human beings; the structure itself being an arrangement of persons in relationships institutionally defined and regulated"      (1952).

### Early Training of AR. Radcliffe Brown

Alfred Reginald Radcliffe Brown was born in 1881. He began his earner as a student of W.H.R. Rivers  in psychology but became his first  student in social anthropology in Cambridge in the year 1904.

Radchffe Brown was a true social anthropologist, for he read social  anthropology,  wrote social anthropology and taught only soc al anthropology at many Universities viz. Sydney, Cape-Town, Chicago and Oxford. At Chicago2  he taught social anthropology from 1931 to  1937 and thereafter he continued  at Oxford  from 1937 to July, 1946 an guided the destiny of many eminent British anthropologists there.

Radcliffe Brown not only fought for the independent status and existence of social anthropology; but he also developed many theoretical concepts and ideas, which ultimately formed an independent school of thought in anthropology. His theoretical Postulations, interpretation of socio-economic a religious institutions in a broader perspective of *social structure* are the most outstanding contributions, which he made for the development of this science at the  global  level.

### Radcliffe Brown's Theory of Social Structure

Radcliffe Brown used the concept of Social Structure for the first time as early as in 1914 while delivering a lecture on "Social Anthropology" in Birmingham (Forte: 1956). However, the concept of social structure was  highlighted  in  detail  in  1940 while delivering his Presidential address to the Royal Anthropological Institute of  Great  Britain. On this occasion he also pointed out hat "there is no functional theory; functionalism  was a myth invented by Professor Malinowski" (1940). However, when Radcliffe Brown's   works have  been  analysed  and  interpreted  by  his associates, It has been found Radcliffe Brown was a functionalist of different type, who may be called *"structural-functionalist"* (Maefijt: 1974)

According to Radcliffe Brown the concept of structure refers to arrangement of parts or components related to one another in some sort of larger unity. For instance, we can talk of the structure of a house, me g:., the arrangement of walls, roofs, rooms, passage etc., and ultimately as an arrangement of bricks stone, timber etc. Similarly we can speak of the structure of piece of music as an arrangement of successive sounds and therefore, we can say that the structure of one song is either good or bad? In this way there is a structure of human body-such as there are number of organs, bones, tissues etc. .

In social structure the ultimate components are individual human beings or persons and "structure consists of the arrangements of persons in relation to each other" (Radcliffe Brown: 952). For instance in a village we find an arrangement of persons into families or households, which is again a structural feature. In family the structure consists of the relations of father mother and children to each other.

Thus, in looking for the structural features of social life we look first for the existence of social groups of all kinds and examine also the internal structural system of those groups. In addition to the arrangement of persons into groups and within those groups we find also an arrangement into social Classes and categor.ies. Social distinctions between men and women, between Brahmins and Sudras or untouchables, are important structural features.

While structure refers to an arrangement of persons, organisation refers. To the arrangement of activities. Social organisation, accord1ng to Radchffe Brown, is the arrangement of activities of two or more persons, which are adjusted to give a united combined activity.

Radcliffe Brown illustrated the concept of social structure by citing example from the tribes of western Australia. He said the tribes are divided into a number of territories and men, thus, connected with a particular territory formed a distinct social group, which we may speak of a clan, this was a unit of fundamental importance in the social structure. Among the Australian tribes, clan is known as horde . The internal structure of the horde was a division into families, each composed of a man _ with his wife or wives and their young children . There is a continuous existence of a horde, as the members of the *horde* are replaced from time by the death of the old one and the newly born members enter into the horde. Thus, the continuity of the social group is an important factor for the existence of the social structure.

Radcliff Brown further suggested that persons of different hordes and of different tribes are linked together by means of the kinship system. Therefore, the inter-tribal kinship structure also plays an important role for the maintenance of total social structure.

Radcliffe Brown was of opinion that as social structure is an arrangement of persons in institutionalized roles and relationship, structural continuity is the continuity of such arrangement. Structural continuity in human societies is dynamic in this sense. According to Radcliffe Brown social structure, therefore , is to be defined as the continuing arrangement of persons in relationships defined or controlled by institutions i.e. social established norms or patterns of behaviors.

In social structure there is a net-work of relationship but those networks of relationship are controlled by norms, rules or patterns. Thus, in any relationship within a social structure a person knows that he is expected to behave within the prescribed manner and norms.

## Social Anthropology and Social Structure

First of all Radcliffe Brown explained that social anthropology is the theoretical natural science of society, that is, the investigation of social phenomena by methods essentially similar to those used in physical and biological sciences. However, he remarked that he had no objection if any one calls it a "Comparative Sociology" and as a matter of fact it is a subject itself. In other words it is the study of human society, but Radcliffe Brown did not approve the word "Culture", which is generally applied by anthropologists for the total study of human society. He pointed out that in a particular society the inhabitants live in certain natural environment. We observe their acts of behaviour and direct observation does reveal to us that these human beings are connected to each other by a complex net-work of social relations and Radcliffe Brown used the term-social structure to this net- work of actually existing relations. The social phenomena constitute a distinct class of natural phenomena. They are all, in one way or the other, connected with the existence of social structure, either being implied in or resulting there from. Social structure, thus, are as real as are ··individual organisms. Social phenomena which we observe in any society are not the immediate result of the nature of individual human beings, but the result of the social structure by which they are united.

According to Radcliffe Brown there are two important factors in social structure: firstly, social relations of persons to persons and secondly, the differentiation of individuals and of classes by their social role. About the first factor he said that the kinship structure of any society consists of a number of such dyadic (set of two) relations, as between father and so, or other's brother and son, or mother's son. He said that in an Australian tribe the whole social structure is based on a net-work of such relationship of persons to persons, established through genealogical connections. About the second factor, that is the social role, Radcliffe Brown suggested that the differential social positions of men and women, chief and commoners, of employer and employees, are the determinants social relations as belonging to different clans or different nations.

## Types of Social Structure              .              .

Radcliffe Brown placed the model of social structure in two categories: firstly, the actual social structure; and secondly, the general social structure. About the actual social structure Radcliffe Brown suggested that the actual social relations of persons and group of persons change from year to year or e en from day today. New members come into a community by birth or immigration while others go out of it by death or migration. Besides this, there are marriages and divorces whereby members change several times. Thus, according to Radcliffe Brown while the actual social structure changes many times, the general social structure may remain relatively constant for a long time.

**Spatial Aspects of Social Structure**

About the spatial aspect of social structure, Radcliffe Brown suggested that there is hardly any society which is really isolated or without having any contact with the outside world. Thus, network of social relations spreads over the vast territory and a person of a particular village or society, is related to a person of another village situated at long distance and is connected with various ties. Here again the wider range of kinship ties among the primitive society prevails and on this basis of kinship relation. Radcliffe Brown suggested that the inhabitants of one village interact with, or are related to the inhabitants of other regions also. In this connection it may also be pointed out that Radcliffe Brown did not suggest that the social structure of only one village or locality should b studied, but he did emphasize the sociologists or the social anthropologists should study the social structures of many regions in order to observe, describe and compare the systems of social structure of various regions {He said that with this view many scholars of America and Grea Britain have under- taken the study of social structure of a Japanese village, French village, Mexican village etc.

*Social structure and the social personality?*

Social Physiology and Social Structure

When Radcliffe Brown suggested that the anthropologists should study the varieties and diversities of the structural systems, he used two terms such as social morphology and the social physiology. By the word social morphology he meant a comparative morphology of societies in which some sort of classification or types of structural systems are done. In other words, social morphology consists in the definition, comparison and classification of diverse structural systems, according to Radcliffe Brown.

In addition...to this morphological study, there is a physiological study of the society in which several types of questions are raised 8nd studied by the social scientists.

According to Radcliffe Brown social physiology includes every kind of social phenomena, such as morals, law, etiquette, religion, government, education etc., which are part of the complex mechanisms by which a social structure exists and persists. According to Radcliffe Brown we study these things not m abstraction or in isolation but in their direct and indirect relations to social structure. In brief, it may be said that these social phenomena are studied with reference to the way in which they depend upon, or effect the social relations between persons and group of persons.

**Social Structure and Economic Institutions**

Radcliffe Brown says that economic institutions of human societies may be studied from two angles viz. firstly, the economic systems may be viewed as the mechanism by

which the goods of various kinds and in various quantities are produced, transported or transferred and utilised; and secondly, the economic system may also be considered as a set of relations between persons and group, which maintains this exchange or circulation of goods and survives and from this point of view, the study of economic life of societies may be made as part of the general study of the social structure.

## Concepts of Social Relations & Religion in Social Structure

According to Radcliffe Brown "a social relation exists between two or more individual organisms when there is some adjustment of their respective interests" (1940). Radcliffe Brown used the word "interest" in the widest possible sense and he referred to all behaviour that we regard as purposive. According to him, the word "interest" implies to express or designate a subject and an object and particularly a relation between them. Talking in terms of grammatical relations, Radchffe Brown suggested that a subject has an interest in an object. In another word an object has certain value for the subject and, hence, according to him, "interest", and "value" are correlative terms. He also talked about the determents of social relations. He pointed out that the interests or values are the determinants of social relations, because the study of the social structure immediately leads to the study of social determinants.

## <u>Concept of Social Change in Social Structure</u>

Radcliffe Brown suggested that in social structure there is are important aspect which has not been studied in detail and these are the methods and processes of social change. Although some studies have been made on social change in the non-literate societies but that is confined to a special type of process of change which has remained under the influence or domination of some invaders or conquerers. Radcliffe Brown pointed out that the change of this kind is being designated as *culture contact* by some anthropologists and criticized that by this term we can understand the one-sided or two-sided effects of interactions in the 'societies. But what he was interested in the study of the social change societies, he called Composite Societies or the Plural Societies. Elaborating the concept of plural society, Radcliffe Brown suggested that a composite society may be represented by classes of people, with different languages, various customs and modes of life as well as the different sets of ideas and values.

Radcliffe Brown was of opinion that the concept of social progress has been explained as the steady material and moral improvement of mankind from crude stone implements and sexual promisquity to the modern sophisticated arms and monogamous marriage. Hence the word progress can be used to designate 'such process

by which human beings have learnt or have increased the knowledge of scientific developments by inventions and discover- ies. According to Radcliffe Brown evolution refers specifically to a process of emergence of new forms of structure. Again this new form of structure may be explained in two ways i.e. organic evolution and social evolution . Organic evolution has some characteristics in which small number of organisms have been developed into large number of organisms and more complex forms of organic structure have come into existence out of simpler forms. Similarly, in social structure the social evolution can be defined with the help of two important features according to Radcliffe Brown . Firstly, there has been a process by which, from a small number of forms of social structure, various forms have developed in course of history. In other word there has been a process of diversification in the society in which the developed forms of social structure have made the social system more complex. Secondly, the simpler forms of social structure have been replaced to a considerable extent by the complex forms of social structure in the long process of social evolution. Radcliffe Brown said that the social evolution in this sense is a reality, which the social anthropologists should study and recognize it. He admitted that it is difficult to classify the structural system in terms of its simplicity or complexity by the investigator but he suggested that one can go into detail by studying the extension of social relations. For instance, in a primitive social structure we generally find a narrow social field in which average or most of the persons are brought in direct or indirect relations by the simple linguistic community, a simple and small political relations as well as by economic relations over a very narrow range . Thus, in such society there is more similarity in the social roles played by the members of the society, while there is a much contrast in much complex forms of social structure. Thus, according to Radcliffe Brown the Process of social history is very near to the concept of social evolution and according to him it may be defined as the process by which wide range systems of social structure have grown out of or replaced narrow range systems. He further suggested that the concept of social evolution is required to be examined, explained and described only in terms of social structure.

Radcliffe Brown was a true social anthropologist and a good theoretician He described the theory of social structure from various angle and explained particularly in terms of net-works of social relations, and emphasized on the continuity of social institutions. He also explained the difference between social structure and the social organization. He also described the types of social structure; threw light on the spatial aspect of social structure; made a distinction between social morphology and social physiology. Finally, he emphasized on the importance of the spread of language and the role of the economic institutions where the members of the society are related at various stages. While discussing social structure, he also discussed his views on the concept of religion, social change, social evolution *etc*.

**CULTURAL PROCESS**

All Cultures are inherently predisposed to change and, at the same time, to resist change. There are dynamic processes operating that encourage the acceptance of new ideas and things while there are others that encourage changeless stability. It is likely that social and psychological chaos would result if there were not the conservative forces resisting change.

There are three general sources of influence or pressure that are responsible for both change and resistance to it:

- forces at work within a society
- changes in the natural environment
- contact between societies

**Evolutionalism**

The word 'evolution'describes the process of qualitative change.Evolutionalism is the scholarly activity of describing,understanding and explaining os this process.

For systematic discussion of the views and contributions of the evolutionists, they are classified from two angles viz. firstly, the classical evolutionists and the neo-evolutionists; and secondly, on the basis of their nationality such as the British, American, German etc. This classification may also be shown through the following table:
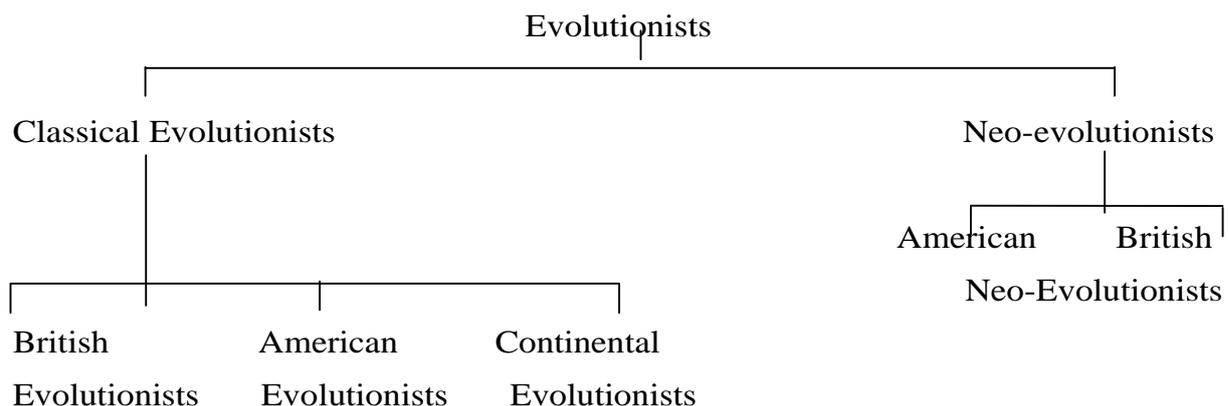


Thus, there are three sub-schools of classical evolutionists and two sub-schools of neo-evolutionists, which may be discussed one by one.

**The British Classical Evolutionists**

Although there are many victorian scholars in Great Britain, who talked about the unilinear form of culture growth, but here special mention may be made of Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917), R.R. Marett (1866-1943), James Frazer (1854-1941), McLennan (1827-1888), Henry Maine (1822-1888), Herbert Spen- cer (18201903) etc. whose writings on the evolution of different social institutions, have not only enriched the world anthropology, but also made a distinguishable place for the British anthropology at the global level.

**(E.B. Tylor (1832- 917):**

Tylor was not an anthropologist by training.

**(ii)    Tylor on the Science of Culture History**

Tylor was of opinion that the study of culture is essentially a historical study, for culture is essentially a historical process. Anthropology, according to him, is the study of man's development in course of history. Tylor's definition of culture, which is given below, obviated all erroneous explanation s given earlier, and was considered to be the first scientific form of defining culture, which is the central theme of anthropology.

Tylor says "culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnolographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other ca  abilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (1871). His science of culture history was based upon a philosophy of cultural progress involving three stages viz. Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization.  He suggested that these are three universal stages of cultural progress, but he did not conceive it to be the moving power of history, rather used it as a tool for reconstruction of past conditions.

**(iii)    Tylor's Contributions to the Study of Primitive Religion**

Although Tylor embraced the whole field of anthropological investigation, his most comprehensive treatment was in the field of primitive religion. He began with defining religion in such a simple way that all forms of it could be included, namely as "the belief in Spiritual Beings". He firmly stated that religion was a cultural universal.


**AMERICAN CLASSICAL EVOLUTIONIST**

Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881)

Born in 1818 in Aurira, New York, Lewis Henry Morgan studied law in Albany and settled as a lawyer in Rochester. He studied in detail the iroquois Indians and later formed a society, the members of which we r e the patrons of the Iroqu ois' customs and manners . The members of this society, under the chairman- ship of Morga n, usedto arrange meetings in which all of them use d to wear the costume s and dresses of the Iroquois-India ns.

As Morgan was inclose touch with the Iroquois and many of them used to meet him quite often , Morgan felt that the Iroquois' cultures were  rapidly  changing and  that their  cultures  should  be recorded and published before it w as too late . Thus, while visiting and interviewing many Iroquois Indians, Morgan collected bulk of data  and published  then1 in  his  book  "League  of  the  Iroquois" ( 1851). After the publication of  this  book,  Morgan  now  occupied  an important place in America and was considered as a full-fledged evolutionist. His writings brought to Morgan an international name and fame and he was universally recognised as an evolutionist. He has divided all history into three main stages viz. (a) Savagery , (b) Barbarism and (c) Civilization. These three stages were further Correlated with economic and intellectual developments. According to Morgan, Savagery  was the  period  before pottery ; Barbarism began  with the  ceramic  age  and  Civilization  came  after  the invention of alphabets and writing.About these period Morgan further wrote that "each of these periods has a distinct  culture and exhibits a mode of life, more or less, special and peculiar to itself" (1877).

## CONTINENTAL EVOLUTIONISTS

Among the continental evolutionists, who talked about  the different aspects of the origin of culture, special mention may be made of Johann Jacob Bachofen (1815-1877), Adolf Bastian (1826- 1905), Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895).

## NEO-EVOLUTIONISTS

The nineteenth-century classical evolutionists mainly talked about or laws, but their findings and approaches were modified by  the evolutionists of the twentieth-century in the light of their new researches and methodological approaches to the origin of culture and, hence they are known as neo-evolutionists. Among those neo-  evolutionists, special mention may be made of three scholars viz. V. Gordon Childe (of England), Julian Steward and Leslie White of U.S.A. , who have  made  significant  contribution s in  the study  of cultural evolution and their researches, of late, have thrown a new light  on different  dimensions  of  the  origin  of  culture.

### V. Gordon Childe (1892-1957)

V. V. Gordon Childe  described evolution  in  terms  of  three  major  events viz. the invention of food-product ion, urbanization and industrialization. Thus, analyzing the transitions that took place under   the  impact   of these "revolutions", Childe presented an overall view of the evolutionary process of delineated its common factors.

V. Gordon Childe classified the stages of cultural developments in terms of, thus, archaeological findings, which are as follows:

| Sr. No. | Archaeological Period | Cultural Development |
|---------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. | Paleolithie | Savagery |
| 2. | Neolithic | Barbarism |
| 3. | Copper Age | Higher Barbarism |
| 4. | Early Bronze Age | Civilization |

## Julian.H.Steward (1902-1972)

Julian Steward's contribution to the study of cultural evolution is unique, for it was he, who for the first time gave a broad typology of evolutionists on the basis of his methodological study of different cultural areas of the world. Steward said that cultural evolution may be defined broadly a quest for cultural regularities or laws and further pointed out that there are three distinctive ways in which evolutionary data may be handled.Such as, *the Unilinear Evolution,* the *Universal Evolution and Multilinear Evolution:*

## Leslie A. White (1900-1975)

Leslie White is considered to be the most controversial n neo-evolutionist of America. A1though he was a student of Franz Boas, but he was a greater admirer of Tylor and Morgan and, therefore, from the very beginning he believed in the progressive course of evolution. Searching for a universal principle of explaining the course of evolution, he went a step further than Childe and Steward and considered "energy" for the same.

White was of the opinion that culture is basically a survival mechanism and that energy is required to provide man with the necessities for his continued existence. In the earliest stage of human development, man used his own body as the major source of energy, but soon he began to capture other natural sources of energy, and utilised fire, water, wind etc., for his own purposes.

His famous book "The Science of Culture" appeared in 1949, which brought a dramatic change in the thinking of evolution.

## ACCULTURATION

The processes of change in artifacts, customs, and beliefs that resultfrom the contact of two or more cult ures. The term is also used to     refer     to the results of such     incorporation and            directed change, may be distinguished on the basis of the conditions                            under which cultural contact and change take place.The learning of the ideas, values, conventions, and behavior thatcharacterize a social group. ( See socialization.) Acculturation is alsoused to describe the results of co ntact between two or moredifferent cultures; a new, composite culture emerges, in which ome existing cultural features are combined, some are lost, and new  features are generated. Linton,  Redfield, Herskovits, and Hoizer have given many examples to define acculturation. According to Herskovits, when a  child  learns  to  obey  its  cultural  traditions  in  the  process  of  development,  it  is  called acculturation.

**ASSIMILATION** Within a society, processes leading to change include invention and culture loss. Inventions may be either technological or ideological. Culture loss is an inevitable result of old cultural patterns being replaced by new ones Within a society, processes that result in the resistance to change include habit and the integration of culture traits.

ASSIMILATION: Assimilation is the fusion or blending of two previously distinct groups in to one.

**Cultural assimilation** is the process by which a person or a group's language and, or culture come to resemble those of another group. The term is used both to refer to both individuals and groups, and in the latter case it can refer to either immigrant diasporas or native residents that come to be culturally dominated by another society.

Assimilation may involve either a quick or gradual change depending on circumstances. Full assimilation occurs when new members of a society become indistinguishable from members of the other group. Whether or not it is desirable for an immigrant group to assimilate is often disputed by both members of the group and those of the dominant society. Assimilation is concerned with the absorption and incorporation of the culture by another . When the process of assimilation takes place , the people in two distinct group do not just compromise with each other , they become almost indistinguishable.

Assimilation is not confined to single field only. It is generally applied to explain the fusion of two distinct cultural groups. It is a slow and gradual process. The speed of the process of assimilation depends on the nature of contacts. Assimilation is an unconscious process. Mostly in an unconscious manner individuals and groups discard their original cultural heritage and substitute it with the new one. Assimilation is the two way process. It involves the principle of give and take.

Assimilation is possible only when individuals and groups are tolerant towards the cultural differences of others. Assimilation is the final product of social contact. A factor which helps in complete assimilation is amalgamation which refers to the inter marriage of different groups. Without biological amalgamation complete assimilation is not possible. Cultural similarities are one of the important factors which facilitate assimilation. Education is another conducive factor for assimilation. Assimilation normally provides a permanent solution to inter-group disputes and differences.

**DIFFUSION**

Diffusionalists said that various culture complexes develop at various times in different parts of the world and later on diffuse over corresponding parts of the earth. According to them culture traits may also be carried by migrating people into an area where they settle down temporarily and may be communicated to the local inhabitants living there. 'Thus, diffusionists are of opinion that culture has growth in' course of history, not because of evolution, but because of transmission of culture due to historical happenings and mutual contact. Such historical happening, which led to the transmission of culture are provided a theory to the study of culture growth and culture parallels, was called *"diffusion"*.

For systematic discussion of the diffusionists and their contributions, we may discuss them as follows:

1.      The British Diffusionists,

2.      The German Diffusionists,

3.      The American Diffusionists.

These three sub-schools of diffusionists made significant contributions in the study of· culture-parallels and an historical dimension of culture.

## British Diffusionist

Among the British diffusionists, who mainly talked about the ancient Egypt as the cultural cradle of the world, special mention may be made of G.E. Smith (1871-1937), W.J. Perry (1887-1949) and W.H.R. Rivers (1864-1922). As their works and findings mainly concentrated on Egypt, they are also called as Egyptologists.

**William James Perry (1887-1949)**: W.J. Perry's chief aim was to support the theory of diffusion, put forward by Smith although he carried good field work in the Malayan area and wrote some important books. Perry also visited Cairo and took interest in the archaeological excavations and extended a blind support to Smith m his theoretical postulations. Perry was so much impressed by the remains of Sun temple at CairO.He wrote a book "The Children of the Sun", which was published in 1923 from London.After the publication of this book he became very popular and this book was reprinted several times and was widely read. In this book he laid emphasis that "transmission of culture is always accompanied by degradation" and "no a t aft IS really enduring". He also pointed out that ancient ; tc:as th' only cultural cradle in the worl. Perry's another book "Gods and the Men" appeared in 1927 · which he throw light on the early men's conception of supernatural powers,. .

**Willam Halse Rivers Rivers (1864-19.22)**· W.H.R. Rivers, like Smith,s a medical doctor by profession and he was persuaded by this medical doctor by profession and he was persuaded by this extreme diffusionism towards the end of his life.

In 1906 River's classic mongraphy on "The Toda", a polyan- drous tribe of Nilgiri Hills (India).

## German Diffusionists

Fredrick Ratzel(1844-1904),Fritz Graebner(1877-1934) and JesuitWilhelmScnmidt (1868-1954) were the main proponents of this school.The German diffusionists are considered superior to their British counterparts. They opposed the oversimplification evolutionary schemes put forward by the classical evolutionists. The German

diffusionists further pointed out that the development in the universe is not uniform and that's why a group of people with simple technology, may have an advanced social structure or may practice a complex form of worship . Thus, unlike the pro-Egyptians, the German diffusionists established a multiple form of development  of culture. Thus, the culture-historical movement, that became known as the Kulturkreise or "Culture Circle" was much more scholarly. Their adherent examined all cultural traits in detail and with thoroughness.Some times this school is also called as Kulturkreise School as it is suggested the concept of culture-complex or culture circle.

**American School of Diffusion**

The American diffusionists received impetus and inspiration from their German counterparts and, therefore,  it is said that the American *"Culture Area"* theory of diffusion was influenced by the "museum  methodology " of  German  diffusion.

"Cultural Area" became dominant theme in American diffusion, be-sides a number of concepts like "Food Areas", "Age-  Areas ", "Culture Centre", "CultureClimax" etc., were also used to explain the nature and processes of diffusion operating in native America. This school of Diffunalism was chiefly conducted by Clark Wissler1870-1947) and Alfred Louis Kroeber(1876-1947).Both of them were the students of France Boas(1858-1942), the leading proponent of evolutionalism in early twentieth century.

**ENCULTURATION**

We may define enculturation as the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values that enable them to become functioning members of their societies.The dictionary defines enculturation as.."The process by which an individual becomes a part of his native culture." The process of enculturation begins at birth. "!" For the most part this is a process that happens automatically and unconsciously. Yet everyone agrees that enculturation is a very powerful force, one that shapes the context of every individual's entire life, and lays a foundation that for good or bad influences our life choices in subtle and pervasive way. Anthropologists who have studied various cultures have described a variety of ways that elements of culture are transmitted to individuals born into that culture. These include such things as the usage of language, participation in rituals, the telling of stories, the emotion conveyed in relationship to certain events, and all the day to day, moment by moment choices and behaviors that one can observe in those around them.

**Cultural Integration** The term cultural integration means the process of one culture gaining ideas, technologies and products of another and so this means that this culture will seem to be integrating into the other. Cultural integration refers to an interaction of people from a variety of cultures. This integration will include people with different skills, from different religions, professionalism and ethnic groups. Cultural integration

leverages the existing differences to benefit an organization as a whole. Ruth Benedict believed in the integration of a culture by its content. She said, a culture is made up of many patterns Further, she had shown that the patterns of a culture are harmonious so that they could be bound together in some consistent way. According to her, the harmony gave the culture a particular style- a unique configuration.

## SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY

### Marriage

Marriage is an institution that admits men and women to family life. John Levy and Ruth Monroe people get married because of the feeling that being in a family is the only proper indeed the only possible way to live. People do not marry because it is their social duty to perpetuate the institution of family or because the scriptures recommend matrimony but because they lived in a family as children and cannot get over the feeling that being in a family is the only proper way to live in society.

Family     appears as a result of marriage and it continues through marriage. According to Westermarck "marriage is more or less durable connection between male and female casting beyond     the mere act of propagation till after the  birth of the offspring". Marriage enables a child to get a socially recognized father and mother. R.Lowie, the renowned anthropologist said that there were two principal motives behind the marriage'' the universal object of founding a family  and the constant need for cooperation in the daily routine of life".

  Marriage is, therefore, a permanent legal union between a man and a woman. It is an important institution without which the society could never be sustained.

### Forms of marriage

At     present in human society two forms of marriage is evident

a. Monogamy i.e., marriage  of a man with one woman.

b. Polygamy  i.e. marriage of a man or woman with two or more mates. Polygamy can be of two types polygyny and polyandry. Polygyny means the marriage of one man with several women. Polyandry denotes the marriage of one woman with several men.

Matrilocal residence i.e. the man's practice of living in the wife's house also favours polygyny.

Marriage of a man with two or more sisters at  a time is called sororal polygyny. When the co-wives are not sisters, the marriage is termed as non-sororal polygyny. Andamanese, Kanikkar, Urali,etc. tribes show high incidence of sororal polygyny.

Polyandry is also two types- adelphic or fraternal and non-fraternal. When husbands are brothers, it is called fraternal polyandry. Opposite to this is non-fraternal polyandry. Toda and Khasa tribes are in favor of fraternal polyandry, whereas a few Tibetans and Nayers practice non-fraternal type.

Monogamy is considered as the most modern form of marriage.

**Selection of Mates**

In a society one can not marry anyone whom he or she likes. There are certain strict rules and regulations. The first criterion in establishing marriage alliance is the consideration of the group itself.

**Exogamy**

This is the rule by which a man is not allowed to marry someone from his own social group. Such prohibited union is designated as incest. Incest is often considered as sin. Different scholars had tried to find out the explanation behind this prohibition. i.e. how incest taboo came into operation.

In fact, there are some definite reasons for which practice of exogamy got approval. They are:

(a)      A conception of blood relation prevails among the members of a group. Therefore, marriage within the group-members is considered a marriage between a brother and sister

(b)      Attraction between a male and female gets lost due to close relationship in a small group.

(c)      There is a popular idea that a great increase of energy and vigor is possible in the progeny if marriage binds two extremely distant persons who possess no kin relation among them.

Hindus do not select their marriage partners having own gotro-name.It is believed that "gotro"denotes a large group where members originate from a common ancestor.By nature clan is exogamous.

Endogamy

This is the rule,which comples the members of a group to marry within the group.All the tribes and caste groups of india are endogamous.


**Prohibition :**An incest taboo is universal feature in the world which means a prohibition on intercourse as found inall societies between the closely related kins like parent and children or between siblings.some times it extends to the cousins.Incest is very ancient belief and widely accepted among the primitive people of the world. Incest ban encouraged marriage outside one's own social group and thus helped the members of different groups to form a larger cooperating group.


**Prescribed and Preferential Marriage**

In many societies, marriage between first cousins is permitted or sought.When a man is completely to marry a person of a particular category,it is called prescribed marriage.In some

societies , there no compulsion, but people consider certain union as desirable. Such a marriage is known as preferential marriage.In this respect three types of marriage are popular.

## 1.Cross-Cousin Marriage

This concept first formulated by Tylor in 1888.This is the marriage , which occur between the cousins whose parents are brother and sister. Person's cross cousins are therefore , his father's sister's children in one side, and on the other side his mother's brother's children. This type of marriage alliances has been noted among the tribes like Oraon, toto, kadar Gond, Kharia, etc..The marriage where selection of the cousin is not restricted is called asymmetrical type of cross-cousin marriage. Here a person is free to marry his desired girl either from father's sister's daughters or from mother's brother's daughters.

## 2. Parallel cousin Marriage

When marriage takes place between the children of the siblings of the same sex, it is called parallel cousin marriage. The mate may come either from one's father's brother's children or mother's sister's children. This type of marriage found among Muslim community. Usually in a community, where cross-cousin marriage is allowed, parallel –cousin marriage is forbidden.

## 3.Levirate and Sororate

In many societies cultural norms often force individuals to marry the sibling of the deceased spouse. The Latin word "Levir' means husband's broyher.After the death of husband when woman marries her husband's brother, the custom called as levirate. Kuki, Santhal tribes follows this.

The custom by which a man is obliged to marry the sister of her deceased wife is called sororate marriage.The Latin word "sorror' means sister.Restricted and non- restricted are the two types sororate.Restricted is the actual form. But sometimes during the lifetime of wife,the husband marries her sister –is called non-restricted sororate.A man marry several woman who are sisters termed as sororal polygyny.Andamanese, Uralis,Kanikars,Santhal also practice the same.

## Hypergamy Or Anuloma Marriage

This is a situation where an upper caste man marries a lower caste woman. For this unequal match a man does not at all lose his caste status or ritual purity.But his children suffer a lot; they partially lose their hereditary status But such type marriage had a sanction in ancient India by Hindu social custom.

**Hypogamy or Pratiloma Marriage**

This is a situation where a low caste man is married to an upper caste woman.Although this type of match was evident occasionally , but failed to get social sanction.Because a woman after such marriage was held as ritually impure for losing her original caste status.

**Ways of Acquiring a mate**

1.      Marriage by capture
2.      Marriage by Trial
3.      Marriage by purchase
4.      Marriage by Exchange
5.      Marriage by service
6.      Marriage by negotiation
7.      Marriage by Elopement
8.      Marriage by Intrusion
9.      Marriage on Probation.

a)Marriage by capture

   This is a kind of marriage where a girl is taken away forcibly without her consent. Consent is not taken even from her guardian or near relatives. In all primitive communities, this type of marriage was once in vogue. Manu, the ancient lawmaker of Hindu society referred this type of marriage as 'rakshasa vivaha' and mentioned it as an approved mode of securing a wife among the Hindus. Bhil,Gond,Ho,etc.,    tribes used to practice this widely. At present, this custom has been modernized anticipating penalty from court. Among the Kharias and Birhors, ceremonial capture takes place instead of real physical capture. The Youngman who is in love with a girl, suddenly put vermilion on the forehead of the girl in a public place and runs away. The girl becomes his wife after this. In the santal community, sometimes this sort of marriage is found to happen. Among the Gonds, gotup capture takes place. A mock fight is held between the two parties where the bride weeps and laments ceremonially. Mock capture is also practiced in Africa, Melanesia and china. In societies, where a surplus of females is found, groom capture takes place. From the Kambot people of New Guinea such practice has been noted.

(b)Marriage by trial

     This is the kind of marriage where a young man has to prove his courage, bravery and physical strength before claiming a girl as wife. Such practice is widespread among the Bhils of central India.


(c)Marriage by purchase

     This is the usual way of obtaining a wife in tribal societies. Here marriage demands a payment for the bride, which is known as bride price. In Vedic age such practice was widespread in Hindu society. Lower castes of Bengal still prefer marriages by purchase. Among the Veiphei Kuki.and Rengama Nagas, this practice is quite common. Santal, Oraon, Toto, Lodha, etc., are not exceptions.

(d)Marriage by exchange

It is a modified form of 'marriage by purchase'. Here the bride price is compensated by providing another bride in return. So that payment could not be claimed by any of the two families. In Melanesia and Australia, a man's sister is offered to his wife's brother. The same used tobe done among the Kulin Bramins of Bengal. Bhothias of Almora also show this type of marriage in their community.

(e)Marriage by service

This is the marriage by considerable labour is offered by the bridegroom to the bride's family prior to marriage. A prospective groom goes to live in the house, which would be his father-in-law's house and works for them. The duration of service varies in different group of people. It may be a few days or a few months or few years. Among the Bunas of Bengal, the groom serves the father-in-law for six to nine months. Veiphei Kukis take this period from two to three years. For Bhils, it stands about seven years. Such a practice is also popular among Aimols, Purum and Chiru Kukis of Manipur, among the Eskimos and the Ainus of Japan. Marriage by service is also associated with matrilocal residence.

(f)Marriage by Negotiation

This type of marriage rests mutual consent of both the parties. The guardians here look for the suitable match and negotiate thereafter. Sometimes go- betweens are recruited. Most of the tribes and castes of India follow this way. Purum Kukis of Assam, Mundas and Hos of Chota Nagpur, Baigas of Madhya Pradesh show maximum rigidity in the process.

(g)Marriage by Elopement

The tribes especially who keep dormitories for the youth indulge the adolescent boys and girls to choose their mates. In this circumstance, if parent's consent is not available, elopement takes place. The boy elopes the girl and generally after a considerable period, couple is received back to the family. Eloped couple when readmitted into the tribe, they have to accept a phase of beating. A grand feast may or may not be arranged thereafter. Among the Oraon, this type of marriage is tremendously popular. Among the Kurnais of south East Australia, about a dozen of girls are eloped at a time.

(h)Marriage by Intrusion

This is the marriage, which solemnizes as per the desire of a girl. When a girl is willing to marry a particular person who does not want her, she herself intrudes in his house and begins to stay there without the permission of that house. Naturally they abuse her and the girl has to face different modes of oppression. If she can overcome all those, marriage is sanctioned. Such a strange way of marriage is known as 'marriage by intrusion'. This is observed among the tribes like Birhor and Ho.

(i)Marriage on probation

This is the marriage where a bridegroom is allowed to stay in the bride's house a few days before the marriage. During this period both the boy and the girl try to know each other very well. If they think that their temperament is compatible to one another, then only they take the decision regarding marriage. Otherwise they separate and for the second situation the boy has to compensate the girl's parents with cash payment. Such a way of getting mate is found in Kuki community.

**Family**

Family is the basis of human society.It is the most important primary group in society. The family,as an institution is universal.It is the most permanent and most pervasive of all social institutions. The interpersonal relationships within the family make the family an endurable social unit. The family is not only the basic social group; it is also an oldest institution of mankind, which has the power to withstand social changes. The biological and social reproductions in the family are indispensable for the society to maintain its continuity.

The word 'family' has been taken over from Latin word'Famulus'[ which means a servant. Elliot and Merrill,Family is The biological social unit composed of husband,wife and children'.

## Origin of the family

At the beginning of human society, there was neither family nor marriage. Only a kind of unregulated animal- like life prevailed. Institutions, namely family and marriage, came in existence after certain stages of social development.

Many anthropological research and speculation have been done to trace out the historical origin of the family. Scholars like L.H. Morgan, J.G. Frazer and lately R.Briffault were swayed by the evolutionary doctrines of Darwin and Spencer. They tried to project family through unilinear evolution.

In the book' Ancient Society '(1851), Morgan had shown five successive stages for the development of family. At the base, there was consanguine family, which formed as a result of group marriage within the members of same generation. Marriage between brother and sister was permitted there. At the second stage there was the punaluan family. Although this type of family was an outcome of group marriage, but marriage between brother and sister was forbidden. The Syndyasmian family came at the third stage basing on marriage between a man and woman. But it was devoid of the norm of exclusive cohabitation; marriage relationship continued till the pleasure of the parties persisted. At the fourth stage, patriarchal family came to indicate the marriage of a man with several women. Last or final of the stages appeared with monogamous family where the marriage between a single pair was acknowledged with a norm of exclusive cohabitation. Monogamous family according to Morgan resembled with the modern nuclear family. With the same view McLennan and Herbert Muller advocated that the sexual communism prevailed in the early stage of society and group-marriage was only one step higher form of promiscuous condition.

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**Types of family**

Variations in the forms of family are quite natural. This depends on the ways of marriage and economic system.

**a)      Monogamous family/Nuclear family**

This type of family is based on monogamous marriage i.e., marriage between a man and a woman. It is the simplest among all types of family as it consists of a man; his wife and children. Here the husband or wife cannot remarry till the spouse is alive. The other names of this family are elementary family, basic family, conjugal family, immediate family, primary family, etc. since this type of family serves as the nucleus of all other types of family, it is also popular in the name of nuclear family. Different tribal groups of India e.g. Santal, Lodha, Kharia, Birhor, Chenchu, Khasi, Kadar, etc., show this sort of families in their community. Monogamous family structure is also common among the Australian aboriginals,

**Joint family/ Extended family**

In certain types of family, the nucleus is extended with some closely related kins and the family is called an extended family. Sometimes it is also referred as joint family. According to the handbook, Notes and Queries of Anthropology (1874), a joint family forms when "two or more lineally related kinsfolk of the same sex, their spouses and offsprings occupy a single household and are jointly subject to the same authority or single head". This means that the joint family is a large group extended up to two, three or more generations with lineally related members the spouses and children.

Joint families arise and persist as the members carry out their activities in a cohesive manner under the leadership of the eldest person of the household. Cooperation and mutual support are the key words here. Critical economic factors play behind the formation of joint families.

**b)      Polygamous family**

This type of family is made up of two or more nuclear (monogamous) families affiliated by several marriages. The essential feature is this, one of the spouses remain common to all monogamous families inside a polygamous family. Polygamous families may be of two types – polygynous and polyandrous.

**i)      Polygynous family**

This type of family is based on polygynous form of marriage i.e., where a man marries more than one woman and leads life in the same household with all his wives and children. Such type of families has been noted among the Kulin Brahmins of Bengal and also among the Muslim community. In the context of the tribal groups, Naga of North-East India, Gond and Baiga of Middle India present this type of family. Outside of India, polygynous families are found among the Eskimo tribe, Crow and Hidatsa of North America, and especially among the African Negroes.

Polygynous families in a society often arise following a situation of excess number of women over man. This also indicates an inferior social position of women; men's position remains prestigious because they can afford many wives at a time.

**ii)     Polyandrous family**

This type of family is the resultant of polyandrous form of marriage. Here a woman marries several men and lives together with all husbands and children. Polyandrous type of families is not predominant at all; rather they are confined to small pockets.    According to nature, polyandrous families can be divided into two groups- fraternal (adelphic) polyandrous family and non-fraternal polyandrous family.

Fraternal polyandrous family is that family where a woman marries two or more brothers. A belt is found in Northern India from Janusar-Bawar to Hindu Kush range through Kangra valley where the families are chiefly polyandrous. Marquesans of Polynesia also exhibit such type of families. In India, Khasa of Uttar Pradesh, people of Kinnaur, Lahaul and Spirit of Himachal Pradesh, Sinhalese of Sri Lanka, some of the Tibetans and Toda of Nilgiri Hills show this type of families.

 In non-fraternal polyandrous type of families, the husbands are not essentially the brothers. Such families were once widespread among the Tibetans and Nayers of Kerala .

**Compound family**

        This family type refers to a concrete group, which is formed by the agglomeration of nuclear family units or parts of them. Under special circumstances this sort of families form. For example, once due to practice of female infanticide, the number of males in Todas community increased and polyandry became popular. But at present the practice of female infanticide has been totally stopped and so the number of males and females in the community has come to a parallel. Still due to traditional notion, wife of a brother is looked upon as wife of all other brothers in a family. Now, if those brothers marry individually and reside in the same household, then all the brothers with all their wives and children together give rise to the compound family which is normally an unusual phenomenon.

**c)     Composite family**

This is not only an unusual, also an extremely complex form of family.. The male of such family is often compelled to pass long time in a distant forest for procuring livelihood. During that period, a man from the neighbourhood comes to look after the family as a norm. this man establishes marital relationship with the wife and goes back when the actual husband returns. Dieri, a hunting tribe of Australia show this type of families.A Dieria woman thus possesses one permanent husband (Tippamalku) and many temporary husbands (pirauru). All the children live in the same house with mother. Such a family is called composite family.

Family  has been classified in to six on the basis of Rules of residence.

**a)     Patrilocal residence**

The wife goes to reside with her husband in husbands house after the marriage. This type of residence is widely visible in our society. Tribals namely Santal, Munda, Lodha, etc., follow this pattern of residence.

**b)      Matrilocal residence**

The husband comes to reside in wife's house after marriage Khasi, Garo, etc., tribes provide the examples.

**c)      Bilocal residence**

Sometimes, the newly married couple is free to decide where they will live, whether with or near the husband's kin, or with or near the wife's in. necessity here determines the residence pattern. This pattern of residence is termed as Bilocal residence.

**d)      Neolocal residence**

After marriage the couples do not live with or near the close kins of either side. They make a completely separate entity of their own where they reside. This type of residence is called Neolocal residence.

**e)      Avunculocal residence**

In some societies, the newly married couple goes to live with wife's uncle (mother's brother). Such Avunculocal residences are found in matrilineal societies. Therefore, occurrence of this type is relatively rare. Still Nayers of Malabar Coast prefer them. Trobriand islanders occasionally like to establish this type of residence.

**f)      Matri-Patrilocal residence**

In certain societies, at first the husband resides with wife in her house. After sometimes, usually after the birth of the first child, he returns back to his own paternal home with wife. This sort of residence is prevalent among the Chenchus of South India.

**Functions of family**

Family as a germinal cell of the society performs certain specific functions which can be mentioned as follows:

•      Need for food and shelter is considered as fundamental for child's survival.

•      Family serves as a biological unit by providing a common dwelling place for a man and woman where sexual gratification is possible between them.

•      A family regulates the various relationships among its members.

•      Family projects itself as an economic unit as distinct division of labour is noted among the family members.

•      Members of a family are bound to each other by mutual affection and close ties.

•      Family behaves as an effective agent in transmission of social heritage.

•      Family helps in handing down the property from one generation to the next.

•      Family transmits the religious tradition also.

•      Family acts as a recreational unit because at times it organizes some recreational activities for the members.

•      Family serves as a protective sheath.

**Intra – family role and relationship**

1)      Husband – wife relationship

2)      Father and son relationship

3)      Mother – daughter relationship

4)      Mother – son relationship

5)      Father –daughter relationship

6)      Elder brother- younger brother relationship

7)      Elder sister – younger sister relationship

8)      Brother-sister relationship

The family as a basic social institution has been undergoing change.The modern family radically differs from that of the traditional one.The family has never been at rest. Both in its structure and functions changes have taken place.

## KINSHIP

A Significant Concept in Anthropology – The concept of "kinship" is vitally important in Anthropology. In simple societies, the kinship relations are so extensive, fundamental and influential that in effect they in themselves constitute the 'social system'.

But in more complex societies kinship normally forms a fairly small part of the totality of the social relation which makes up the social system. Sociologists do not attach much importance for it except in their study of the sociology of family. Anthropologists, on the contrary, give more importance to this concept because kinship and family constitute the focal points in anthropological studies.

Kinship is the method of reckoning relationship. In any society every adult individual belongs to two different nuclear families. The family in which he was born and reared is called 'family of orientation'. The other family to which he establishes   relation through marriage is called 'family of procreation'. A kinship system is neither a social group nor does it correspond to organized aggregation of individuals. It is a structured system of relationships where individuals are bound together by complex interlocking and ramifying ties.

Iravathi Karve in her book' Kinship Organization in India "has pointed out three things that are absolutely necessary for the understanding  of any cultural phenomena in India.

Among the Hindu peasants, family includes parents, married sons  and old grand-parents, father's sisters, unmarried as well as widow may remain there. Normally here generations are covered in a family.

## Structural Principles of Kinship:

The kinship system is governed by some basic principles which can be called the "facts of life". Robin Fox speaks of four such basic principles which are mentioned below:

Principle-1: The women have the children

Principle-2: The men impregnate the women

Principle-3: The men usually exercise control

Principle-4: Primary kin do not mate with each other.

These principles emphasise the basic biological fact on which kinship system depends. Men and women indulge in sexual interaction and as a result women bear children. This leads to blood ties between the individuals and the special terms are used to recognise this relationship: mother, child, and father. The relationship based on blood ties is called "consanguineous kinship", and the relatives of this kind are called 'consanguineous kin'.

The desire for reproduction gives rise to another kind of binding relationship. "This kind of bond, which arises out of a socially or legally defined marital relationship, is called a final relationship", and the relatives so related are called 'a final kin'. The final kinds [husband and wife] are not related to one another through blood.

**Rule of Descent:**

'Descent' refers to the social recognition of the biological relationship that exists between the individuals. The 'rule of descent' refers to a set of principles by which an individual traces his descent.In almost all societies kinship connections are very siginificant.An individual always possesses certain obligations towards his kinsmen and he also expects the same from his kinsmen.Succession and inheritance is related to this rule of descent. There are four important rules of decent are follows;

**Patrilineal descent**

When descent is traced solely through the male line, it is called patrilineal descent. A man's sons and daughters all belong to the same descent group by dint of birth, but it only the sons who continue the affiliation. Succession and inheritance pass through the male line.

**Matrilineal descent**

When the descent is traced solely through the female line. It is called matrilineal descent. At birth, children of both sexes belong to mother's descent group, but later only females acquire the succession and inheritance. Therefore, daughters carry the tradition, generation after generation.

**Ambilineal descent**

In some societies individuals are free to show their genealogical links either through men or women. Some people of such society are therefore connected with the kin-group of father and others with the kin group of mother. There is no fixed rule to trace the succession and inheritance; any combination of lineal link is possible in such societies.

**Bilateral descent**

The term bilateral means two sided,. There are some societies where no lineal principle operate, i.e. individuals in those societies do not relate themselves to a common ancestor. Descent of any particular line is not counted; rather they accept relatives of both fathers' and mother's side with equal importance. Relatives of two sides are counted in reference to ego and include primarily parents, grand parents, uncles, aunts and first cousins. The nuclear families are always bilateral

because spouses come essentially from two different families and the children are related to both of the parent's family. The society of united states is characterized bilateral descent.

**Special Kinship Usage**

Kinship usages or the rules of kinship are significant in understanding kinship system. They serve two main purposes:

- They create groups or special groupings or kin. For example- family extended family, clan etc.

- Kinship rules govern the role of relationships among the kins.

Kinship usage provides guidelines for interaction among persons in these social groupings. It defines proper and acceptable role relationships. Thus it acts as a regulator of social life. Some of these relationships are: avoidance, teknonymy, avunculate, amitate, couvades and joking relationship.

These special kinship usage ,which hold special significance in respect to the non-literate societies.

**(a) Avunculate**

This is a queer usage found between a mother's brother and his sister's children.Among some matrilineal societies ,maternal uncle assumes many of the duties of father as a matter of convention.His nephews and niece remain under his authority.They inherit his property also.Such a relationship exists among the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia and Nayers of kerala. It refers to the special relationship that persists in some societies between a man and his mother's brother. This usage is found in a matriarchal system in which prominence is given to the maternal uncle in the life of his nephews and nieces.

**(b)Amitate**

This kind of usage is more or less similar to avunculatw and found among the patrilineal people. The usage of amitate gives special role to the father's sister. Here father's sister gets great respect and prime importance. She is more than mother to her nephew and exerts her authority on him in many events of life. In fact it is a social mechanism, which protects father's sisters from falling into neglect, especially in situations when they are driven from their in-laws house.Polynesian Tonga,Toda of South India etc.exhibit this type of usuage.. Among Todas the child gets the name not through its parents but through the father's sister. Naming the child is her privilege.

**(c)Couvade**

This is another strange usage of kinship between a husband and his wife .Here husband is compelled to undergo an austere life whenever his wife gives birth to a child .He has to maintain a strict stand to observe a number of taboos along with the wife.Anthropologists regard couvades

is a symbolic representation of establishing paternity on the child According to Malinowski the usage of couvade contributes to a strong marital bond between the husband and wife.

It was popular among Nayers of South India,Ainus of Japan and also some communities of china.

## (d) Avoidance

In most of societies ,the usage of avoidance acts as an incest taboo.     It means that two kins normally of opposite sex should avoid each other. In almost all societies avoidance rules prescribe that men and women must maintain certain amount of modesty in speech, dress and gesture in a mixed company. This is  actually a protective  measure against incestuous sexual relation among close relatives who remain in face-to-face contact  every day.

 The purdah system in Hindu family in the north illustrates the usage of avoidance.

## (e) Joking relationship

It is just the opposite type of kinship usage in contrast to 'avoidance'. Joking relationships found in tribal as well as in Hindu society.

A joking relationship involves a particular combination of friendliness and antagonism between individuals and groups in certain social situations. In these situations one individual or group is allowed to mock or ridicule the other without offence being taken. The usage of the joking relationship permits to tease and make fun of the other. Such relationship prevails between a grand son and grand daughter on the one hand ,his or her  grand father and grand mother, on the other.eg Orans of Orissa and Baigas of Madhya Pradesh such relationships prevail.

## (f) Teknonymy:

According to the usage of this usage a kin is not referred directly but is referred to through another kin. In a traditional Hindu family wife does not directly utter the name of her husband but refers to her husband as the father of so and so. James Frazer has said this kind of a usage is found amongst the people in many places such as Australia, New Guinea, China, North Siberia, Africa, Andaman Island and so on.

## CLAN

A clan is a unilineal kinship group larger than a lineage. Here the members are supposed to be descendent from a common ancestor but the genealogical links are not specified. i.e. the members cannot demonstrate their actual lineal relationship through a genealogical table. In such condition descent is traced to a mythical ancestor who may be a human or a plant or an animal or even an inanimate object. The term clan, sib and gents indicate the same unilinear kinship around.

Clans are exogamous in nature i.e. marriage partners essentially come from two different clans. Membership in a clan is hereditary. Members of a clan usually remain friendly to each other and

help one another following a social need. But sometimes hostile relation between two clans is found.

The particular animal or plant, which remains associated with a clan as group identification, is called totem. According to R.H. Lowie, 'a totem is generally an animal more rarely a plant, still more rarely a cosmic body or force like sun or wind, which gives its name to a clan and maybe otherwise associated with it.' A totem is therefore especially significant fore the clan. Rivers defined a clan as 'an exogamous division of a tribe, the members of which are tied together by belief in common descent, common possession of a totem or habitation of a common territory.' Clan is found in almost all primitive communities of the world, though not as a universal feature. For example, sandals of India has twelve clans, lodha tribe has nine clans. Andamanese and Kadar show no evidence of clan. Absence of clan has also been noted from tribes of America.

Members of a clan regard their respective totem as founding ancestor. They do not always believe that they have directly descended from the totem, it is said that the particular totem has helped or promoted or given some services to their ancestors. Therefore, the members respect totem, they never touch, kill, eat, harm or destroy the totem of reference. For example, a clan among the santal is named as hansda. The members of this clan respect duck (local name: Hans) and do not eat the flesh of duck because they believe themselves to be originated from duck. Similarly a clan among lodhas is nayek whose totem is sal-fish. Killing or eating of sal-fish is prohibited to this clan. More examples can be cited in this respect. One of the clan among oraon is named lakra which means tiger. The clan members never hunt tigers for showing regard to this ancestral animal.

Clans can be categorized into several types on this basis of its nature of origination.

**(a)    Patrilineal clan**

When a clan is patrilineal in nature, it is called patrilineal clan i.e. all the members are considered to be descendant from a common fore-father through male line. Every child inherits father's clan name though daughters leave it after marriage by adopting respective clan name of their husbands. Santal, Munda, Lodha, Oraon, Bhil, etc. tribes of India exhibit this type of clan.

**(b)    Matrilineal clan**

It is the type of clan where the descent is reckoned from a single ancestress through females. Every child, trrespective of sex acquires their maternal clan –name by birth but sons adopt clan-names of their respective wives after marriage. Garo, Khasi and Nayer tribes of India show this type of clan.

**(c)    Ancestral clan**

Sometimes members of a clan believe that they have been originated from a definite pair of male and female. This type of clan is called an ancestral clan. It is found among the Khasi people of India.

**(d)    Totemic clan**

Instead of human ancestor when the members of a clan relate themselves with a particular totem, the clan is designated as a totemic clan. Such clans are frequently found among the primitive communities like Santal, Oraon, Lodha, Kol, Bhil, Gond, Toda, etc.

**(e)    Territorial clan**

Sometimes members of a clan identify themselves with a particular territory from where they had been possibly originated. Among the Bison Murias of M.P. clans are named after the villages. Among the Nagas of Assam, Khel is a territorial group, though not a clan.

The term 'sib' is often considered as synonym of the term 'clan' because it is also a unilateral exogamous group where members believe in a common descent but they may not able to show the link through a genealogical table. Further, this involuntary association is dependent on birth and may be changed through adoption. Sibs do not occur in the lowest stages of culture represented by hunting and the pastoral tribes like Andamanese, saemang, Hottentot, Bushman, Eskimo, etc. Existence of sib has been recorded from the Lhota Nagas of Assam, Bhuiya of Orissa, Kukis of Manipur, aruntas of Australia , Bantus and masais of Africa, etc. the other synonym of clan, 'Gens' corresponds to a patrilineal clan because here kinship is traced absolutely through male line.

Clan is also equivalent to the Bengal term 'gotra' . Members using the same gotra- name do not marry each other. Among the Hindus of India different gotra- names relate with rthe names of some ancient sages(Kshyap, Sandilya, gautam, Varatdwaj, etc. ) which means people having same gotra- name have been descended from the same fore-father. Gotra is, therefore patrilineal and it does not possess any totem.

**Functions of clan**

1. A clan provides a bond of solidarity among its members.

2. The men and women of a clan look at the relation as like the relation between brothers and sisters because they are the descendants of a same progenitor.

3. A clan may punish its members when they deviate any  social norm.

4. Clan operates as a Government.. It has not only the power to judge on the disputes to maintain peace, different  sort of sanction come through it.

5. A clan is found to control property.

6. Members of a clan are united to co-operate among themselves in various religious and ceremonial occasions.

**Phratry**

An interrelation between two or more clans makes a phratry. It is, therefore, a larger unilineal descent group than a clan. As in a clan, members of a phratry are not able to demonstrate their genealogical links with the common ancestor, although they strongly believe in such an ancestor.

The term phratry has been derived from the Greek word 'phrater' meaning brother. It is regarded that a few clans historically merged together for some reason or other and developed such an intimate relationship between them that gradually they achieved a common identity where their individual status was forgotten. Phratry is found among the tribes like Aimol Kukis of Manipur, Hopi Indians, Crow Indians, Aztec Indians of America, etc.

A phratry may or may not be exogamous. For example, thirteen clans among Crow Indians are found to be grouped into six nameless phratries, four of which are not strict in the rules for the marriage. Among the Hopi Indians, on the other hand, nine anonymous phratries (each having two to six clans) are found which are exogamous.

## Moiety

It is the largest unilateral social group, which results from the splitting of a society into two halves on the basis of descent. The word moiety came from the French word meaning 'half'. Like clan and phratry, the members of each moiety though believe in a common ancestor but can not specify the exact link. Moieties may be exogamous or endogamous. Some of them are agamous too i.e., they do not regulate the factor of the marriage.

The Aimol Kukis of Manipur are divided into two moieties without specific names. Each moiety is further divided into two phratries and each phratry has two clan or sib. Moieties are exogamous and one of them is considered as superior than the other. The superior moiety reserves all the posts of village organization including that of the priest. Both the moieties perform specific religious rites and ceremonies of the tribe, separately. Each has some special performances too. But ceremonies involving higher social-status are performed only by the members of superior moiety.

## Lineage

A family is bilateral. In contrast to this, a lineage is a unilateral descent group. It is made up of consanguine kins that claim their descent from a common ancestor or ancestress, through known link. A lineage generally includes ancestors of five or six generations in a sequence. Lineages may be of two types- Patrilineage and matrilineage. In the former, links are traced exclusively through the male line and in the latter, links are maintained through female line only. If the descent is patrilineal ,the child of a legal marriage belongs to his father's lineage. His rank as a noble or a commoner will be determined by the nature of the respective lineage. It may entitle him to become a King or a Chief or a priest. In ordinary cases, one must have a claim on the productive resources of the lineage. In a matrilineal society, every child belongs to the lineage of his or her mother although the authority goes with mother's eldest brother.

The lineage members may or may not share a common residence. The smallest lineage consists of a man and his children. Joint family is also a lineage where members up to three or four generations are available together. Actually members of a lineage form a corporate group who

perform the same ritual acts but possess autonomy in everyday affairs. A lineage is always a strict exogamous unit and the ancestor of a lineage is never a mythological or legendary figure.

## Totemism

Totemism is an extension of fetishism.' A totem is a species of animal or plant; or natural object or phenomenon or the symbol of any of these which signifies and distinguishing features of a human group vis-vis other groups, similarly represented, in the same society.

A totem is a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect believing that there exists between him and every member of clan an intimate and altogether a special relation. A totem is generally an animal or rarely a plant which gives names to clan.

According to the theory of' totemism', a tribe is supposed to be related to an object-mainly animal or plant towards which they behave in a reverent manner by adopting its name and offering sacrifices or adoring it. Totem is associated with tribal organization, and it becomes the name of the tribe, an image of the totemic spirit, an animal or plant which identifies. Members of the tribal group affiliate themselves with the totem. The totemic emblems are evoked that with religious attitude and the dissent is traced with the totemic line. Though totemism is universally found it exhibits considerable variations.

## Religion

Religion is a supernaturalism that consists of a system of belief, thought and action. It lies in the core of all primitive and civilized cultures. It acts as an internal controlling force for the society and provides the people with morality. A religion can neither be defined in terms of a particular faith, or in terms of a particular god. In fact there are a variety of religions and religious ideas. The first and foremost necessity is to examine the nature of supernaturalism. All religions essentially exhibit a mental attitude towards super nature, which is manifested in beliefs and rituals. The belief is considered as the static part of the religion while ritual is the dynamic part. Ritual comprises of of different actions that aim to establish a connection between the performing individual and the supernatural power. Belief, on the other hand has no direct impact; it stands as a charter for the rituals and provides a rationale for the same. However, religious attitude are universal in all known cultures, primitive and modern. They have been associated with the Homo sapiens.

Origin of religious belief

General philosophy of the people admits two kinds of ideas- nature and superior to nature i.e. super nature. The concept of nature and super nature is relative in a culture at a particular moment. With the growth of the knowledge and some of the supernatural events may seem to be natural. In fact, the difference between the nature and super nature lies in the attitude and realization of people perceived by the help of sense organs.

Anthropologists have considered religion as a product of the evolutionary development of human brain. The capacity of the brain in other animal is so low that it does not permit them to think like man. They never perceive that vastness of universe as they lack sensitive mind and emotional feelings. Therefore, the first religious belief probably came into existence with the original first man in early Paleolithic and since then the mystic thought ha control much of human life until Aristotle, Plato and other Greek philosophers built the foundation of modern scientific outlook, anthropological enquiry in religion extends as far back as nineteenth century when anthropology emerged as a academic discipline. There are different theories regarding the origin of religious believes. The earliest one was forwarded by EB Tailor (1871), where he express the view that religion had stemmed from the intellectual speculation about the events like dreams, trances and death. His proposition was three fold '

1.  Religion has been developed out of fear.
2.  Though there are great diversity in the forms of religion in the world, the core matter of all religions are same.
3.   All religion acknowledge supernatural power.

Herbert Spencer(1822-1903) thought that aros3e out of ancestral worship. Sir James Frazer(1854-1941) held magic as a source for the development of religion. Most of the scholars of that early period believed that religion evolved by the interplay of the emotions like awe, fear and wonder under the explorer of the nature. Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) regarded religion as the most primitive of the whole social phenomena. He found two distinct compartments in supernatural field, which he designated as sacred part and profane part. According to him the sacred part of the religion refers to gods and deities and also the sacred performances and profane part refers to beliefs and practices.

Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown have given functional explanation of primitive religion. Malinowski found religion as associated intimately with various kinds of emotional responses, so he described religion as an adaptation, which dilutes all stress and strain of the individuals. To Radcliffe Brown survival of a group was more important than that of an individual. Therefore, he suggested social survival of a group was more important than that of an individual. Therefore, he suggested social survival by the aid of religion.

In non – literate society religion is the chief factor that binds the people together. The bond of relatedness is so pervasive that it is manifested in collective activity like law, morality, art, science, political forms etc.

CONCEPTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION

Anthropologists tried to trace the evolution of religion from simple to complex forms. Edward Burnett Tylor in his book 'Primitive religion' (1871) showed this evolution from animism to monotheism, through polytheism.

**Animism**

Animism is the earliest concept towards the religion forwarded by Tylor himself. It is a belief in the existence of spiritual beings. Spirits are the ethereal embodiment without real flesh and blood. Although they are non-material, but real enough for those who believes in it. Primitive use different names to refer those spirits- ghost, goblin, genii, trolls, fairy, witch, demon, devil, angel and even god. A spirit does not obey the laws of nature and can transcend matter , time and space. This makes the spirits wonderful and mysterious, and therefore, they have been regarded as supernatural.

**Animatism**

It is an earliest form of religion consisted of the worship of various objects in nature. An attitude of awe and reverence worked in the mind of the people regarding the diversified natural objects and phenomena. Being perplexed, they ascribed life to the lifeless things and correlated the unseen source of power with god. Specialised form of animistic theory is called Manaism. Mana is a Melanesian term meaning power. According to professor Merett, the primitive people through world believe in the existence of an impersonal non-material supernatural power which belongs to all objects- Animate and inanimate. The power of mana is sometimes referred as "Fetish". A fetish is an object like stone, shell necklace or a piece of carved stone , which is believed to have power, capable of helping its possessor. The fetish is therefore, adored, placated, insulted or ill-treated according to its behavior whether it fulfills or does not fulfill its possessors wish.

Components of primitive religion

All supernatural beings can be categorized into two broad groups:

(i)   Those are of non-human origin i.e. the nature gods and spirits.
(ii)  (ii) Those are of human origin i.e. the departed souls like ancestral spirits and ghosts.

The supernatural beings of both the categories can induce good and evil for men. They have been the causes behind many successes and failures. Diseases, drought, storm, heavy rain, famine, epidemics are also created by them.

Gods and Goddesses occupy an important position in primitive life. The entire universe is departmentalized among gods. These  gods and goddesses are usually the self creators.

Nature of religious practices

Religion as a body of belief and practices show a wide variation in religious ideas. The religious practices are also varied. These practices are nothing but the techniques to communicate with the supernatural. But they are imperative for the believers who act in accordance with their beliefs. Such practices strengthen the social bonds in a primitive group and denote an added authority towards the customs. The practices can be classified into two sections: religious rite and rites of passage.

**(a)   Religious rites**
, Religious rites aim to appease a god by worship which can be performed either privately in the home or publicly in the temple. The forms may be different as prayers, offerings, vow celebration

or sacrificial performances. Prayer is the simplest of all religious rites where reverence is shown by means of spoken words. It may be a request or a demand or just thanks..

**(b)    Rites of passage**

Rites of passage are completely different from religious rites that comprise of the worship of the nature gods and different spirits. These special rites are significantly associate with the life cycle of the people in each and every society. They mark the passing of one phase of life and the entry to another. E.g., birth, puberty, marriage, initiation to priest-hood, death etc. They are known in English by French equivalent rites-de-passage, and popularly known as 'life-crisis' rituals

**(c)    Significance of religion**

The rites and ceremonies create an atmosphere of benevolence and fellowship. All motives for quarrel and disagreement get eliminated. People are united together and the rejoicing activities energize them; the social sentiments of an organized community are renewed. Religious experiences create such an atmosphere and attitude that human beings are able to regulate their own conduct. Everywhere people have evolved religious system in which religious behavior aims to secure similar ends. It bears the testimony to the unity of mankind.

 It binds the inter-familial relations, and governs on the economic and political structure of the society. It may include a variety of cults and specialized religious personnel. People try to unload their acute mental pressure under the banner of religion. They seek support and stamina from super-nature in the way to struggle for existence.

**MAGIC**

**Magic** is practiced in many cultures, and utilizes ways of understanding, experiencing and influencing the world in a manner akin to that of religion. Hanegraaff argues that magic is in fact "...a largely polemical concept that has been used by various religious interest groups either to describe their own religious beliefs and practices or - more frequently - to discredit those of others".

The belief in and the practice of magic has been present since the earliest human cultures and continues to have an important religious and medicinal role in many cultures today.
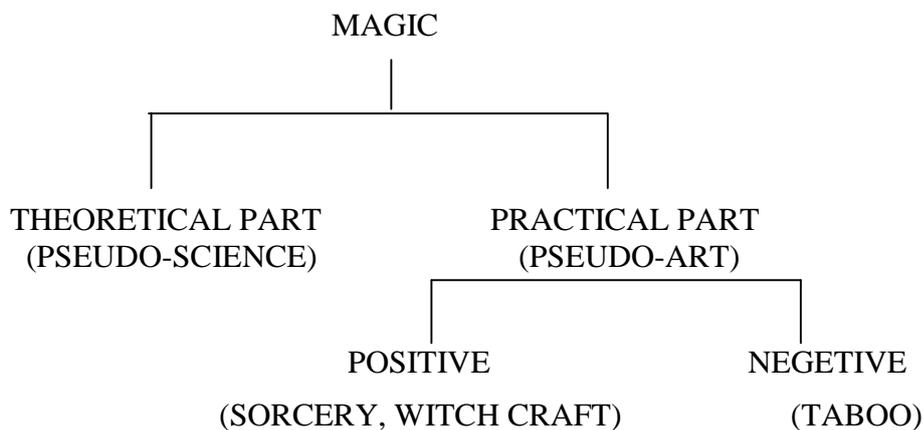
Magic is the concept by which supernatural forces can be approached. The term "magic" has been derived from the French word "magi" which is used to refer the secret deeds. Unlike religion, the rituals are performed here in order to compel the supernatural power to act in particular ways. It never involves praising or praying, rather it commands on super nature to serve good or evil purposes. Magic and religion are though the opposite approaches but they seem have always existed together

The imitative magic is based on the principle of similarity, whereas the contagious magic is based on the principle of contact. The first principles derived from the assumption that, like objects and acts has an affinity with each other.

 Contagious magic works in a different way. The non-literates are often frightened to use the other's clothing. This is not for hygiene-consciousness, but for the anxiety of being harmed. Clothes are considered as parts of person's body who use them. So evil can be done on them very

easily and the user affected. This is also true for the nail cuttings, hair trimmings, bodily excretions and some other extremely personal belongings. Magicians are in the habit of collecting these things in order to harm an enemy or undesirable person. Sometimes the name of the person used in contagious magic.

Magic may be good or bad according to the values of the society concerned .the magic, which aim s at good ends, is called "white "magic, where as "black "magic has an evil objective. Both of them are found in all societies but the standards of judgment vary from culture to culture. The counter the "black magic", the charms, amulets and spells are widely used. These are the protective devices against devils, sprits and other malevolent forces. Wearing of small objects like charm on talisman protects the believer from much danger. Sir Frazer equated magic with modern science he said that the cause- effect phenomenon of magic coincides with experimentations-observation of science. Frazer not only reduced his magical principles into laws; he also distinguished a theoretical as well as a practical aspect of magic. Practical magic consists of some positive and negative devices include sorcery, witchcraft etc. while the negative devices contain a number of taboos. However, sorcery and witchcraft both are the symptomatic expressions of social tension and conflict.

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                          MAGIC
                            |
        ┌───────────────────┴───────────────────┐
                                                 
THEORETICAL PART                        PRACTICAL PART
(PSEUDO-SCIENCE)                         (PSEUDO-ART)
                            ┌────────────────────┴────────────┐
                                                               
                    POSITIVE                             NEGETIVE

              (SORCERY, WITCH CRAFT)                     (TABOO)
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Sorcery

Sorcery is a positive magic used for evil purposes. It involves the use of certain materials, objects or medicines for invoking supernatural power to harm people. The materials here are the parts of body on which specific spells are used. It is purely a 'black 'magic. Sorcerers are the specialists for sorcery. They are so cunning that sometimes instead of using the tangible relics like hair or nails; they utilize man's shadow or sleeping soul. Primitives are often scared of society, as they know its unpleasant occurrences. In most of the primitive societies, such an act is not socially approved and so treated as crime against society.

**Witchcraft**

Witchcraft is a malevolent practice with the help of the spirits. Here ills are carried out by means of thought and emotions alone; tangible objects are not used at all. Therefore, when magic works upon the bewitched, the person begins to suffer but the evidences of witchcraft are not left. The lack of visible evidences makes an accusation harder to prove or disprove. Among the Azande, witchcraft is a part of daily life. Anything that is goes wrong-an ache or pain, poor crops, an accident, loss of cattle-everything is attributed as the malevolent act of the personal enemy

who has used witchcraft against him. Witchcraft is thus a part and parcel of all economic pursuit, domestic life and community life of the Azande.

**Witch Doctor**

The term Witch doctor is sometimes used as a synonym of Shaman and specially refers to the Negroid Shamans of Africa and Melanesia. But actually Witch doctor is a divine personality who exposes the witch. A man either inherits the skill from his parent or learns it from someone else. In some societies like American Indians, the witch doctors are known as medicine man.

When somebody suddenly falls ill, it is thought that the person has been bewitched. Therefore, his friends and relatives try to cure him with care, protection and herbal medicines. But when all the efforts go in vain and the symptoms become alarming, there is no way other than to call a witch doctor who knows the remedy of the illness. A witch doctor generally looks awesome as he paints his face and body brightly with clay of different colors. He burns mysterious perfumes around the patient, mutter strange words; twists own body and ultimately cure the patient with his secret power. He knows the medicines for counter-witchcraft. Sorcerer or Witch

Use of supernatural power over others through the assistance of spirits; witchcraft. Sorcerer and witch both are the malevolent practitioners. So they enjoy very low socio-economic states in all societies. A sorcerer and a witch may be of any sex and usually they are the part-timers. Both of them are dreaded, as they know the way to invoke the supernatural power for causing illness, injury and death. Sorcerers often use different materials for their magic, so when evidences of their malpractice is found, they are killed by the communal vengeance. But in case of the witchcraft, for the absence of evidences, genuine witches are not always marked out. It is believed that witches possess certain evil substances within their body by which they do harm other people. A magical performance is perhaps responsible for the recognizable changes in the internal organs of the body, which can only be revealed by post-mortem examination. In almost all- primitive societies there are either witch doctors or medicine men or Shamans to act against the evils created by the sorcerers and witches.

**Medium**

Mediums are the part- time religious practitioners and mostly females. They are asked to heal the people while in trance. A medium falls into a hypnotic condition and during that period she is controlled by some spiritual force, external to herself. Different spirits are supposed to communicate with people through the medium.

The process is often referred to as divination, which may be a channel of connection with supernature to get his guidance. Divination often informs a man the source of his misfortunes. The medium usually obtains the guidance through oracle. Primitives believe that most of the misfortunes arise from the practice of witchcraft.

**Priest**

Priests are usually the full- time male specialists who officiate at public events. They enjoy a very high status in the community. Priesthood is a manifestation of developed religion. But it can also found in the relatively ordered primitive societies where cultures are rich and complex.people respect them as they possess the power to reach the gods and goddesses. The priests are also found to organize and maintain some permanent cults. A priest may have mana, but this power lies with the office which he holds and not with him directly as that of a shaman. Succession of the office is hereditary. The priests have to work in a rigorous structured hierarchy, fixed in a firm set of tradition. Agricultural or pastoral communities that exhibit political integration beyond the community include either Sorcerer or Witch doctor or Medium along with Priest and Shaman.

# MODULE III
# TRIBES IN INDIA

The tribal population is found in almost all parts of the World. India is one of the two largest concentrations of tribal population. The tribal community constitutes an important part of Indian social structure. Tribes are earliest communities as they are the first settlers. The tribals are said to be the original inhabitants of this land. These groups are still in primitive stage and often referred to as primitives advasis, aborigines, or girijans and so on. The tribal population in India, according to the 2011 census, was 6.7%. At present India has the second largest tribal population in the world, next to Africa

The term 'tribes' in the Indian context today are referred as 'Scheduled Tribes'. The scheduled tribes constitute the second largest group of the backward classes that come under the un privileged section of the populace. These communities are regarded as the earliest among the present inhabitants of India. And it is considered that they have survived here with their unchanging ways of life for centuries. Many of the tribal groups are still in a primitive stage and far from the impact of modern civilization

The term scheduled tribe has become explained variously. To the ordinary people the word suggests aborigines who live in hills and forests, to administrators it means a group of citizens those who have some privileges supported by constitution, to an anthropologist it indicates a special field for study of a social phenomenon, Risly V. Elwin and other used the word 'aboriginals' to refer tribals. Sir Bains, a British Census Officer called the tribal community 'the hill tribes'. Hutton preferred to use the term 'primitive tribes'. Mahatma Gandhi popularized the word 'Girijans' The constitution of India has accepted to use the term 'Scheduled Tribes', which was introduced for the first time by Simon Commission in 1928. Tribes are also known as 'Vanavasis', 'Aranyavasis', Vanyalatis' etc. But the term tribe is nowhere defined in the Constitution. Article 366 (25) of the Constitution says that Scheduled Tribes are tribes or tribal communities or parts of groups with in such tribes or tribal communities which the Indian President may specify by public notification under Article 342(1).

There are limitations in defining tribes anthropologically. Andre Beteille points out the following limitations:

1.      There is no separate political boundary, in several instances, the boundaries of different states cut across the tribal division.

2.      Linguistic boundary has also been gradually changing.

3.      Cultural boundary of the tribe is not explicit. There are many elements of continuity with the regional cultures. It cannot be considered distinctive in a rigid ways.

4.      Homogenous nature of the tribal society is almost lost. Some elements of stratification have been observed among some tribes, and homogeneity among the tribe cannot be mentioned as a special feature of tribe.

**Definitions:**

Distinction between the tribals and the non tribals is vague in many ways. And there is no common agreement among social scientists regarding the definition of the term tribe. Some of the definitions are given below:

W.J.Perry      :  'A group speaking a common dialect and inhabiting a common territory'.

Rivers          :  'A social group of simple kinds, the members of which speak a common dialect and act together in such common Purpose as welfare'

Madan       :  'A group of simple minds, occupying a concentrated area, having a common language, a          common government, a common action in warfare.'

D.N.Majundar  :  'A tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligation.'

S.C. Dube    :  'Tribe is an ethnic category defined by real or putative descent and characterized by a corporate identity and a wide range of commonly shared traits of culture.'

Gillin & Gillin  :  'A tribe is a group of local communities, which lives in a common area, speaks a common dialect and follows a common culture.'


From the definitions it can be concluded that a tribe is nothing but a group of families which have a common ancestor and descent. They have blood relationship and related closely with each other. They have a feeling of unity and oneness in general. They speak a common language and due to a common cultural heritage their traditions are more or less same. They live in some geographical area in group.

Tribes are generally a social group in which there are many clans, nomadic bands, village or other subgroup which usually have a definite territorial area, a separate language and a distinct culture, either a common political organization or at least a feeling of common determination against outsiders. Tribes are considered as a group of people who live in a particular area, who keep a separate identity in their life pattern and culture. Generally even though expectations are there, a tribe can be mentioned as a homogeneous unit with certain common territory and common ancestor. They are isolated from the main stream and very often preliterate and backward in technology by observing social and political custom based on kinship. Even though some tribes are changed in their distinctive characteristics, some of them are still relevant.

## Characteristics

Tribes generally reveals some characteristics:

1. Definite Common Territory: A tribe is a territorial community. It means the group has a definite

   Territory in which its members reside.

2. Collection of Families: Tribal's constitute a collection of families. These families have blood relationships. They can be matrilineal or patrilineal.

3. Common Name: Every tribe has its own name. A tribe is known to others by its distinctive name.

4. Common Language: Tribal's in their group speak a common language. This language differ from the language of other communities including nearby tribes.

5. Common Ancestor: Almost all tribes claim a common ancestor. Their sense of we feeling is developed out of the blood relationship through a common ancestor. They are bound by Kinship bounds.

6. Common Religion: Tribals usually worship a common ancestor and follow one religion. The tribal social and political organizations are based on the religion participation in religious rituals is creating unity of the group.

7. Common Culture: Tribes have a way of life of its own. They practice a common culture that includes same customs, traditions morals and rituals. The special features of the tribe develop a distinctive culture.

8. Common Political Organization: The head of the community exercises authority. The chieftainship is hereditary. They do have a tribal council or judicial system.

9. We feeling: The members of a tribe feel that they are united. The feeling is essential to retain and maintain their identity.

10. Endogamy: The tribes usually practice endogamy, marrying with in one's own group, to maintain the purity of blood.

11. Common Economic Organization: Majority of tribals are agricultural laborers. 57% of them are economically active. Generally their economic position is very poor.

12. Simplicity and Self Sufficiency: A tribe is simple in its character and operation. They do not possess or enjoy the facilities of modern society.

These are some of the general characteristics of a tribe. Some may have very different character. But majority of the tribes are sharing these common characteristics.

## Clan and Tribes

Clan is a type of group which constitutes a part of the Kinship system. This is of special importance in the tribal society. Clan refers to a unilateral kins group based on either matrilineal or patrilineal descent. It is that collection of unilateral families whose members believe themselves to be the common descendants of a real or mythical ancestor. Membership of Clan is socially defined interims of actual or purperated descent from a common ancestor. This descent is unilineal and derived only through male of female. It includes all the relatives of either the father's side or the mother's side.

Each tribe consists of smaller kinship units. Some clans are related to wild animals, trees and plants. Some Clan's name is related to ghost, clan is an exogamous unit. Its members do not marry among themselves. A tribe is largely endogamous. Clan has no definite language as such. A tribe normally speaks a common dialect. Clan has no definite geographic area. A tribe occupies a common territory.

## Geographic Distribution of Tribes

Tribes in India are concentrated in certain geographical area. About two-third of the total tribal population of India are found in the fire states of Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Bihar, and Maharashtra. The highest number of tribals are found in MP in Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh , the tribal's constitute 70% to 95% of the total population.

## The Tribal Zones

The tribes in India are not found in any one particular region alone, but distributed in among the various states. B.S. Guha has given a threefold territorial distribution of the tribals.

1) The North and North-Eastern zone.

2) The Central or the Middle zone.


3) The Southern zone

C.B. Mamoria adds to this list as a fourth zone, consisting of Andaman an Nicobar Islands.

The North and North-Eastern zone consists of the Sub-Himalayan region and the hills and mountain ranges of North Eastern frontiers of India. The tribals of this zone mostly belong to Magnolia rare and speak languages belonging to the Tibetan-Chinese family. This zone is inhabited by tribes such as, Gerung, Limbo, Khasi, Garo, Naga, Mikir and so on. It is estimated around 13% of the tribes in India is found in this zone.

The tribes of Central Zone are scattered all over the mountain-Belt between the rivers Narmada and Godavari. It includes West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Gujarat, MP, Maharashtra, Jharkhand, and some parts of UP. The main tribes of this zone are the Gond, Munda, Baiga, Bhil, Santal, Juong and so on. 80% of the tribal population reside in this area.

The South Zone falls of the river Krishna. It includes AP, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala, and the two union territories Andaman and Nikobar Islands and Lakshadweep. Tribes of this zone are regarded as the most ancient inhabitants in India. This zone consists of the Tribes like Kota, Kurumba, Kadar, Paniyan, and so on. This zone contains around 6-5% of the total tribal population. The main tribes in Andaman and Nikobar Islands are Jarwas, Nikobarese and Andomanese.

Base on cultural factors and cultural contacts, Ghurye classifies Indian tribes into three classes. Firstly, the groups recognized as members of fairly high status within Hindu Society; Secondly the large mass that has been partially Hinduised and come in closer contact with the Hindues; and thirdly the hill tribes, which have exhibited the power of resistance to the alien cultures that have pressed upon their border.

**Other Characteristics**

Tribal population in India speaks a number of languages and dialects. These languages con be broadly classified under three categories:

1) Dravividian (Southern Indian Tribes).

2) Austric (Central Indian Tribes)

3) Tibetan-Chinese (Himalayan region)

Economic Characteristics are considered for the following classifications:

1) Food gatherers and hunters

2) Pastorals and cattle feeders

3) Shifting cultivators

4) Settled agriculturalists

5) Labuorers and workers

Cultural characteristics help to divide tribes into four groups:

1) those who live in the post primitive stage

2) those who load a community life and share a common culture

3) those who are isolated from main stream communities.

In the second and third groups the tribes have more or less contacts with outsiders. They tried to keep their social and cultural identity.

Racial classification of tribes in India is made:

1) Mangaloid (Nagas, Chakmas, Botiyas etc)

2) Proto-Austroloids (Gonds, Mundas, Oraens, Khonds etc)

3) Negroids (Jarwas, Kadars, Andamanese, Nikobarese etc)

4) Nordic (Thodas)

## Tribals in Other Societies

Generally tribals live away from civilized life. Usually they are residing in remote areas such as, forests, mountains, dense valleys and so on. Today most of them have came into contact with the advance communities. They have borrowed many of the cultural traits from outsiders.

The tribes came into contact with the advanced people in various ways. D.N. Majumdar points out the following ways of contact:

1) The industrialization occurred in the neighboring area forced them to migrate and mingle with outsiders.

2) The vendors and merchants introduced many products of outsiders. This contact made gradual change.

3) The administrative officers introduced significant changes, including new amenities.

4) The Christian missionaries spread the religion also influenced through educational and health measures.

5) The tremendous development of transport and communication has lead to influence in many ways.

6) The displaced tribes due to war, or developmental programmes have come into contact with others and influenced.

The contact with other communities has brought about a series of changes. Most of the tribes have come under the influence of the caste system. Conversion and Hinduisation made some social mobility in their social structure, but it never helped them for total upliftment. Tribal victuals, ceremonies, festivals and dances have been replaced by cultural ways introduced by outsiders. The system of education which has been introduced in tribal area is mostly unsuited to tribal way of life. Tribal customs and practices are often at variance with the complicated system of law and legal procedure. The occurrence of the disease, through the contact of outsiders, including venereal diseases and alcoholism has affected the security of tribal life. The medical aid available is too insignificant to core with the situation.

Thus the contact of the tribal's with the civilization has brought them some positive changes. It has also led to new problems and challenges too.

## Tribal Problems

Tribes in India are affected by many factors and are facing several problems. Many of these problems are arised out of the following reasons:

1) Exploitation by outsiders

2) Contact and influence with outsiders

3) British and Indian policies of administration

4) Missionary interventions

5) Due to the unscientific programmes implemented.

The basic problems are related with economic conditions of tribes. The whole tribals in India is going through a critical stage of transition. Some of these problems are peculiar to some areas while some other are common to all tribal areas. Many of these problems are the direct out came of the changes that are taking place in the tribal community. These changes are also not uniform. However; tribals in India are facing some common problems such as, economic problems, problems of geographic separation, cultural problem, social problems, educational problem, Religious problems, Health problems, problems related with Alcoholism etc.

## 1. Economic Problems

The tribal people are economically poorest people of India. Majority of them live below the poverty line. The tribal economy is based on agriculture of the crudest type. Most of the problems are related to economic problems.

The ill-literacy and innocence of the tribals are exploited by the outsiders. The British land policies had caused for ruthless exploitation of tribals in various ways. Those policies were basically infavour of Zamindars, landlords, money lenders, forest contractors and administrative officers. Most of the tribal's were landless. Their lands had been grabbed by outsiders and that caused joblessness also. Tribals had earlier enjoyed much freedom to use the forest and hunt their animals. They are emotionally attached to the forests for they believe that their gods, spirits live in forests. The tribals who are 'deprived' of their rights to the land and forest have reacted sharply to the restrictions imposed by the government on their traditional rights. A large number of tribals are either unemployed or under employed. They are un happy for they are not able to get jobs that can keep them occupied through out the year. They need to be helped in finding secondary source of income too. Tribals are always forced to depend money lenders, a banking facilities are lacking there.

## 2. Problem of Geographic Separation

Tribes are separated largely from main stream. Some of them are living in the un approachable physical areas such as deep forests, valleys or hills. It is difficult for them to mingle with others. Socially they are away from developed society. Social isolation has caused for social retardation severely. The developmental programmes never touch tribals because of geographical isolation. Tribals need to be protected from the effects of isolation.

## 3.Cultural Problems

Tribes have their own culture. The outsiders always consider tribals as 'uncivilized'. British rule has created an inferior feeling on their culture among tribals. Christian missionaries made an attempt to propagate their religion. This caused for alienating the tribals from their culture. On the other hand Hindu organizations spread Brahmanism Hinduism in some of these areas . Some of the tribal leaders have started popularizing the tribal religion. These contradictory propagation has created great confusion and conflict for them.

## 4. Social Problems

Most of the tribes are believed in mythical and supersticious beliefs. Child marriage, exchange of wives, homicide, infanticide, black magic, animal sacrifice and other harmful practices are still found among them.

Hinduisation has led to problems such as dowry, divorce, untouchability, child marriage etc. Social status of tribals has been worsened through Hindutwa intervention. Studies have proved that status of tribes has declined significantly due to Hinduisatin, Sanskritisation and moderisation.

Christiansation of tribal has led to problems of alienation, separation, religions conflict and cultural confusion. Many tribals in North-Eastern states have become Christians during the last 100 years. Thus there are a large number of Christians among the Khasis, Oraons, Bhils, Mizos, Nagas etc. According to estimate, the tribal Christians constitute about 1/6 th of the total Christian population of India. The traditional tribal cultures have been adversely affected under the impact of Christianisation.

## 5. Educational Problems

Illiteracy is a major problem of the tribals, constituting 80% of total tribes. In the mainstream level their educational backwardness is responsible for socio-economic backwardness. Majority of the tribes are far away from the contact of the civilized world and have no faith in formal educational organization. Many tribes are even not informed about schools, colleges or universities. They feel no urge to educate their children. Tribal people who are engaged in agriculture need their children in fields or forests that causes for high rate of dropouts. The formal education is not at all suiting with tribal culture that also causes for conflicts. The medium of instruction is another hindrance to the promotion of education among the tribes. Most of the tribal languages do not have a script of their own. Hence tribal students are forced to learn in a 'foreign' language. Lack of tribal teachers creates communication problems between the students and teachers from outside.

## 6. Religious Problems

The crisis over religious identity is a major problem of tribals. Conversion and Hinduisation caused for loosing their tribal identity, but they have not received Hindu or Christian identity, as they are considered to be second class Hindus and Christians. They have lost their traditional beliefs and values, but have not developed a value system suitable for modernity. They have lost their traditional beliefs and values, but have not developed a value system suitable for modernity. Their rituals and practices have lost the social meanings. So they are adopting an urban way of life, in many areas.

## 7. Health Problems

Due to ignorance the tribal's are away from modern medicine. They are not aware of sanitation related problems. Generally they believe that diseases are caused by hostile spirits and ghosts. They have their own traditional means of diagnosis and cure. Typhoid, TB, leprosy,

malaria, and skin diseases are common among tribes. But, their non beliefs in modern doctors have made them not to avail themselves of the modern medical facilities.

Alcoholism is a common problem seen among many tribes. The low self esteem, exploitation of outsiders through making available the elicit liquors, and social environment cause for more alcoholics and as a disease alcoholism is wide spread among most of the tribes.

Many regional and local problems are also worsening the social situation of tribals. The un scientific welfare programmes implemented are created disadvantages rather than advantages. Administrative bodies are corrupted and the funds are misused or exploited. Insurgency, revolt and terrorism are recent problems noted among some tribes. Police and military forces instigate the tribals to rebel against the establishment. Numerous revolts and uprisings have taken place since 1772 in AP, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Mizoram and Nagaland. The foreign infiltrators from border countries have exploited the innocence for their smuggling activities, prohibited drugs and unlicensed weapons are smuggled. Some of the North-East tribals have been addicted to drugs also.

## Tribal Unrests and Revolts

Severe economic exploitation, grabbing of land, sexual abuse, and conversion have caused for strong reaction among tribals. They are agitated over these exploitations, ever since the days of the British rule they have been revolting against the establishment for various reasons. The important tribes involved in revolt in the 19th century were Mizos, Kols, Mundas, Khasis, Garos, Santhals, Nagas and Kondhs. After independence also many tribal revolts took place in North-East frontier and central India, Some cotemporary movements are Jharkhand, Gond, Nagra, Mizo and Bodoland movements.

It is possible to identify some of the major types of tribal movements:

1) Religious and social reform movements

2) Movements for statehood within the Indian Union or for autonomy for tribal areas.

3) Insurgent movements for independence from Indian Union

4) Movements for asserting cultural rights

The major causes of tribal unrests are identified:

1) Governmental failures

2) Political indifference

3) Absence of efficient tribal leadership

4) Unjust forest policy

5) Alienation of tribal land

6) Irresponsibility and lack of accountability of the Agencies of Tribal Development

7) Forceful cultural impositions

It is clan from the various social, political, economic, and legal factors have contributed to the problem of tribal unrest.

**Tribal Welfare Programmes**

Measures for the upliftment of tribes have been started with independence. British government

practically did nothing. The only thing the British did was that they kept the tribals away from the contact of the civilized people. The British policies of separating the tribals from the rest of the people created suspicion in the minds of nationalists. They severely criticized the British policy.

Various solutions have been presented for dealing effectively with the tribal problems. The tribal problems have been approached from three view points.

**1) Policy of Isolation:** Hutton and V Elwin have suggested that the tribals must be kept at a distance from the rest of society. Isolation of tribals in 'National Parks' or reserved areas would solve two problems: 1) the tribal's would be in a position to maintain their identity. 2) they would be free from the exploitation of outsiders. It was suggested that sufficient time must be given to the tribals to assimilate themselves with others.

**2) Policy of Assimilation:** Assimilation has been advocated by Christian missionaries, Hindu social reformers and voluntary Organizations. This approach suggested that assisting tribals to assimilate themselves with main stream is to solve the tribal problems. Some were supported complete assimilation into the Hindu society. But it was impossible as Tribals were not prepared to give up all their traditional beliefs, practices and values. This solution may even create religious, economic and moral degradation among tribes

**3) Policy of Integration:** The policy of isolation is neither possible nor desirable and that of assimilation would mean imposition. Hence interaction alone can make available to the tribes for betterment that will also help to maintain their identity. This view recommends rehabilitation of the tribal's on the plains along with others, but away from the isolated places, This solution is criticized as it will satisfy the needs of industrialists and capitalists. It may create economic aid moral problems as they will be forced to more away from their kinds.

These approaches have their own merits and demerits. No solution can be experimented with before winning the confidence of the tribals. The modern culture must not be imposed on them. It is essential to establish a harmonious compatibility between the tribal mode of living and material advancement of culture. As Nehru observed, 'Tribal people possesses a variety of culture and they are in many ways certainly not backward. There is no point in trying to make them a second role copy of ourselves'.

Nehru has proposed five principles known as 'Panchasheela' as part of the policy of integration:

1) Nothing should be imposed on the tribal people. Traditional culture of each tribe has to be encouraged.

2) Tribes right on land must be respected

3) Attempts must be made to train aid buildup a team of their own people to the work of administration and development.

4) Over-administering the tribal areas with too many schemes of development must be avoided. We should not work in rivalry to their own social old cultural institutions.

5) The results of the work must be adjudged by the quality of the human characters that is evolved and not by statistics or the amount of money spent

On the basis of 'Panchasheela', the government set up 43 tribal blocks in the various states to promote the Welfare Programmes for tribals. Government through Department of Tribal Welfare various projects and programmes are implemented. Some of the tribal welfare measures are given below:

**1) Constitutional Safeguards**

The constitution of India has made various provisions to safeguard the interests of the tribals. Major Articles are:

1. Article 15 provides equal right and opportunities without any discrimination.

2. Reservation in employment for tribal under Article 16(4), 320(4) and 335.

3. Seats have been reserved for them in the legislatures under Articles 330, 332 and 334.

4. Under Article 19(5) the tribals can earn property and enjoy it in any part of the country.

5. Under Article339 (2) the Central Government can give directions to the States in the formulation and execution of tribal welfare plans, projects and programmes

6. Article 46 consists of provisions that protect the economic and educational interests of the tribals.

In additions to the constitutional provisions the government appoints committees, commissions and study teams from time to time. Kaka Kalelkar, (1953-55), Renuka Ray (1958-59), UN.Dhebar (1960-61) and B.P. Mandel (1979-80) were some of them who led various commissions.

**2) Special Central Assistance**

Special Central Assistance is given to states to supplement their efforts in tribal development. This assistance is meant for family oriented income generating schemes in the sectors of agriculture, horticulture, minor irrigation, soil conservation, animal husbandry, forests, education, co-operatives and small scale industries and for minimum needs programme.

### 3. Economic Programmes and Facilities

Various economic programmes and projects have been under taken to improve their economic position.

1. Development through Five Year Plans

2. Integrated Tribal Development Projects

3. Establishment of multipurpose co-operative societies

4. Establishment of Tribal Co-operative marketing Development Federation of India

5. The 20th point programme

6. Vocational training in tribal Areas

7. Encouragement to crafts and Home Industries

8. Agricultural development programmes

9. Promotion of Labor Interests of Tribals

### 4.Educational Facilities

Measures to provide educational facilities to the tribes have been taken by the Government. Schools are established in tribal areas. Students are supported by concessions, scholarships and stipends. Mid-day meals are supplied. Special Hostels are established for tribes. Education of ST girls

In low literacy pockets have been established. Ashrama Schools started to impart basic education and vocational training for tribes. Pre-Examination Training Centers for ST are started in many places. Girls and boys hostels for ST were started.

### 5.Medical Facilities

Various medical facilities have been provided for the tribals. In some places hospitals are established. In some areas mobile hospital facilities have been provided. Many preventive an curative measures to contact the diseases like malaria, typhoid, small pox etc. are under taken. Medical camps are organized in tribal areas.

### 6.Research Works

Tribal Research Institutes have been set up in various states. These studies helped to identify the real conditions, problems and challenges of tribes in various places in India. This institutes are engaged in providing planning inputs to the state Governments.

### 7.Involvement of Voluntary Organisations

Voluntary Organisations are also engaged in tribal upliftment. Organizations such as Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh, Bhil Seva Mandal,Kasturba Gandhi National Memmorial Trust, Vanavasi Kaalyanashrama, and several Christian, Hindu and Muslim Organizations are some of the Non Governmental Organizations who are working in this area. Government gives grant in aid to NGOs working for tribal upliftment.

A critical evaluation of Tribal Welfare Programmes reveals that many of the projects were properly implemented.  It was noted that Tribal Welfare Schemes became an area of exploitation. Even though Government has spent crores of rupees for tribal development none of the benefits have reached in the hands of needy.  The administrators, political leaders even social workers have utilized tribals as a target for their personal growth.  In independent India Tribal development programmes became one of the most prominent 'White Elephant Projects'.  In many areas officially government has spent lakhs of rupees for each tribe, but not received much of the benefits for them.

Some of the defects of pointed out by scholars are:

1) Administrators have failed to understand the real problems of tribals, and their diversified Issues.  They considered tribes in India s a single group.

2) The planners never took into account the relative numerical strength of different tribes.  The difference is ignored

3) Administrators put forward general programme which were insufficient and failure in many tribal groups

4) Many projects never took into account the felt-needs of the tribes.  Priorities were

   never fixed by considering immediate and remote needs.

5) A major portion of money allotted for developmental programmes was spent on the establishment of plans and project, towards payment of salary to officials.

6) May educational and health programmes were found to be of very poor standard.

7) Sufficient food and water were not supplied or not reached at the hands of tribals. Dresses and good home conditions, were not well received by tribals.

8) New economic system has posed new problems and challenges for the tribals. Unemployment  led them to lend money from money lenders and that itself created lot of problems.  No sufficient measures have taken to deal these issues

9) Educational Programmes launched by the government are found to be disappointing Teachers were not properly trained to set-up a tribal friendly atmosphere in schools.

10) It was also noted that many State Governments are failed to utilize the fund effectively.

Through many things have been done for tribals, much remains undone.  The progress achieved in this field is far from satisfactory.  The basic assumption that tribals as objects of development has to be changed.  The concept of civilization is not to be imposed on tribals. The notion of development for outsiders was not suitable for the tribes.  It never satisfied on complemented the special socio-cultural traits of tribes.  It destroyed the self esteem and self confidence of the tribals by making themselves dependants and helpless. A socio-anthropological approach has to be framed out for tribal development.  The involvement of NGOs has to be supported and controlled for better results.

# MODULE IV

# TRIBES IN KERALA

Tribals in Kerala are living on the hill ranges, mainly on the Western Ghat, bordering Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.  A majority of these tribes of Kerala build their settlements in the dense forest grounds and also on the top of the mountains.  As a result of the rugged topography of the region, these tribes of Kerala too remain isolated.  They differ from each other depending upon their culture, racial features and habitat.  All the tribes of Kerala build a rich, unique and varied element of aboriginal culture.

In Kerala there are 35 Scheduled Tribes out of 48 tribal communities, their number is only 1.26% the state's population.  Most of these tribes are forest-dwellers and food gatherers.  Increasingly, they are found living on the fringes of the forests near the villages or townships, yet part of them.  According to the 2001 census of India, the Scheduled Tribes population in Kerala is 3, 64,189.  Waynad has the highest number of tribals (1,36,062).  Idukki (50973) and Palakkad (39665) districts are the next two that makes the major portion of the native tribal people groups in the state.  Paniyar (Paniya) is the biggest tribe among the 35 major tribes.  Cholanaikas, Kattunaikas, Kadars, Koragas and Kurumbas are the five primitive tribal groups of Kerala.  They constitute nearly 5% of the total tribal population in the State.  Cholanaikans can be said as the most primitive of them and found  in the Malappuram District.  Only a handful of families are living in the Nilambur forest Division.  Kattunaikans are mainly seen in the Wayanad district and some in Malappuram and Kozhikode districts.  Kadar population is found in Thrissur and Palakkad districts.  Kurumbas are living in the Attappady Block of Palakkad district.  The Koraga habitat is in the plain areas of Kasargod district.  The largest tribal group of Kerala, the Paniyas is habituated in many districts, mainly in Wayanad, Kannur, Malappuram and Kozhikode.

Some major Tribes in Kerala are:

## 1.  PANIYAR/PANIYAN

Paniyar are the largest tribal group in Kerala, spread over in many districts.  They are dark skinned, short in stature, with broad noses and curly or wavy hair.  Paniyas are considered to be Negrito in origin.  Basically they were cultivators but landless.  The land in which they were cultivated or habituated was grabbed by migrants from outside.  In the beginning of 20$^{th}$ century they were taken as labourers in agricultural lands and plantations by feudalists and planters. Many of them were bonded labourers for long time.

The Paniyas settle sown on borders of forest, in the forest or mountains in group.  The settlement are constituted by huts built of bamboo and thatched.  In older days in hard summer and heavy monsoon they temporarily shifted their residence to more suitable places nearby and returned later.  They catch fish  by means of bamboo traps.  The Paniya language is a mixture of ancient Dravidian languages.  Monogamy appears to be the general rule among them. Marriage

ceremonies is cermonised by head of the group (known as 'Chemmi'), in which wedding dress is given by the bridegroom to the Chemmi, who hands over them to parents of bride. A feast is prepared and served, and as ritual Paniya women dance to the music of drum and pipe. Chemmi is respected as a priest as well as head of the community. In many ceremonies and rituals related to birth to death he plays the leading role for the group. The dead will be dressed up with new clothes after ceremonial bath, and buried the body. Paniyas worship Kooli, Kattu Bhagavathi, Kuttichathan and Badrakali, and they are marked by a stone or pillar under a tree or a place near to their habitat.

## 2.ADIYA/ADIYAN

The word Adiyan means slave in Malayalam. They are found in wayanad and kannur districts. Most of them are agricultural labourers. It is believed that they were agricultural slaves of feudalilsts, who are purchased during the annual festival at the Valliyoorkavu temple in Mananthavady. Adiyar people used to gather where they were sold and brought by landlords. They speak a mixed language of Malayalam and Kannada. The rules related with clans are strictly observed by Adiyars. Each clan is known as 'Chemma' and people never marry from their 'Chemma'. Once they were worshipped Malankari, Muthumalapoy gods. They respect and worship ancestors also. Comparatively they mingle minimum with outsiders.

## 3.CHOLANAIKAN

Cholanaikans are the oldest native communities of Kerala and wanishing tribe in Kerala. They are seen in the karnlayi and chungthara forest ranges. Cholanaikans have a language to speak. Basically Cholanaikers depend on forest and river for their livelihood. The settlement of Cholanaikans are called 'Janmam' and head of the locality as 'Janmakkaron'. He is leader as well as a doctor for them. All Janmams are devided into 'Nadus', and geographically it is distinguishable for them through some signs. People from one Janmam marries from outside. They obseve patriliny and couples live with husband's family. They believe in forest, Gods and spirits, usually called 'Kadu Devva' or 'Hadu Devva'.

## 4.KATTUNAIKA

Kattunaikas are found in Wayanad and Kozhikode. They live in forests, utilizes forest for their livelihood. Kattunaikan means 'kings of the jungle, and they have very little contact with non-tribes. As interior forest dwellers until recent times, they did not have access to dress and used bark of trees for clothing. They also used ornaments made of materials available in the forest. They are tall, dark and have curly hair. They believe that they are descendents of a kingdom which was powerful a few centuries ago. Their huts are made of bamboo, straw and grass.

Kattunaikas are good hunters and are skilled gatherers of forest products such as honey and wax. They use to breed pigs, and poultry. They are non vegetarians in food habits But do not eat beaf. Forest department employs them as forest guards. They are animists and worshipped trees,

rocks, hills, and snakes.  The headman is known as 'Muttam'.  He plays roles of priest and leader. They observe any of the three kinds of marriages- by elopement, purchase and by service.  In case of purchase, bride price is fixed and this can be given in installments even after the marriage. Exchange of betel nut and chewing pan leaf are symbols observed in the marriage ceremony. They give little importance to funerals; they usually bury the body.  They have no firm belief in life after death.

## 5.KURUMAR

Kurumars are see in Wayanad, close to the forest.  They have subgroups called Urali Kurumar, Then Kurumar, Mullu Kurumar.  Mulla Kurumar , Mala Kurumar and Vetta Kurumar. Vetta Kurumars are traditionally hunters, Urali Kurumars are agriculturalists, Urali Kurumars are settlers and live in huts.  Their language is a mixture of ancient Malayalam, Tamil and Kannada.

Eventhough they are non vegetarians, they are fond of rice, and beans.  They also use milk and milk products.  Kurumars are devided into 'Kulams' and sub divided into 'kudis'.  They never marry from same 'Kudis' or 'Kulams'.  They believe in monogamy and 'tali', is considered to be symbol of marriage.  They are patrilineal and patrilocal, when a girl attain puberty she is put in a confinement for seven days and celebrate the last day.  Their belief is focused on 'Daivappura'.  'Mooppan' is head of this 'Daivappura', and ceremonises all rituals.  Kurumarkali, Kolkali and vattakkali are observed in ceremonies.

## 6.KURICHIAR

Kurichiars are found in Wayanad and some parts of Kozhikode.  They believe that they were warriors and served for pazhassi Raja with utmost honesty and courage during his fight against British.  They have archery aand martial arts.  Though they live on the hills in isolation, the architecture of their houses and other atifacts suggest of a recent past life in the mainstream. They believe that they are highest group among tribes and strictly followed un-touchability. According to a myth they believe that they had been thrown out from their land after a defeat by outsiders.

The Kurichiars are divided into matrilineal clans known as 'Kulam'.  Childrens are part of matrilineal 'Kulams'.  They marry from other 'Kulams' and observe monogamy in general. Divorce is common among them .  Kurichia tharawad is called 'mittam' and property is with these mittams.  Head of the family is known as 'odayakkaran' and 'odayakkarathi'.  Nadu mooppan is most honoured person and he play the chieftains as well as priest's role.  They worship 'Bhothi', 'Malakkari', and 'Munnan Daivam'.  Major festivals are 'Thulapath', 'Theyyam thira' and 'puthiri'.

## 7.KORAGAR

Koragars are listed as a primitive tribe and they are found in Kasargod and Manjeswaram. Koragar also believe that their ancestors are belonging to a defeated dynasty.  According to another legend, they allegedly were considered as a mixed offspring and were locked down upon with contempt and their future generation was named as Koraga.  A good number of koragas are

seen in rural areas, but very little interaction is taking place with outsiders.  The Koragas speak a language of their own which resembles to Tulu and Kannada.

The Koragas who live in plain areas are called Kuntu Korage, and those who live in forests as Sappu Koraga.  Both these groups observe different dress code.  Kundu Korgas are divided into Badiyadika and Pulikoor.  A large section of Korgas is engaged in basket making, some are engaged in agriculture.  They are specialists in capturing crocodiles and used to eat its flesh.

Other major tribes are Irulars, Kurumbans, Malappulayans, Malappandorams, Maladevans, Malakkuravans, Malayans, Mannans, Muthuvans, Mudugars, and Ullalar.  They reside in different parts of Kerala and keep an isolated life from others.  They are also in a time of transition in which facing Hinduisation or Christianisation.  And recently may of these tribes are engaged in agricultural labour.

## **Welfare Programmes for Kerala Tribes**

**Balavadis:**  Under this scheme 43 Balavadis are set up.  This schme is meant to develop aptitude in learning, to encaourage children for accelerating the development of their intellectual capacity.

**Nursery schools/Single teacher schools:**  The ST Development Department runs 14 Nursery schools and 12 single Teacher schools.  Children in these schools are given free mid day meals, dress in addition to lumpsum grant.

**High school /Collage Education:**  All tribal students in schools and colleges are given free education with lumpsum grant.

**Tribal Hostels:**  111 prematic hostels are being run to help the education of ST students.  Approximately 6000 students have been provided with accommodation.

**Financial Assistance to Students:**  Various schemes are established for financial help to tribes.  Students are being paid monthly grant apart from uniform clothes.  The parents who send their children to school will get an annual grant.  Promotional Prize to students are given.  Students who get higher marks in school, who pass the SSLC, Plus Two and Degree examination are offered monthly cash grants.  Other special scholarships are also dispursed.  Students who fail in SSLC, Plus two examinations are also being paid special grants.

**Special Incentives:**  Educational recreation centers are being run in tribal areas.  Selected boys with potencials are selected for Bharath Darsan Programme of 20 days, girls for Kerala Darsan Programme.  Prizes are given for encouraging in the field of art and literature; sports and fine arts.

**Special Schools for Tribals:**  Model Reidential schools and Rajiv Gandhi Memorial Asram School are recently set-up for tribal students.

**Welfare Progrmmes:**

1) Programmes for Training in Job

2) Production Training Centres

3) Financial Assistance for Appearing for Interview

4) Pre-examination Training Centres

5) Technical Training in Private Institutes

6) Employment Oriented Education and other technical training

7) Self Employment

8) Housing Project

9) Assistance for maintaining houses

10) Financial assistance for repairing the houses and wells

12) Land for constructing houses

13) Financial Assistance for partners in mixed marriage

14) Co- operative societies

15) Special loans