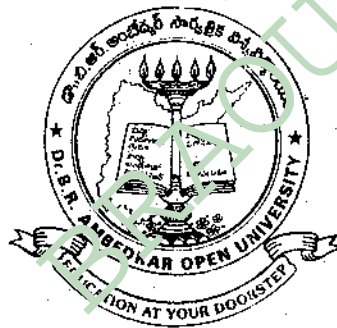


SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

(Blocks I - X)



Dr. B. R. AMBEDKAR OPEN UNIVERSITY

Hyderabad

1993

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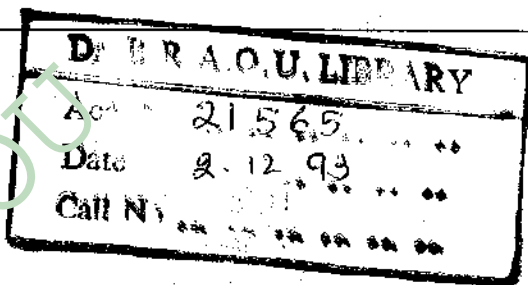
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Introduction

This book deals with the topics in Social Anthropology included in the syllabus for the Second year of the Sociology Course offered by the Andhra Pradesh Open University. These topics generally cover the "core" area of the subject to be studied in the Second Year of the Three Year Degree Course in Arts (B.A.). The syllabus for the sake of convenience is divided into Blocks, each of which comprises a number of units. Each Block generally covers a specific area of the subject. The units are prepared by specialists in accordance with a format so designed as to enable the student to read and understand them without much difficulty. Each unit begins with a statement of its objectives followed by synopsis and has at its end assignments intended to test the student's comprehension of its subject matter. Technical terms with which the student may not generally be familiar are given at the end of each unit under the head, "Key words"

This volume on Social Anthropology, focuses on the Evolution and Development of Human Race and takes in its sweep the examination of the physical features of man, his habits and life styles and the influence of culture on the Human Race.

For the sake of convenience the syllabus is divided into ten Blocks. In Block I, the main concerns of the discipline of Social Anthropology and the definition, scope and the various divisions of Social Anthropology are discussed. In Block II, the origin, development and methods of Social Anthropology, and its relationship with other Social Sciences are discussed.

In Block 3, the meaning and definition of culture, and the various aspects of Culture such as Socialization, Evolution, Diffusion, Acculturation, trans-culturation and Enculturation are discussed.

Block 4 sets forth the Characteristics of Tribal, Peasant and Urban societies and a brief discussion of the distinction between Tribe and Caste, and the relationship between Race and Culture.

Block 5 presents a study of Family and Kinship and considers the Meaning, Functions and Forms of Marriage, and the ways of acquiring Mates.

Blocks 6 and 7 are a continuation of the discussion on Tribal society. They explain different types of tribal economy and political organisations and justice and law in a tribal society.

In Block 8, The role of religion in the evolution of human society, is discussed, in particular, the definition, forms and functions of religion and also the relationship between religion, magic and science.

Blocks 9 and 10 are devoted to the study of Indian tribes and their problems. Block 9 discusses the distribution of tribes in India, their social classification and socio-economic features. Block 10 the last unit is concerned with the problems of Indian tribes, the policy of the Indian Government towards tribal Welfare with special reference to the tribes of our State and the programmes of tribal welfare undertaken by the State Government.

The University hopes that this material will help the student to get acquainted with the principal issues in Social Anthropology which makes for its distinctiveness and significance.

BRAOU

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BLOCK I

Anthropology as a Study of Man

Unit 1 : Definition and Meaning of Anthropology.

Unit 2 : Scope of Anthropology.

Unit 3 : Divisions of Anthropology and their relationship.

BRAOU

Unit-1 : DEFINITION AND MEANING OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Contents

- 1.0 Aims and Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Etymological Definition and meaning of the Term Anthropology
- 1.3 Definition and meaning of Early Anthropology
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 - 1.3.3 Definition and meaning during Enlightenment
- 1.4 Definition and meaning of Nineteenth Century Anthropology
 - 1.4.1 Definition and meaning at the Beginning of Nineteenth Century
 - 1.4.2 Definition and meaning towards the end of Nineteenth Century
- 1.5 Definition and meaning of Modern Anthropology
 - 1.5.1 Definition and meaning at the dawn of Twentieth Century
 - 1.5.2 Definition and meaning in recent years
- 1.6 Summing Up
- 1.7 Key Words
- 1.8 Suggested Books
- 1.9 Model Examination Questions

1.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This unit aims to acquaint you with the definition and meaning of the term anthropology from the time of its coining upto the present.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * explain the etymological definition and meaning of the term anthropology,
- * explain the definition and meaning of anthropology in the classical period, in the renaissance period, and in the period of enlightenment,
- * explain the definition and meaning of anthropology at the beginning and at the end of nineteenth century,
- * explain the definition and meaning of modern anthropology.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we will study the definition and meaning of the term anthropology from the time of its coining up to the present and how the modern definition and meaning of the term anthropology provide a broad base for the understanding of human species in its totality in all places and at all times.

1.2 ETYMOLOGICAL DEFINITION AND MEANING OF THE TERM ANTHROPOLOGY

Etymologically, anthropology means "Science of Human Species". The term is derived from two Greek words, **anthropos** (human beings or human species) and **logos** or **logia** (study or science). It defines itself as a discipline concerned with human organism, rather than with many diverse organisms. There are several organisms or species among plants and animals. On the contrary, all humans belong to one species. The scientific name of this species is *Homo Sapiens*. While disciplines like Botany and Zoology deal with several species of plants and animals, anthropology tries to know about only one species to which all humans belong. Hence anthropology may be etymologically envisioned as the systematic investigation of a single species, namely *Homo Sapiens*.

1.3 DEFINITION AND MEANING OF EARLY ANTHROPOLOGY

1.3.1 Definition and Meaning of anthropology during the Classical Period

Anthropology has not always been as broad and comprehensive in its concerns as its etymological definition conveys today. The definition and meaning of the term anthropology at the time of its coining more than two thousand years ago are different from the definitions and meanings of the term anthropology that have been current at different times during two thousand years.

What was the definition and meaning of anthropology at the time of its innovation during the Classical Period that existed over two thousand years ago? Aristotle (384-322 B.C), the Greek Philosopher, pupil of Plato and tutor of Alexander the Great, is referred to as the Father of Anthropology. He is accredited as the first anthropologist who has coined, defined and explained the term, anthropology. He defined anthropology as a gossip that revolves round man, and an anthropologist as a gossip who talks about himself. By this definition he meant that man talks about plants, animals, planets and other phenomena and becomes botanist, zoologist, astronomer and so on, but when man talks about himself, he becomes an anthropologist and the resultant science anthropology. Anthropology did not develop as a branch of knowledge either during the time of Aristotle or during the next one and half millenia until the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Check your progress

1. Give the etymological definition of anthropology.

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2. Who is the father of anthropology ?

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3. How did he define Anthropology ?

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1.3.2 Definition and Meaning during Renaissance

Anthropology as an identifiable discipline is a child of the Renaissance. During the period of Renaissance between fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, thinkers have nourished and used anthropology in the philosophical faculties of the universities in Germany. They defined anthropology as the systematic study of man as a physical and moral being. This definition focused its attention on two aspects of man - physical aspect and moral aspect. The word "Physical" was not used as an adjective of physics. It was used to mean 'physique' or 'body'. In other words, physical aspect was concerned with the biological conditions such as the external form and internal arrangement of man. The external form was understood in terms of bodily features and the internal arrangement was understood in terms of anatomy, physiology and mental abilities. The moral aspect included the intangible features of man such as social life, technological skills, politics and power, ethics and values. Both the biological and moral aspects were stressed in the definition of anthropology so as to make the range of its appeal very wide. This kind of interest of anthropology during Renaissance is somewhat different from the kind of interest now identified with anthropology.

1.3.3 Definition and Meaning during Enlightenment

Anthropology passed through its childhood during the period of Enlightenment in the Eighteenth Century. Intellectuals recognised it as a branch of knowledge to be developed and propagated. Particularly, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) a German philosopher, wrote a book in 1789 entitled Anthropology. Kant defined anthropology as a study which describes and explains the animal origins, social as well as cultural development and progress of man. While explaining the meaning of this definition, Kant said that man is an organism, that he has animal origins and that he is product of biological evolution. After his emergence, man tried to improve his nature through development and progress. In other words, Kant made it clear through his argument that just as man is a product of biological evolution man's customs, institutions, and society are the products of social development and progress. According to his statement, anthropology aims

to present a total picture of the biological antiquity of man and the development and progress of human society. This view of anthropology received support in the writings of several scholars of those times. Many biologists, physicians, linguists, economists and historians like, Buffon (1707-1788), Turgot (1717-1780) and Lamarck (1744-1829) in France, Monboddo (1714-1799) in Italy, Robertson (1721-1793) in Scotland, Pritchard (1786-1848) in England, and Blumenback (1752-1840) in Germany, not only wrote about the diversity of man in terms of races, customs and languages but also described the progress of man in terms of social and cultural development. The idea of biological evolution as well as the idea of development and progress of man roots in almost all intellectual circles. Thus by the end of eighteenth century the stage was set for the emergence of anthropology as a full-fledged field.

Check your progress

4. Name few scholars who described the progress of man in terms of social and cultural development.

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1.4 DEFINITION AND MEANING OF NINETEENTH CENTURY ANTHROPOLOGY

1.4.1 Definition and meaning in the beginning of Nineteenth Century

Anthropology began to emerge as a separate discipline in the beginning of nineteenth century. By 1822 it found a place in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. Its ideas filtered into natural and social sciences and inspired several biologists, physicians, philosophers, historians and philologists to devote themselves to the study of the biological, social and cultural nature of man. The Encyclopaedia Britannica of 1822 defined anthropology as a discipline devoted to a discourse on human nature. The clear meaning to be drawn from this definition is that human nature includes biological nature (nature of human biology), cultural nature (nature of human culture in terms of techniques, art, morals, law and religion) and social nature (family life and political life of human beings), and that the discourse which portrays a synthesized picture of these three distinct but inter-related aspects of human nature in the past as well as present becomes anthropology. An explanation of the definition reveals that humans are organisms, hence part of nature and not separate from nature. Humans have evolved as part of the living world. They are like other organisms. But they are different from other organisms, because unlike other organisms they are the highest products of evolution. Therefore humans have a biological nature which is different in many respects from that of other animals. Well developed brain, nimble hands and erect posture have become the unique biological traits of humans. That is why human beings stand as organisms with a biology that makes them really human. The cultural nature and social nature have come into existence when humans have acquired what is really human biological nature. The biological equipment such as developed brain and nimble limbs and hands

helped humans to create culture. Their biological heritage prepared them to have co-operation and live in social groups, and make their survival possible. Therefore, human nature is what is biologically human, what is culturally human and what is socially human. To understand this, anthropology moves in two directions: it searches for the origins of human nature in evolutionary biology and cultural and social history, and therefore it knows the biological, cultural and social past of human nature. Thus in the beginning of nineteenth century, Anthropology developed as a separate subject and explained that its focus of attention was on how human nature evolved, what was human nature in the bygone ages, what was human nature in the recent past and what is human nature today.

Check your progress

5. How did Encyclopaedia Britannica define Anthropology ?

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1.4.2 Definition and meaning towards the end of Nineteenth Century

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, anthropology gained sufficient respectability to be admitted into the world of academic disciplines. The first University departments of Anthropology were founded between 1880 and 1890 in England, America, France and Germany. Anthropology emerged as an integrated discipline of four branches: physical anthropology, ethnology, linguistics and archaeology. Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) in England, Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881) in America and Paul Broca (1824-1880) in France became the pioneers in Anthropology. Tylor in his book "Anthropology" (1881) defined Anthropology as the study of the old remains of people and the physical features, races, languages, customs and practices of primitive peoples. Paul Broca, on the other hand, defined physical anthropology as the study of man at all levels of development in relation to the living world. While Tylor restricted the task of anthropology to the study of biological and cultural aspects of man from his beginnings upto his emergence as a primitive, Paul Broca elaborated the task of physical anthropology to the study of biological aspect of man from his origins right upto his present existence as a civilised man. Like Tylor and Broca other anthropologists of that time also had a divided opinion on the definition, meaning and tasks of anthropology. Despite this difference in their definitions they all introduced a clear evolutionary perspective into the study of man. This was due to the firm planting of the notion of organic evolution and the idea of social evolution in anthropology. All this happened due to the influence of Darwin (1809-1882) and Wallace (1823-1913). They gave the theory of organic evolution and in the light of their theory. They said that all life is related. According to their theory, life began several hundreds and thousands of years ago. The first organisms were minute. Over a period of time, these minute organisms evolved into complex organisms. From that time on evolution worked to give rise to still more complex organisms. Ultimately man emerged as a product of evolution. This idea of biological evolution of man percolated into all branches of knowledge including anthropology.

Anthropologists said, if plants and animals including man could evolve, so too could human societies and called their theory social evolution. Meanwhile, the findings of prehistoric tools and fossil remains bolstered the views of anthropologists on biological, cultural and social evolution.

With this background anthropologists explained what they meant by human evolution. According to them life is like a thread. The thread of life begins with the appearance of minute organisms and ends with the emergence of man. The early man was a toolmaker and tooluser. He was a food gatherer and lived as a savage. As more time passed some savages built their technology, discovered methods of hunting and fishing, constructed shelters and small villages and became barbarians. Then some barbarians discovered agriculture and writing, founded cities and states and became civilised. This sequence of changes that stretched over long periods of time is what is meant by human evolution by the savants of anthropology like Tylor, Broca, Morgan and several others.

In the light of this kind of human evolution, Tylor, Broca, Morgan and many other anthropologists tried to explain their definitions of anthropology. Their definitions of the discipline revealed that anthropology studies man who is alive today and man who lived in the distant past. The study begins with the origins, and subsequent development of man besides the biological variation of contemporary man. The skeletal remains in the form of fossils can explain the origins and later development of man. The physical features and races through ages can reveal the biological variation up to the contemporary man. The tools left by early man can show the course of cultural evolution. The contemporary primitives and their cultures are the fossilised remnants of civilised man. Their bodily structure, their customs and their institutions can reveal what was their biology, culture and society in the evolutionary stage of savagery and barbarism before they could become civilised. The study of evolution based on fossil materials and the study of biological variation based on contemporary populations were the concerns of physical anthropology. The study of extinct cultures based on their material remains was the subject matter of archaeology. The study of evolution and variation of language was the focus of linguistics. The study of primitive cultures as replicas of the previous stages of civilised peoples was the task of ethnology. In their totality all these sub-disciplines constituted anthropology. Anthropology, then, was concerned with the biological, cultural and social aspects of man from his emergence mostly upto the primitive level of his development and to some extent upto the civilised level of his development.

1.5 DEFINITION AND MEANING OF MODERN ANTHROPOLOGY

1.5.1 Definition and meaning at the dawn of Twentieth Century

As a growing field of scholarship anthropology steadily matured during the early part of twentieth century. Stalwarts like Franz Boas (1858-1942) in America, and Malinowski (1884-1942) and Radcliffe Brown (1881-1954) in England helped in the development of anthropology and developed the discipline into an increasingly complex and segmented academic field of study. They defined anthropology as the study of man at all levels of development. Their definition represented a significant departure from the definitions offered by Tylor, Broca and other anthropologists of the previous century. Some of them emphasised that anthropology must study man from his emergence upto his primitive level. Boas, Malinowski and Radcliffe Brown explained the meaning and scope of anthropology in terms of biology, culture and society

throughout time and in all parts of the world. This means that anthropology studies man in the past and the present and in every corner of the world. It studies early man as well as contemporary man. Again, it studies the contemporary man in the form of primitive man, peasant man and urban man. At the same time, it studies all aspects of man, namely biological aspect, cultural aspect and social aspect. By covering all these aspects in time and in every part of the world, anthropology describes, analyses and explains both the similarities and differences among human societies and discovers universalities (what is common to all societies), generalities (what is common to all societies) and particularities (what is unique to every society), and searches for biological, social and cultural laws governing man or the human species as a whole. Such integration of all aspects of man in time and space was explained as holism. Hence anthropology was declared as a holistic discipline.

As holism became the chief feature of anthropology, distinguished scholars segmented anthropology into sub-disciplines on the basis of the different aspects of man. As a result they divided anthropology into two major sub-fields : physical anthropology and cultural anthropology or social anthropology. Physical anthropology was further divided into branches namely comparative morphology and human genetics. Similarly, cultural or social anthropology was again divided into archaeology, linguistics, ethnography, ethnology and applied anthropology. Physical anthropology was dealing with the evolution of man and of physical variations in human populations. Within physical anthropology, comparative morphology was concerned with the form and function of the human body and its evolution, but human genetics was concerned with the mechanism of transmission of biological variations in human populations over time. On the other hand, cultural anthropology or social anthropology was concerned with cultural evolution as revealed by extinct cultures and social and cultural variation as revealed by the diversity of societies and cultures in the recent past and the contemporary times. In this context archaeology studied extinct cultures and the processes of cultural evolution, linguistics studied the historical development and present variation of man's languages, ethnography was first hand account of a particular contemporary culture or a particular culture in the recent past, ethnology was concerned with the history and growth of several cultures. Ethnography was descriptive but ethnology was comparative. Ethnography was based on field work but not on library work. Ethnologist could utilise several ethnographies and compare cultures to arrive at universalities, generalities and particularities. Ethnologist could utilise the ethnographic accounts available in the libraries. Both ethnography and ethnology developed spectacularly and became major contributions of anthropology to social sciences. These contributions were successfully utilised by the administration in finding solutions to certain practical problems encountered in several societies. As a result, applied anthropology emerged as a separate branch of anthropology. Thus, the definition and meaning of anthropology provided by the early twentieth century anthropologists reveals that anthropology is a science of man as a total organism and that anthropology is comparative, holistic and humanistic field of study.

1.5.2 Definition and Meaning in recent years

Since 1950s anthropology has inspired its most distinguished representatives with the desire to learn more about the fascinating species, *Homo sapiens*, to which they themselves belong. Over the last three decades, contacts even with the remotest parts of the world and the people living in those parts became possible for anthropologists. As a result, anthropologists systematically collected enormous amount of information on almost all human societies. At the same time,

anthropologists began to study the fast changing societies. They realised that human society is transforming itself very fast because of new technology. Primitive societies will no longer exist, peasant societies will disappear and many advanced human societies will change into super-urban societies. Therefore, future society will be distributed over vast areas in unbroken settlement sprawls. The whole human society will be made up of almost ten billions of humans. Human beings will be long lived. Sexual activity will not be necessary for reproduction. Reproduction will be selectively controlled and genetically managed. Socialisation of the young will be simple. Economy will be functioning without money. Few will work and most of the population will be leisured consumers. Humans will establish colonies in outer space. All such transformations may take place in the next one hundred or five hundred years. In the future, as in the past, man will require a society in which he can make his life meaningful. Anthropologists started approaching the study of the future in terms of possibilities, options and alternatives. Anthropological knowledge of the past and the present of human kind will continue to be of importance in helping to build the future of human species. With this kind of understanding of humanity anthropologists declared that man is rooted in the past, living in the present and looking forward to the future. In view of this new orientation, they redefined anthropology as the discipline that studies all aspects of man, in all places and at all times. All aspects included biological, cultural and social aspects; all places meant every part of this world and even outer space; and all times signified past, present and future.

When anthropologists have redefined their subject in this manner, champions of the women's liberation movement in all advanced countries rightly pointed out that anthropologists studied not only men but women as well. In keeping with the emphasis of the times anthropologists have redefined their definition of anthropology as the study of human species at all levels of development in all places and at all times. In this definition the word 'man' was substituted by the words human species, human organism, human being, humans, humanity and human kind which are genderfree and do not imply any sex discrimination. Now anthropology is etymologically defined as the study of human species at all levels of complexity, in all places, at all times. What is more, with the rapid growth of anthropological knowledge the division of anthropology into various sub-disciplines has also been revised. Now physical anthropology and biological anthropology are used interchangeably, archaeology has been restructured as archaeological anthropology and linguistics has been reframed as linguistic anthropology. Social anthropology and cultural anthropology are merged into one branch and the resultant one is designated as social-cultural anthropology because society and culture are seen as complementary concepts. Applied anthropology emerged as a separate major branch of anthropology. Unlike in the past, anthropologists now recognise physical anthropology or biological anthropology, archaeological anthropology, linguistic anthropology, social-cultural anthropology and applied anthropology as major divisions of anthropology. Now, ethnography and ethnology are recognised as sub-branches of social-cultural anthropology. Moreover, a large number of specialisations such as anthropology of family and kinship, economic anthropology, political anthropology, educational anthropology, medical anthropology, ecological anthropology, legal anthropology, ethnomusicology, urban anthropology, folk lore, folk art and so on are innovated as special sub-fields of ethnology within social-cultural anthropology. Apart from this, futuristic anthropology which deals with biological, social and cultural future of human species has yet to become a developing branch of anthropology. Now anthropology uniquely exists as a comprehensive, comparative, holistic and humanistic field of study amongst the galaxies of biological sciences, social sciences, humanities and other disciplines in the fascinating universe of science.

Check your progress

6. What is the recent definition of Anthropology ?

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1.6 SUMMING UP

In this unit we have examined the definition and meaning of the term anthropology from the time of its coming up to the present. Now anthropology is etymologically defined as the study of human species at all levels of complexity in all places. With the rapid growth of anthropological knowledge the division of anthropology into various sub-disciplines has been revised. Physical anthropology or biological anthropology, archaeological anthropology and linguistic anthropology, social-cultural anthropology and applied anthropology are recognised as major divisions of anthropology.

1.7 KEY WORDS

1. Age of Enlightenment : The period of European history approximately between 1690 A.D. and the eruption of French Revolution in 1789 A.D.
2. Age of Renaissance : The period of European History beginning in fourteenth century A.D. and extending upto seventeenth century A.D.
3. Barbarism : According to nineteenth century evolutionary anthropologists, it is a level of cultural development characterised by gardening, agriculture, domesticated herds, and absence of written language.
4. Civilization : According to nineteenth century evolutionary anthropologists, it is a level of cultural development characterised by large urban centres, monumental public works, writing, science, social and economic classes and the formation of states.
5. Classical Age : The period of Greek civilization between 5th century B.C. and late 4th century B.C.
6. Culture : The total way of life of a human group. It encompasses the mental, relational and material of technological processes and products of a human group. It includes tools, symbols, beliefs, rules of behaviour relations, attitudes, values and so on. Therefore culture is made up of the behaviour of people, the rules which govern behaviour and the tools or artefacts.

7. Early anthropology : Anthropology which existed from the time of its invention in fourth century B.C. until eighteenth century A.D.
8. Evolution : According to Darwin, descent with modification is evolution. In Anthropology change in form of Homo Sapien as a biological organism or change in form of culture, society or human adaptation to the environment is called evolution.
9. Historic Time : The period of time after humans became able to produce adequate historical records.
10. Holistic : The point of view concerned with the whole human condition- biology, society and culture in all times and places.
11. Modern anthropology : Anthropology in the last three decades whose foundations are laid at the dawn of the present century.
12. Nineteenth Century Anthropology : Anthropology which has taken shape as an organised academic discipline in the nineteenth century.
13. Prehistoric time : The period of time from the first appearance of humans to the development of written history.
14. Savagery : According to nineteenth century evolutionary theory, it is a state of cultural development marked by the absence of gardening or agriculture and written language.
15. Society : A group of people who are dependent on each other for survival and well-being, and who share a common culture. Society and culture are not one. A human society is made up of people; a culture is made up of the behaviour of people, the rules which govern behaviour and artefacts or tools. We may say that a person belongs to a society but it would be wrong to say that a person belongs to a culture; society manifests culture. Society cannot exist without culture and culture cannot exist without society. Undertaking of one leads to the understanding of another.

1.8 SUGGESTED BOOKS

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | Brew, J.O.(ed) | 1968 | One Hundred Years of Anthropology. |
| 2. | Clifton, J.A.(ed) | 1970 | Applied Anthropology; Readings in the Uses of the Science of Man. |
| 3. | Dube, S.C. | 1952 | Anthropology : The Study of Man. |
| 4. | Hays, H.R. | 1964 | From Ape to Angel. |
| 5. | Herskovits, M.J. | 1948 | Man and His Works : The Science of Cultural Anthropology. |
| 6. | Hoebel, E.A.
& Weaver, T | 1979 | Anthropology and the Human Experience. |

8.	Kluckhohn, C.	1949	Mirror for Man.
9.	Kroeber, A.L.	1948	Anthropology.
10.	Leaf, M.J.etal	1974	The Frontiers of Anthropology : An Introduction to Anthropological Thinking.
11.	Majumdar, D.N. & Madan, T.N.	1980	An Introduction to Social Anthropology.
12.	Srinivas, M.N.(ed)	1958	Method in Social Anthropology.
13.	Tylor, E.B.	1968	Anthropology.

1.9 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each :
1. Discuss the etymological definition and meaning of anthropology.
 2. Define early anthropology and explain the meaning of early anthropology.
 3. Define nineteenth century anthropology and discuss its meaning.
 4. Identify the similarities and differences between the definition and meaning of early anthropology and those of nineteenth century.
- II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each :
1. Give the definition and briefly explain the meaning of anthropology at the dawn of 20th century.
 2. Define anthropology today and explain its meaning.
 3. Review the definitions of anthropology at different times.

Unit-2 : THE SCOPE OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Contents

- 2.0 Aims and objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 The Scope of early anthropology
 - 2.2.1 Scope of anthropology at the time of its origins.
 - 2.2.2 Scope of anthropology at the time of its infancy.
- 2.3 The Scope of Nineteenth Century Anthropology
 - 2.3.1 Scope of anthropology in its childhood
 - 2.3.2 Scope of anthropology before its maturity into an academic discipline.
- 2.4 The Scope of Modern Anthropology
 - 2.4.1 Scope of anthropology as a matured discipline
 - 2.4.2 Scope of anthropology today
- 2.5 Summing Up
- 2.6 Key Words
- 2.7 Suggested Books
- 2.8 Model Examination Questions

2.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with scope of anthropology.

At the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * explain how the scope of anthropology has broadened as the discipline has evolved;
- * explain how the scope of modern anthropology is universal;
- * describe how the scope of modern anthropology is unique in terms of its multi-faceted perspective;
- * show how the scope of anthropology is much broader than that of any other discipline.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit we have examined the definition and meaning of the term anthropology from the time of its coining up to the present and also how the modern definition provides a broad base for the understanding of human species in its totality in all places and at all times. In this unit we will study the scope of anthropology and how it is much broader than that of any other discipline.

2.1 THE SCOPE OF EARLY ANTHROPOLOGY

2.2.1 The scope of Anthropology at the time of its Origins

The scope of anthropology has widened as the discipline has evolved. At the time of its invention during the Classical period, it defined its scope as relevant to human species. What will be the scope of anthropology or what exactly is the subject matter of anthropology was not specified.

2.2.2 The scope of Anthropology at the time of its infancy

Later, in the age of Renaissance, anthropology could find a place in academics. Its ideal scope was wide but its actual scope was narrow. The ideal scope of anthropology laid stress upon the study of physical and moral dimensions of human species all over the world. However, in practice its scope was restricted to a discussion on strange people and quaint customs.

In the following period of Enlightenment the stage was set for the development of anthropology as a full-fledged field of study. It identified its scope as the study of animal origins, social and cultural development as well as progress of humanity across space and time.

2.3 THE SCOPE OF NINETEENTH CENTURY ANTHROPOLOGY

2.3.1 The Scope of Anthropology in its Childhood

With the advent of nineteenth century, anthropology entered its childhood. Intelligentsia popularised it as a branch of knowledge worthy of an independent status. They claimed that the scope of anthropology centres round the depiction of an integrated picture of human nature. In its coverage of human nature, the scope was concerned with the biological, social and cultural nature of humans as a whole. The scope made it clear that humans evolved as part of the living world and acquired certain biological features with distinct qualities many of which are absent in other organisms. These physical distinctions endowed humans with a biological nature unique to themselves. After acquiring biological nature that is quite peculiar to them, human beings started creating culture and society. Therefore biological, cultural and social nature of humans are separate but intertwined with each other. The scope of anthropology thus includes a systematic portrayal of an integrated picture of human nature in terms of its biology, culture and society. Indeed the scope was broad-based that it included all human aspects throughout the time and world over.

2.3.2 The Scope of Anthropology before its maturity into an academic discipline

In the latter part of nineteenth century, anthropology could reach the high point just before its maturity and became an independent, organised, academic discipline. It was among the youngest academic disciplines. As it had almost reached the take off stage for its maturity it could gain some independent thinking and project its own views on its scope. The emergent views on its scope were somewhat different from those related to the scope of anthropology in the beginning of nineteenth century. The pioneers in the field of anthropology in the second half of nineteenth century presented divided opinion on the scope of the discipline. Some limited its scope from the origin and evolution of human species through its historic development, down

to the present primitive level. Others stretched its scope from the emergence of human species through its prehistoric and historic development, down to the present people including the primitives, the peasants and the civilised. As the former restricted the scope from the emergence of humans upto primitive condition of humans, the scope was termed as near universal. But the latter expanded the scope from the emergence of humans upto the civilised humans today. In brief it embraced human species as a whole. It was limited neither by time nor by space and the developmental complexity of human species. Hence the scope was explained as universal. Therefore, the discipline was near universal in its scope according to some anthropologists but universal in its scope according to some other anthropologists.

Check Your Progress

1. With what aspects was the scope of Anthropology concerned in its childhood?

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2.4 THE SCOPE OF MODERN ANTHROPOLOGY

2.4.1 The Scope of Anthropology as a matured discipline

During the early part of the twentieth century, anthropology matured into a complex discipline with its branches and sub-branches and illuminated its scope as universal. The scope treats human being as a biological specie, a culture-creating and culture-bearing organism and a social animal living in groups in all corners of the world, in all stages of complexity, and in the past as well as present. The focus of the scope is on all aspects of the whole humanity which encompassed past and present; biology, society and culture. The scope is bound neither by time nor by space. It is limited only by human species. Everything concerning the human species comes under its orbit. It embraces human behaviour in its totality. It has clarified with some evidence that human behaviour has been simultaneously biological, cultural and social, that it is an integrated whole, that the biological, cultural and social behaviour are its parts and that one part cannot be understood apart from the other parts. For that matter, no part can be understood except as a component of the whole. Conversely, the whole cannot be understood without knowledge of the parts. Therefore, the totality is a unity of many different aspects of the human species. This is called **holistic view**. Anthropology gained this holistic perspective or point of view through a comparative study of the whole humanity and deduction of universalities, generalities and particularities of the human species. In brief, the scope of anthropology sheds its light on all aspects of human behaviour, in all places and at all times. It included humanity as a whole; it did not exclude human species from any place of the earth and from any period of time from its ambit. Hence, the scope of anthropology was defined as universal. This was sharply different from the scope of anthropology which was defined either as universal or as near universal towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Check Your Progress

2. What do you understand by holistic view ?

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2.4.2 The Scope of Anthropology Today

After its maturity, especially in the last thirty years, anthropology has rapidly grown and built up its stature and personality. In consonance with this development it has expanded its scope to the future of human organism also to make its universal scope really meaningful. In fact anthropologists who were formerly concerned with the past and the present of human organism only are now concerned with the future of human species also. They say that such a concern will make the scope really universal. Improvement in the existing techniques and adoption of new techniques for studying the fossil materials, acquisition of specialised laboratory techniques for examining some aspects of human biology, emphasis on genetics, improvement of old techniques and acquisition of new techniques for observing, recording, describing, analysing and explaining the cultural and social behaviour have become useful tools for studying all aspects of human behaviour in their isolation as well as in their combination. At the same time there has been growing specialisation of every major branch of anthropology. Despite this specialisation, all branches and sub-branches have shared a desire to see humans as a whole, as products of biological, social and cultural evolution.

Anthropology today defines itself as the study of human species at all levels of development in all places and at all times. It describes its scope as vast, ambitious and universal. Its concern is with the whole of the human species in the context of past, present and future; biology, society and culture. The universal scope of anthropology insists that :

- i) Homo sapiens is a biological organism and it must be understood with reference to its animal origins and animal nature;
- ii) To rise above its animal heritage Homo sapiens had to adapt to its environment by creating a lifeway;
- iii) To aid itself in the process of adapting to environment by creating a lifeway, human species had evolved and used language as an effective means of communication;
- iv) To adapt to different types of environment human organism had to create an amazing variety of lifeways; and
- v) In its fascinating variety of lifeways humanity displays a diversity of solutions to problems which are rooted in its indivisible unity in all places and at all times.

What is the meaning of the above five statements? The first statement says that human species is a biological organism and it must be understood with reference to its animal origins

and animal nature. Human species is part of the living world. Life appeared on earth about three million years ago. The first animals were minute organisms. Without those minute organisms there would have been no other organisms including the first mammals some 225 million years ago, the first primates about 90 million years ago, the first ancestor of humans about 13 million years ago, and the first humanlike creature about 5 million years ago. In the absence of humanlike creature, the early humans and from them the modern humans who belong to a single species namely *Homo sapiens* would not have descended. In this chain of human organism is the last link and the highest product of biological evolution. To be precise, human being is one among the millions of animal species; it has animal nature; and it has animal origins. Therefore, the biology of human species cannot be understood apart from the biology of other organisms. The scope of anthropology begins with the study of this aspect of human being.

When the human organism emerged did it remain as an animal or did it rise above its animal heritage? After its evolution, human species did not remain an animal but developed as an animal with a difference. Although humans are animals they represent another order of being. Human organism is not merely a new species but the pioneer of a very recent and entirely new kind of evolution namely social-cultural evolution. How did all this happen? From the first direct ancestor of humans about 13 million years ago, the first human like creatures descended some 5 million years before present. The humanlike creatures were hairy, less than human but something more than apes. They had a larger brain than any of their ancestors. And unlike their ancestors they were bipedal, that is, they stood and walked upright, on two feet. This was a highly significant change, since it freed the hands from walking. Hence, the humanlike creatures used the hands for carrying sticks and stones. They lived mainly on plant foods. About 2 million years ago and the humanlike creatures gave rise to larger-brained early human being which is recognised as our earliest truly human ancestor. What made these earliest humans "human" was not their well developed brain but their strategy for survival. Survival demanded intimate knowledge of a wide variety of plants, fruits, nuts, animals and water resources. They were not only vegetarians but also habitual meat eaters. They had some planning and cooperation in their several activities. They made the first stone tools, used them, and collected several varieties of food materials. For security they lived in small bands. Women and children gathered vegetable foods, while men went after meat. They shared food; probably there were crude beginnings of language to communicate ideas, to come together for mutual help, and to have collective activity. All these complexes together comprised the strategy of the earliest humans to adapt or adjust to the environment. That adaptation constituted the foundation for making tools, division of labour, getting food, sharing food, intimate knowledge of nature and most probably language. The tools, ideas, habits of getting, eating and sharing food, language and so on comprised what anthropologists call culture. The kind of group in which the earliest humans lived was their society. Their culture and society together comprised their lifeway. In other words, the early humans created a lifeway to adapt themselves to the environment. Their biological features of erect posture, free moving hands, well developed brain and sharp focussing eyes, their several cultural features including most probably language and their pattern of society differentiated them from other animals. The earliest humans could thus become animals with a difference and rise above their animal heritage.

What happened later? The earliest humans gave rise to early humans. The early humans prospered. They elaborated their culture and society and adapted themselves to their environment in a better way than their ancestors. Their tools, hunting methods and group life became more elaborate. They learned to use fire, they built shelters and became less nomadic. They began to

specialise in terms of their tools and tasks. They adopted their tools to specific tasks and adapted techniques for hunting and gathering to specific environments and specific seasons of the year. This enabled them to spread out and live in new areas like Europe, Asia and eventually in North and South America and Australia. In these new areas they innovated art and religion and designed suitable cultures and social lives as means of adaptation to their environments. Almost 40,000 years ago the modern humans or Homo sapiens descended from the early humans. Something unprecedented happened around 10,000 years ago. At the time modern humans revolutionised their way of life. To have reliable food supplies many of them replaced hunting and gathering by agriculture. Then around 5,000 years ago some agricultural societies started the urban revolution by founding cities and states. As a consequence an astonishing variety of cultures and societies of lifeways came into being as a means of appropriate adaptations to different environments. They become civilised. However, among others some continued to be primitives and some became peasants, with their several varieties. This diversity continued even to this day. All this happened because human species had to adapt to different types of environment by creating an amazing variety of lifeways.

Then, how does humanity with its variety of lifeways displays a diversity of solutions to problems which are rooted in its unity in all places and at all times? All humans share a basic physical structure and all have highly developed brains. The ability to develop and maintain language, culture and society lies in the structure of human brain. Since the brain is the product of evolutionary development, our language, culture and society which constitute our lifeway are the products of our specific biology. Our capacity for language, culture and society is shared by all humans. All humans have equivalent biological capacities for language, culture and social life. To illustrate this point, consider the contemporary Bushman and American. A Bushman and an American belong to two different cultures and societies and use different languages. If the Bushman is brought into contact with an American, the former will learn the capacities of the latter for American language, culture and social life. Unless the two humans have equal biological capacities for languages, culture and social life, this will not happen. Therefore humans have equivalent genetic capacities for language, culture and society. This is peculiar to our species and that is the human nature. This reveals the indivisible oneness of human species.

To recognise biological equality is not to deny biological, linguistic, cultural and social differences. With the help of our brain we are able to create language, culture and social life and through this we can devise certain solutions such as wresting food, getting a mate and so on to our problems of hunger, sex desire and the like. The basic problems are everywhere the same but the ways in which those problems are solved are different. The diversity of solutions to the problems reflects differences in adaptation to a variety of environments. This shows the flexibility of human nature. It is this flexibility of human nature which makes our efforts to predict the future of humans unfruitful. As a result, humans look forward to future in terms of possibilities, options, and alternatives rather than predictions. Thus all humans not only have equivalent biological capacities for language, culture and society but also have equal genetic capacities that can be moulded for acquiring a variety of languages, cultures and societies. These unique traits are universal to the human species.

The discussion drives home the point that the scope of anthropology is simultaneously concerned with the biological, cultural and social aspects of the human species. It spreads its net over past, present and future and every part of the globe and even outer space. But how to deal

with such an array of human aspects? The subject matter is divided among several sub-disciplines - physical or biological anthropology, archeological anthropology, linguistic anthropology, social-cultural anthropology and applied anthropology. Physical anthropology or biological anthropology deals with human biology in all places and at all times. It includes three sub-fields - palaeontology or the study of the fossil evidence of human evolution, neontology or the comparative study of humans including population genetics, body shapes, and biosocial adaptation, and ethnology or the comparative study of monkeys, apes and humans to know the biological foundations of human language, culture and society.

Archaeological anthropology reconstructs the extinct cultures on the basis of physical remains left behind by early humans and ancestors of modern humans. Archaeology includes - Prehistoric archaeology or the study of cultures that existed from the appearance of earliest humans to the development of writing. Classical archaeology or the study of ancient literate civilizations, old world prehistory and New world archaeology or the study of the past lifeways of pre-literate and non-literate peoples.

Linguistic anthropology is the study of language in both its biological and socio-cultural contexts. It includes - historical linguistics or study of origins and evolution of languages, structural linguistics or the study of basic elements of languages and the rules by which they are ordered into intelligible speech, and socio-linguistics or the study of the inter-relationship of language, culture and society.

Social-cultural anthropology studies the forms of social organisation and the cultural systems of contemporary human societies all over the world. It includes - ethnography or the description of the social organisation and cultural systems of one society and ethnology or the comparative study of such descriptions for the purpose of generalising about the nature of all societies. Ethnology breaks down into several sub-fields depending on the social-cultural aspect of the human society. Thus there are - anthropology of family and kinship, economic anthropology, ecological anthropology, political anthropology, psychological anthropology, religious anthropology, ethnotechnology, ethnomusicology, ethnobotany, ethnozoology, urban anthropology, folk art, folklore, folk dance and the like, each dealing with a particular aspect of human species.

Applied anthropology uses anthropological knowledge gained from the study of human biology, language, culture and society toward the solution of contemporary human problems. It includes applied physical, archaeological, linguistic and social-cultural anthropology. Applied physical anthropology is concerned with such matters as health and nutrition, genetic disease and even the planning of practical items ranging from comfortable furniture to safe machines. Applied archaeological anthropology is in the form of salvage archaeology. It is not only concerned with collection of antiquities threatened by destruction resulting from natural or human activity but also concerned with the preservation of those antiquities. Applied linguistic anthropology aids in educational progress and creates text books to enable speakers of a particular language to read and write in their own language. Applied social-cultural anthropology studies human problems in technological change and tries to suggest ways of surmounting the difficulties involved.

The overall scope of anthropology as revealed by the various sub-fields of anthropology shows that it covers any aspect of human species. It may include the members of a remote tribe in the Andaman islands, the sophisticated members of the city of New York; it may include

the behaviour of pre-humans, the blood chemistry of Indians, the personality of Russians, the eating habits of Chinese, the family and kinship of Polynesians, the seal-hunting of Eskimos, the language of a Brazilian tribe, the position of women in ancient India or modern England, and helping a tribe in Austria to solve some of its health problems. In short, the scope of anthropology is as infinite and as fascinating as humanity itself.

What then, make the scope of anthropology unique? Five perspectives or points of view make the scope of anthropology unique: the comparative perspective, the holistic perspective, the systems and processes perspective, the emic and etic perspective, and the case study perspective.

i) Comparative perspective is the systematic comparison of human biology, culture and society over space and time. Synchronic perspective compares the biology, culture and social life in a number of societies at one point in time. Diachronic perspective compares the biology, culture and social life as they change through time in a specified geographical area.

ii) The holistic perspective considers the whole range of human behaviour, and the interrelationships between different aspects of human behaviour. For example, an archaeologist may excavate an early human skull from African soil. A physical anthropologist will analyse it. Each specialist values the contribution of the other. Similarly the knowledge of an ethnologist about the life of present day hunting and gathering peoples, like the Bushmen of South Africa, may help to clarify an archaeologist's analysis of an early hunting site. Unless an archaeologist knows the biology of the human species with the help of a physical anthropologist and the culture of a contemporary society with the help of an ethnologist, he may not be in a position to reconstruct the life of an extinct human being. It is for such reasons that anthropology is declared as a unified, holistic discipline.

This holistic perspective sets the scope of anthropology from that of other disciplines. Certainly anthropology is not the only discipline concerned with the study of human species. There are other disciplines such as anatomy, genetics, physiology, history, economics, political science, psychology, sociology, art, literature, theology and philosophy which study the human species. But where as other disciplines study one aspect or the other aspect of humanity, anthropology studies all aspects of humanity. While all other human sciences are only 'part-sciences', anthropology is the 'whole-science' of humanity. Anthropology is the only science of human species which strives to understand humanity in its totality. It is the only subject which is concerned with what is biological in human and what is social-cultural in them and how the two are inter-related. It is a synthesis of biological, social and cultural aspects of human species across space and time.

iii) The Systems and Processes perspective attempts to explain human species in terms of various systems which contribute to it such as biological system, social system, economic system, linguistic system and so on. It explains the internal dynamics of each of the systems and also the interaction among systems as a dynamic set of processes. It shows how different systems contribute to what is really human nature to all human beings.

iv) The Emic and Etic perspective is the distinction between the view point of the people and the view point of the anthropologist. Such a dichotomy of view points provide a non-judgemental picture of the life of the human societies.

v) The Case study perspective is the presentation of in-depth studies of specific cases of human societies based on firsthand information. Anthropologists appreciate the importance of statistical analysis. But their orientation is to look at the rich description of setting and behaviour found in case studies rather than focussing on great volumes of standardised data. The case study perspective emphasizes qualitative point of view.

Check Your Progress

3. What makes the scope of anthropology unique ?

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2.5 SUMMING UP

To sum up, Anthropology is a young science but its range of appeal is universal. Its scope covers the biological, cultural and social aspects of the human species, all places and at all times, from the origin and evolution of the species through the prehistoric developments, down to the present and further into the future. Each aspect of human endeavour is cultivated as a sub-field of anthropology. Although each branch of anthropology studies one special aspect of human species, and although each branch works separately with its own methods and its own subject matter all of them are so interdependent that none can be understood without examining the other branches. The comparative, holistic, the systems and processes, the emic-etic and the case study perspectives have contributed to the breadth of every branch, as well as all branches together. Conversely the vast subject matter, the inter-related subdisciplines, and the multifaceted perspective together have given the broadest base to anthropology. The scope encompasses all varieties of humanity, all aspects of humanity, in all places, at the times and in a comparative, holistic, emic, etic and humanistic perspective. Anthropology is a whole science of human species but other disciplines are only part sciences. Anthropology has thus become much broader than any other scientific discipline.

2.6 KEY WORDS

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| 1. Adaption | : The adjustment of an organism to its environment. |
| 2. Band | : Basic social political group in hunting and gathering societies. It is nomadic and includes 20 to 100 members. All are related to each other by kinship or marriage. |
| 3. Bipedalism | : The act of walking, running or in some other way moving on the legs. |
| 4. Earliest Humans | : Humans who descended from the human-like creatures. |
| 5. Early humans | : Humans who descended from the earliest humans. |

6. Emic : The view point of the informants.
7. Environment : Surroundings to which a human group adapts. They include physical, biotic (plants and animals) and social components.
8. Etic : The view point of the observers.
9. Fossil : A plant or animal that has been mineralised or left an imprint on stone.
10. Non-literates : Peoples who live today and have always lived only in historical time. They have no form of writing. So, the non-literates are contemporaries of historical peoples. They are primitive peoples who are relatively simple in their technologies and material possessions in comparison to advanced civilisations.
11. Pre-humans : The creatures which were ancestral to the earliest humans.
12. Preliterates : Preliterate are the people prior to the first literate peoples. They lived before the beginning of history. Since the beginning of civilization around five thousand years ago, people have one form of writing or the other. Hence civilized people are literate people. Amidst them live some people who have not taken advantage of literacy, they are illiterates. But preliterates existed before the first form of writing was invented. Since these people came before history they are also called pre-historic people. But people who have no art of writing but live amidst the literate people are nonliterates. Thus there are preliterates, illiterates and non-literates.
13. Primates : The Zoological order which includes proximious, monkeys, apes and humans.

2.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

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|----|-------------------------------|------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | Alland, A. Jr. | 1980 | To be Human: An introduction to Anthropology. |
| 2. | Dube, S.C. | 1952 | Anthropology. The Study of Man: |
| 3. | Hodgen, M.T. | 1964 | Early Anthropology in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. |
| 4. | Hoebel, E.A.
& Weaver, T. | 1979 | Anthropology and the Human Experiences. |
| 5. | Hunter, O.N. &
Whitten, P. | 1976 | The study of Anthropology. |

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|-----|-----------------------------------|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 6. | Majumdar, D.N. & Madan, T.N. | 1980 | An Introduction to Social Anthropology. |
| 7. | Nanda, S. | 1980 | Cultural Anthropology. |
| 8. | Plog, F.Jolly, J.C. & Bates, G.D. | 1976 | Anthropology: Decisions, Adaption and Evolution. |
| 9. | Sarana, G. | 1977 | Introducing Anthropology.
Calcutta: Indian Anthropological Society. |
| 10. | Slotkin, J.S. (ed). | 1965 | Readings in Early Anthropology. |

2.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each :

1. Give an account of the scope of early and nineteenth century anthropology.
2. List out the similarities and differences between the scope of anthropology towards the end of nineteenth century and at the beginning of twentieth century.
3. Summarise the various perspectives of anthropology today.

II Answer the following in about 10 lines each :

1. Briefly discuss the scope of present day anthropology.
2. Give a brief account of the various perspectives of anthropology today.
3. State what is meant by "whole science".
4. Anthropology at the time of its origin.
5. Nineteenth century anthropology.
6. Modern anthropology.

Unit-3 : DIVISIONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP

Contents

- 3.0 Aims and Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Divisions of Anthropology
 - 3.2.1 Divisions of Early Modern Anthropology
 - 3.2.2 Divisions of Contemporary Anthropology
- 3.3 Scope of the Divisions of Anthropology
- 3.4 Relationship among the Divisions of Anthropology
- 3.5 Integration of the Divisions of Anthropology
- 3.6 Summing Up
- 3.7 Key Words
- 3.8 Suggested Books
- 3.9 Model Examination Questions

3.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with the divisions of anthropology and the relationship among these divisions.

By the end of this unit you will be able to

- * explain the divisions of early Modern Anthropology,
- * explain the divisions of Contemporary Anthropology,
- * explain the scope of each field of Anthropology,
- * discuss the relations among different divisions of Anthropology,
- * discuss how the unity of Anthropology comes about through the integration of different divisions of Anthropology.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied about the scope of early Anthropology, nineteenth century Anthropology and Modern Anthropology. In this unit we will study about the divisions of Anthropology and the relationship among the divisions of anthropology.

3.2 DIVISIONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY

3.2.1 Divisions of Early Modern Anthropology

Anthropology came into existence when a field of investigation in which human species came to be studied as a phenomenon in its own right gained academic recognition. The bases for all fields of anthropology were laid between sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and by early nineteenth century, academic status had been conferred on anthropology. Great Britain, United States of America, France, Germany and the Continental countries started anthropology courses in several of their universities. In the final years of nineteenth century and the early decades of twentieth century several countries in South America, Africa and Asia introduced the departments of anthropology in some of their universities. The years of Second World War formed a watershed for the growth of anthropology. Subsequently, anthropology has become an important course in graduate and postgraduate curricula. Now, Anthropology enjoys immense vogue in many institutions of learning and research in different countries.

Although Anthropology has been existing for over a century now, its layout in terms of divisions, sub-fields of sub-disciplines is not the same in all countries. Before 1970, Anthropology in the British Isles and other Commonwealth countries consisted of seven integrated sub-fields : Physical Anthropology, Prehistoric Archaeology, Primitive Technology, Ethnography, Ethnology, Social Anthropology and Applied Anthropology.

Until 1970, it was common for Anthropology in the United States of America and Canada to approach the study of human species from the point of view of two integrated major fields. These were: Physical Anthropology and Cultural Anthropology. Cultural Anthropology included Archaeology, Ethnography, Ethnology, Linguistics and Applied Anthropology.

In Continental countries Anthropology meant Physical Anthropology. The term physical anthropology was not used in these countries. Ethnology (sometimes loosely designate as ethnography), archaeology and linguistics existed as independent disciplines. They were pursued in different university departments. Similarly in Soviet Russia and Communist China the term physical anthropology was not used. In these countries the equivalent term was anthropology and ethnology or ethnography, archaeology were taught as different disciplines. Thus anthropology as a discipline had developed in many countries but the term anthropology meant either physical anthropology alone, as in the Continental countries and in Soviet Union and China or physical anthropology, cultural anthropology, ethnography, ethnology, archaeology, linguistics and social anthropology as in English-speaking countries.

Check Your Progress

1. Which are the countries which first started Anthropology in their universities ?

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3.2.2 Divisions of Contemporary Anthropology

In 1967, two committees of social scientists, the Committee on Science and Public Policy of the National Academy of Science and the Problems of Policy Committee of the Social Science Research Council initiated a "Survey of the Behavioural and Social Sciences." BASS, as it came to be called, created a number of panels of distinguished scientists, each concerned with one particular discipline. The panel on anthropology surveyed the structure of anthropology course in different countries and presented the layout of the discipline of anthropology indicating major sub-disciplines. The United States of America and Canada besides Great Britain and the other Commonwealth countries followed the suggestions of this panel and defined anthropology as an integrated discipline of five sub-fields: physical anthropology, archaeology, linguistic anthropology, social-cultural anthropology and applied anthropology. However, the Continental countries, Soviet Union and China retained their old system in which anthropology, archaeology, ethnology and linguistics stood as independent disciplines. But in France, Netherlands and Scandinavian countries the term social anthropology was increasingly used in place of ethnology.

Since 1970's the development of anthropology has been considerable. At present in the United States of America, Canada and the Commonwealth Countries including Great Britain and Australia, anthropology has the following five major divisions: physical anthropology, archaeological anthropology, linguistic anthropology, social-cultural anthropology and applied anthropology. In other countries, the present branches of the discipline of anthropology are no different from what they had been during 1970's.

Check Your Progress

2. What are the major divisions of anthropology before 1970 in U.S.A. and Canada ?

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3.3 RELATIONSHIP AMONG THE DIVISIONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Physical Anthropology

Physical Anthropology is the oldest branch of the discipline and was established much earlier than the other branches. Its development has been intimately linked with the theoretical developments in biology and medicine. The discovery of the theory of organic evolution, the rule of systematic biology, and the principles of genetics have made tremendous contributions to the growth and development of physical anthropology. In fact, the founders of physical anthropology like Comte de Buffon, John Friedrich Blumenbach, Paul Broca and Samuel George Morton, James Prichard, Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace were famous biologists.

The contemporary physical anthropology is not the same as the "old" or early modern

physical anthropology. The "old" physical anthropology or physical anthropology before the Second World War defined its concern as the study of the biological aspect of human species across space and time. But it never achieved its aim of the whole humanity in space as well as time. Rather, it focussed its attention on origin of human species, study of fossil materials in relation to human evolution and classification of human population into races on the basis of several characteristics such as body build, hair form, skin colour, blood groups and so forth.

Unlike the "old" or early modern physical anthropology, the "new" or contemporary physical anthropology, which came into being after Second World War, is interested in the study of human evolution, fossil materials relating to humans, variation and differentiation in terms of genetics and biosocial adaptation, and primate behaviour. It is no longer a science of measurement and classification of human types. Consequently physical anthropology is concerned with the biological aspect of the human species across space and time in its real sense. It is divided into palaeontology (Greek: *plaeo*-old, *onta*-living things, *logia*-study), neontology (Greek: *neo*-modern, *onta*-living things, *logia*-study) and ethology. (Greek: *ethos*-characteristic, *logia*-study) Palaeontology studies extinct primates and their evolution. It examines the most ancient human ancestors including the anthropoids, the humanity's nearest relatives and reveals the biological foundations of human evolution and culture. Neontology studies living primates. While examining the living primates it deals with comparative anatomy, physiology and genetics of primates, human variation and differentiation in terms of population genetics, molecular genetics, body shapes, adaptation to different environments, and the relation of race and intelligence. Ethology is the scientific study of animal behaviour such as that of free-ranging and confined monkeys and apes and combines that knowledge with theories about the development of languages, group life, and capacity for culture. Thus, all the three branches of physical anthropology together study the biological foundations of human evolution, human variation and human culture.

Archaeological Anthropology

Archaeological anthropology, linguistic anthropology and social-cultural anthropology are concerned with social and cultural unity and diversity, spatially and temporarily. Each sub-field focuses its attention on a particular aspect of this unity and diversity. Archaeological anthropology has its roots in geology, art, history as well as biology, particularly paleontology. The founders of archaeological anthropology were geologists like Charles Lyell, art historians like Herinrich Schleimann from Germany, Boucher de Perthes from France and Christian Thomsen from Netherlands, biologists and paleontologists like Nicolaus Steno from Denmark, Daniel Wilson, John Lubbock, Pitt-Rivers and Flinders Petrie from England and Thomas Jefferson, John Stephens and Frederic Catherwood from America.

Like physical anthropology, archaeological anthropology also has its "old" and "new" forms. The "old" or early modern archaeological anthropology existed prior to 1960 and it defined itself as a study of all extinct cultures of human species. However, it could only deal with a few extinct cultures. Above all it was not interpretative. It gave only descriptions and chronologies of the limited number of extinct cultures it had studied. In the early 1960's "new" or contemporary archaeological anthropology emerged. It emphasized cultural evolutionary perspective, general systems approach and dependence on logico-deductive reasoning. Evolutionary perspective stressed upon the great role of technology and economy in generating progress and consequent evolution of culture. Systems approach placed great emphasis on inter-relations of environment,

ecology and local and regional populations. Logico-deductive reasoning utilised the present primitive cultures to understand the extinct ancient cultures.

Contemporary archaeological anthropology reconstructs the cultures in the past by excavating and studying the material remains of former human societies. It is the study of past societies and cultures through the material remains that have been left behind by ancient humans. The material remains such as arrowheads, pieces of pottery, clay figurines, tools, art objects, coprolites, settlement patterns, geologic and geographic features are reflections of what life was like at some period in the past. The descriptions of the present day primitive societies are also utilised to know how extinct societies and cultures were similar to those of the contemporary primitive societies. Archaeological anthropology is divided into four main branches: prehistoric archaeology, text-aided archaeology, text-free archaeology and salvage archaeology.

Prehistoric archaeology which is also known as prehistoric, culture history and synthetic archaeology, reconstructs the origin, evolution and diffusion of culture in the period between the first appearance of humans and development of writing. Text-aided archaeology or classical archaeology deals with the reconstruction of ancient civilizations which have developed the art of writing. It utilizes written accounts and textual descriptions as source material and guide to open up more and more forgotten centres of ancient civilizations. Text-free archaeology, which includes Old World archaeology as well as New World archaeology, is concerned with non-literate peoples. For text-free archaeologists no texts or written materials will be available to guide their expected and what was really obtained through actual digging. Salvage archaeology is an effort on the part of archaeological anthropologists to obtain as much information as possible from sites threatened by destruction as a result of either natural causes or human activity. All branches of archaeological anthropology together reconstruct the cultures of extinct humans. They describe and explain the culture of the human species from the emergence of humanity in the prehistoric period until the advent of human civilization at the dawn of the historical period. They show how human species after its evolution acquired culture and how that culture expanded, progressed and evolved. They all have close links with physical anthropology.

Linguistic Anthropology

Linguistic anthropology is the study of speech and language as socio-cultural phenomena across space and time, it has its origin in philosophy. Linguistic anthropology is not linguistics but linguistics in the context of culture and society. Linguistics deals with history, structure, variation and meaning of language apart from the social and cultural contexts in which they occur, while linguistic anthropology deals with evolution, structure, variation and meaning of language in the social and cultural contexts in which they occur. Like physical and archaeological anthropology linguistic anthropology too shifted its focus of interest in the last four decades. Almost until early 1950's linguistic anthropology was under the heading of "anthropological linguistics". It was concerned with the origin of language, the classification and genetic relationship of languages and the significance of morphological differences among languages. Since mid 1950's the term "anthropological" was replaced by the term linguistic anthropology. Contemporary linguistic anthropology is interested in the study of evolution and distribution of language as part of culture, in understanding the nature and meaning of language in relation to the other aspects of culture, and in knowing the relations of the patterns of speech with the patterns of acting, behaving and communicating as found in different cultures.

Contemporary linguistic anthropology consists of five divisions: historical linguistics, structural linguistics, sociolinguistics, ethnosemantics, and psycholinguistics. Historical or comparative linguistics is concerned with the emergence of language and divergence and dynamics of languages over time. It shows how the origin of language and the human capacity for language are inter-related, suggests that language diversity began as human species spread over the Old World, reveals the evolutionary development of language from local languages to classic languages and to world languages, reconstructs ancestral language forms and deals with changes in language over time. Structural or descriptive linguistics studied how languages are constructed. In this context it shows the rules by which people combine sounds into words, and words are put together in speech. That means, it analyses systems of sound, grammar and meaning in particular languages. In other words, it deals with phonemic morphemic and syntactic structures. Sociolinguistics or ethnolinguistics is the study of actual speech in various social and situational contexts. It shows the way people use words to categorize their experiences and order their social relations, and the way speech varies depending upon the social and situational context. For example, in Telugu we do not address everyone we meet in the same way. We address our friends by personal names. But we do not address a doctor by his personal name. We may say "namaste, doctor garu". Such variations in language, which are determined by the social status of the persons being addressed are studied by sociolinguistics. Ethnosemantics studies how people in particular society perceive and classify material and social phenomena in the world around them. It seeks to understand culture from the point of view of the people. It shows the systematic knowledge of the people about the world, and the meaning given by the people to their cultural items. People in different societies view and understand their cultural categories such as art, food tastes, kinship relations, plants and animal classification, supernatural beings, disease and so on by distinct criteria. For example, take kinship category in a particular society. In a kinship category there are several relatives. Particular relatives like parents and children, brother and sister are prohibited to society may say that they prohibit incest because they fear angering the gods or because they are not attracted to their kinsmen. The view point is the ethnosemantic view point. It differs from our own view. We may say people avoid incest because they want to maintain peace and order in the family and reciprocal relations and obligations among groups. Psycholinguistics studies the processes underlying the acquisition and use of language. Thus linguistic anthropology with its sub-fields is concerned with human language in all its aspects.

Socio-Cultural Anthropology

The scope of social-cultural anthropology will be discussed in detail in the next lesson. It is suffice to say here that the expression social-cultural anthropology indicates the belief that an effort to distinguish sharply between social and cultural anthropology is futile. Almost until 1970s there were several anthropologists who held to a distinction between social anthropology and cultural anthropology. According to them social anthropology was the study of interpersonal relations and social groups, and cultural anthropology was the study of custom, tradition and values. However, the contemporary social-cultural anthropologists say that customs and values involve interpersonal relations and traditions are passed on through organized social groups. They prefer to treat the two sub-fields as one, with its specializations and sub-specializations already mentioned while discussing the scope of anthropology.

Applied Anthropology

A special division of anthropology is applied anthropology. It is a problem-solving sub-field. It uses anthropological knowledge gained from the study of many different societies of the world toward the solution of contemporary social, economic and technological problems. Its branches parallel all the four branches of anthropology which have applied aspect. Accordingly the sub-fields of applied anthropology are: applied physical anthropology, applied archaeological anthropology, applied linguistic anthropology and applied social-cultural anthropology. Applied physical anthropology is concerned with such matters as biological aspects of race, health, nutrition, genetic disease, medicine, sports and even the planning of practical items ranging from comfortable furniture to safe machines and advanced equipment like supersonic planes and space vehicles. Applied archaeology has played an important role in educational and recreational programmes. Reconstruction of the archaeological sites and salvation of archaeological sites in danger of ruin have contributed greatly to the interest of monuments, and recreational areas. Discovery of new data about those cultural activities of prehistoric societies that caused fundamental and damaging changes to the physical environment has yielded lessons of practical importance for contemporary humans. Applied linguistic anthropology developed methods for the study and acquisition of unwritten languages. It has prepared aids in educational programmes and created text books to enable societies with unwritten languages to read and write in their own language. It has developed programmes to deal with speech pathology. Applied social-cultural anthropology is providing technical guidelines to ease the transition of non-industrial societies. It is playing a role in the design and development of agricultural and industrial projects, community development programmes, tribal welfare schemes, rehabilitation projects, labour managements, minorities development, and so on. Recently applied social-cultural anthropology is playing its role in urban planning. Although applied anthropology parallels the four divisions of physical anthropology, archaeological anthropology, linguistic anthropology and social-cultural anthropology and possesses elements from each and it stands as a distinct division in its own right.

Check Your Progress

3. Who are the founders of physical Anthropology ?

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4. With what aspect is applied anthropology concerned ?

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3.4 THE RELATIONSHIP AMONG THE DIVISIONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology is comparable to an organism. An organism has several parts and each part is separate unit. Heart, lungs, kidneys and so on are all separate but they are dependent upon one another. That means different parts of an organism are inter-related and inter-dependent. In the same way the divisions of anthropology are separate but inter-dependent and anthropology is a totality of its inter-related subdivisions.

From the very beginning, the different divisions of anthropology have enjoyed considerable autonomy. Each one of them covered one particular aspect of human species. However, they always maintained a working relationship among them because each could not explain the aspect of human species in its scope without using information relating to the aspects of human species in the scope of others among them. This kind of relationship exists even now among the five divisions of anthropology.

Neither physical anthropology nor other divisions of anthropology explain the biological, cultural and social aspects without depending upon the contributions of each other. For example, when physical anthropology deals with human evolution it depends upon the contributions of other divisions of anthropology. As pointed out in the scope of anthropology, an archaeological anthropologist may excavate a fossilized skull but only a physical anthropologist can analyse it. Similarly an archaeological anthropologist may try to reconstruct the life of a particular group of prehistoric hunters. Then he has to depend upon ethnology of present day hunters and gatherers. Without reference to the life of the contemporary food-gatherers and hunters he cannot reconstruct the life of prehistoric hunters.

The relationship between physical anthropology and archaeological anthropology is intimate. A physical anthropologist must have an adequate knowledge of archaeological anthropology just as an archaeological anthropologist must have an adequate knowledge of physical anthropology. Especially a palaeontologist is concerned with the evolution of human species from its earliest beginnings in ancient and extinct primates. This sub-field combines an interest in biological evolution with an interest in the development of the biological capacity for culture. Accordingly, its main evidence includes the fossil remains of the prehistoric animals and non-humans, and the fossil skeletons, the numerous tools, the fossil food remains and the fossil refuse of the prehistoric humans. Without understanding such fossil evidence and tool evidence a palaeontologist cannot learn about the biological basis of human origins and human evolution and the biological foundation of human culture.

Physical anthropology, archaeological anthropology and linguistic anthropology maintain close relations. In understanding the possible origins of language, linguistic anthropology heavily depends on the contribution of neontology and ethology of physical anthropology and the prehistoric archaeology of archaeological anthropology. Neontology studies the anatomy of all apes and monkeys. Ethology studies the behaviour of free-living and confined monkeys and apes. Palaeontology and prehistoric archaeology studies the fossil apes, monkeys, pre-humans, near humans and humans. Palaeontology, prehistoric archaeology, neontology and ethology link their findings to construct a picture of the biological and behavioural evolution from fossil apes to pre-humans, near humans and finally to humans. In this context, they point out how the changes

in the body posture, forelimbs, skull, jaw and tongue have gradually brought erect posture, freed hands, widened the space between the lower and upper jaw and freely accommodated the tongue in that space and made the tongue move freely to utter sounds, calls, cries and ultimately language. A linguistic anthropologist picks up this discovery of palaeontology, neontology, ethology and prehistoric archaeology and tries to give the possible origins of human language. It sees the past in the 'living' context. That means, it tries to relate the biological structures of the past monkeys, apes, pre-humans and near humans to the physical structures and behavioural abilities of all the living monkeys, apes and human groups and derives a picture of the gradual development of animal communication system of calls into human communication system of language. Thus, the studies of palaeontology, neontology, ethology and prehistoric archaeology help linguistic anthropology to know what would have been the communication system of our earliest ancestors and how it would have developed into our language system.

There is a close relationship between classical archaeology of archaeological anthropology and historical linguistics of linguistic anthropology. While deciphering the hieroglyphs, classical archaeology seeks the help of historical linguistics which deals with the historical connections between different languages and with the long forgotten ancestral tongues. Similarly, text-free archaeology and ethnosemantics are closely related. Ethnosemantics describe the climate, plants, animals and the like in a family of languages. Such descriptions provide clues to the place a language originated and the migrations of people who spoke the ancient tongue. They thus supplement the data that text-free archaeologists gather.

Social-cultural anthropology maintains close links with other divisions of anthropology. Social-cultural anthropology alone can explain certain physical characteristics which are the concern of physical anthropology. This may be explained with the help of a case study. The Dani people live in the Western part of New Guinea (West Irian). A few adult Dani women have more than one or two fingers left on each hand. The Dani cut off a finger from the hand of a female relative for every dead person. To understand why Dani women have only one or two fingers on their hands, one must have knowledge of Dani beliefs and values regarding women, relations among kin, and the treatment of the dead. It is only in the light of the contributions of social-cultural anthropology that the absence of fingers on the hands of the Dani women can be explained. There are other areas where the social-cultural anthropology provides explanation for the occurrence and significance of certain bodily traits and institutional practices studied by physical anthropology. Consanguineous marriage such as parallel cousin marriages, cross-cousin marriages, and uncle-niece marriages take place in many societies. To explain their occurrences and significance physical anthropology depends upon social-cultural anthropology. Similarly, it is social-cultural anthropology alone which can explain certain physical characteristics like tattoo marks, filling of teeth, amputation of fingers, mutilation of nose, hands and so on which are the concern of physical anthropology. When social-cultural anthropology tries to study cultural evolution its relationship with physical, archaeological, and linguistic anthropology becomes close. Physical anthropology interprets fossil materials by reference to living species and archaeological anthropologists interpret the fossil materials, tools and other remains of past cultures by reference to contemporary cultures studied by ethnology. On the basis of these interpretations physical, archaeological and linguistic anthropology explain the biological foundations for human life and culture. Ethology studies the relations contemporary monkeys and apes to their environments. It shows how the environments and the abilities of the present monkeys and apes are similar to those of the earliest humans and their prehuman ancestors. Ethology thus helps social-cultural

anthropology to understand the relations of ancient human forebears with their environments and the techniques of food-getting and group living of ancient human ancestors. Using the information on population, settlement patterns, subsistence strategies, technology and so on, physical, archaeological, and linguistic anthropology identify the time periods during which early human groups began to diversify and specialize in their activities to produce food, to build cities and to become civilized. All this shows the dependence of social-cultural anthropology on other branches of anthropology in studying the relation between culture and human biology.

Applied anthropology and all other branches of anthropology value each other's contributions. The understanding of particular ailment requires knowledge of several fields of anthropology. For example, the Fore people of New Guinea were victims of 'Kuru' a strange disease of central nervous system. 'Kuru' was thought to be genetic in origin. It affected male and female children but only women among the adults. In the early 1960s Jack Fischer and Anne Fischer, both social-cultural anthropologists suggested the infectious origin of 'Kuru'. They pointed out Fore were cannibals. Fore ate Fore, but only under special conditions. The eating of deceased relative was considered an act of piety. The people who died of 'Kuru' were eaten by their grieving relatives. The part eaten was usually brain. The Fischers said women and children had contact with undercooked infected brain matter during its preparation. Men ate only fully cooked brains. The Fischers suggested that since women and children came into contact with undercooked brain matter they suffered from 'Kuru'. Carleton Gajdusek demonstrated that 'Kuru' was due to slow virus and proved what the Fischers guessed was true. The discovery of 'Kuru' opened up a whole new field of medical research into slow viruses. Another case illustrates the importance of most of the branches of anthropology. In many parts of Africa people suffer from falciparum malaria. The occurrence of the disease is due to certain genetic factors but the spread of the disease is related to cultural factors particularly to yam cultivation, forest clearing and village settlement. The forests could not have been cut down until iron tools were introduced for that purpose. Therefore, ethnologists and archaeologists can provide an understanding of the historical background of present ecological conditions in Africa. The above two cases show that applied anthropology relies on different branches of anthropology, that it stimulates new areas of research and that it contributes new or additional knowledge about human species.

Check Your Progress

5. Who is a paleontologist ?

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6. What is 'Kuru' ?

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3.5 THE INTEGRATION OF THE DIVISIONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology is an organized discipline of five fields: physical anthropology, archaeological anthropology, linguistic anthropology, social-cultural anthropology and applied anthropology. Each field has made its own contribution to the overall field of anthropology. Physical anthropology studies the biological foundations of human life and culture. Archaeological anthropology studies extinct cultures. Linguistic anthropology and social-cultural anthropology study living cultures. Applied anthropology tries to know and solve human problems. In this context, it may be said that physical anthropology gives a picture of human evolution and the basis of cultural formation, that archaeological anthropology gives a picture of how culture evolved from the time of its formation to the time of civilization and that linguistic and social-cultural anthropology provide a description of the living cultures. What is more important is the way all these branches have contributed to a unified notion of what anthropology is about. All the branches together present a total picture of biology, culture and society of human species in time and space. It is this integrated approach to the understanding of human species which has become the hallmark of anthropology.

The integration of different divisions of anthropology comes about largely through the integration of biological concepts drawn from evolutionary theory and the concept of culture rooted in our biological nature. Without the work of physical and archaeological anthropologists, we would have little knowledge of the long process of human evolution. Without the work of linguistic and social-cultural anthropologists we would have little understanding of the cultural evolution and the great variety of human cultures. In the absence of such knowledge about biology, culture and society of humans, we would have little awareness of some of the human problems all over the world. As Alfred Louis Kroeber once said, anthropology is a "coordinating science" somewhat like a "corporation" which holds together semi-independent companies. The integration of anthropology lies in the inter-related and inter-dependent nature of the subdivisions of anthropology.

Check Your Progress

7. What are the important fields of Anthropology ?

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8. What aspect does each study ?

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3.6 SUMMING UP

In this unit we have described the layout of the anthropology indicating the various sub-disciplines, fields or divisions in different countries. At present in the United States of America, Canada and the Commonwealth countries including Great Britain and Australia, anthropology has the following five major divisions: Physical anthropology, archaeological anthropology, linguistic anthropology, social-cultural anthropology and applied anthropology. In this unit we have discussed the relations among the different divisions of anthropology and how the unity of anthropology comes through the integration of different divisions of anthropology.

3.7 KEY WORDS

Coprolite	: The fossilized feces of prehistoric people and animals, the analysis of which provides important information on diet.
Hieroglyph	: Pictographic script.
Morpheme	: The smallest unit of language that has a meaning.
Morphemic Structure	: The structure of smallest meaningful units in a language.
Philology	: The study of language and literature.
Phoneme	: The smallest sound unit that distinguishes one word or syllable from another.
Phonemic structure	: The structure of the sounds of language.
Syntactic structure	: The structure of language described by the basic rules of grammar.

3.8 SUGGESTED BOOKS

1. Brew, J.O. (Ed.) One Hundred Years of Anthropology
2. Clifton, J.A. (Ed.) Applied anthropology : Reading the Uses of Science of Man.
3. Dube, S.C. Anthropology : The Study of Man
4. Hays, H.R. From Ape to Angel
5. Herskovits, M.J. Man and his works : The Science of Cultural Anthropology

6. Hoebel & Weaver, T. Anthropology and the Human Experience
7. Kessler, E.S. Anthropology : The Humanising process
8. Kluckhohn, C. Mirror for Man
9. Kroeber, A.L. Anthropology
10. Leaf, M.J. (etal) The frontiers of Anthropology. An Introduction to Anthropological Thinking
11. Majumdar & Madan An Introduction to Social Anthropology
12. Srinivas M.N. (Ed.) Methods in Social Anthropology
13. Tylor, E.B. Anthropology
14. Benedial, R. Patterns of Culture
15. Honigmann, J.J. The World of Man
16. Linton, R. The Study of Man
17. Lowie, R.H. The History of Ethnological Theory
18. Wissler C. Introduction to Social Anthropology
19. Manava Sastram Telugu Academy, Hyd.

3.9 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each:

1. Give an account of the divisions of early, modern and contemporary anthropology.
2. How are the five sub-fields of anthropology inter-related ?
3. The five-field integrated approach to an understanding of human species is the hallmark of contemporary anthropology. - Discuss.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each:

1. Briefly discuss the scope of physical anthropology.
2. Explain the meaning of archaeological anthropology.
3. What is meant by linguistic anthropology ?

BRAOU

BLOCK II

Social Anthropology

- Unit 4 : Origin, Development and Methods of Social Anthropology.**
- Unit 5 : Social Anthropology - Nature, Scope and its relationship with other Social Sciences.**

BRAOU

Unit-4 : ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT AND METHODS OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Contents

- 4.0 Aims and Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Origins of Social Cultural anthropology
 - 4.2.1 Proto-Social-Cultural anthropology in the Ancient and Classical Period
 - 4.2.2 Proto-Social-Cultural Anthropology during Medieval Period
 - 4.2.3 Proto-Social-Cultural Anthropology during Renaissance
 - 4.2.4 Proto-Social-Cultural Anthropology during Enlightenment
- 4.3 Development of Social-Cultural Anthropology
 - 4.3.1 Development of Social-Cultural Anthropology during Victorian Era.
 - 4.3.2 Development of Social-Cultural anthropology in Twentieth century
- 4.4 Methods of Social-Cultural Anthropology
 - 4.4.1 Scientific Method
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 - 4.4.3 Case Study Method
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 - 4.4.5 Statistical Method
- 4.5 Summing Up
- 4.6 Key Words
- 4.7 Suggested Books
- 4.8 Model Examination Questions

4.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with the origin, development and methods of social anthropology.

At the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * Show how social and cultural anthropology as a branch of anthropology has originated,
- * explain how social anthropology in England and cultural anthropology in America have developed as separate academic branches of anthropology but studied almost the same phenomena,
- * discuss how social and cultural anthropology studying almost similar phenomena have acquired the form of social-cultural anthropology,
- * describe the various methods used by social-cultural anthropology in studying culture and society of humanity,

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have described the layout of the discipline of anthropology indicating the various sub-disciplines, fields or divisions in different countries. We have also studied the scope of each field of anthropology, relationship among the divisions of anthropology and the integration of the divisions of anthropology. In this unit we will study about the origin, development and methods of Social Anthropology.

4.2 ORIGINS OF SOCIAL-CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

4.2.1 Proto-Social-Cultural Anthropology in the Ancient and Classical Period

Social-cultural anthropology has very ancient roots. Its origins extend from the observations and speculations of the ancient Greeks concerning the nature of culture and the organization of human society to the contributions of seventeenth and eighteenth century European scholars regarding the progress of human culture and human social systems. The writings of ancient Greeks like Herodotus (487-425 B.C.), Socrates (470-399 B.C.), Plato (427-347 B.C.), Aristotle (348-322 B.C.), Democritus (460-370 B.C.), Protagoras (430-510 B.C.), Epicurus (341-270 B.C.) and Lucretius (99-55 B.C.) contain the concepts, the topics and the areas of interest which constitute social-cultural anthropology today. The concepts they emphasized are culture, society and humanity. They conceptualized that human culture and human society are fields of investigation in which humanity can be approached as a phenomenon in its own right. They dealt with topics that were concerned with human culture and human society. Their description centered round several topics such as spoken languages, material culture, marriage, divorce, government and justice, war pattern, religion, social laws and universal values. At the same time these descriptions were also concerned with many areas of interest. Herodotus talked of the origins of human culture. Democritus speculated the advancement of culture from primitive level of existence to civilization. Protagoras discussed evolution of society from a simple and homogenous state to complex heterogeneous state. Socrates emphasized the functioning of human society in terms of universal values. Plato demonstrated his ideal about ideal or model society and described continuity and change in human culture and human society. More specially, Aristotle's approach to the study of culture and society was similar to that of modern social-cultural anthropology. He said that culture is the basis of human behaviour, that human behaviour is earned and that human society can best be studied by observing and analyzing social relationships. Epicurus argued that culture and society are human creations and therefore humans can alter their society and culture to suit their needs. Lucretius explained the origins of humans, human culture and human society (Haddon 1910: 1-6; Penniman 1935: 1-10; Slotkin 1965: Malefijit 1924: 1-4; Honigmann 1976: 1-13).

The Greek writers were historians, philosophers and theologians. They probed into the nature of humanity. Their critical perspectives about the concepts of culture, society and humanity, their observations and speculations about the topics covering various social cultural-aspects, their conjectures about the origins, advancement, evolution, unity and diversity, structure and function of culture and society, their emphasis that culture is learned and their suggestion that culture and society must be observed and analysed constitute the subjects now identified with social-cultural anthropology. They were not social-cultural anthropologists but their studies pertaining to society

and human culture were similar to those of modern social-cultural anthropology. Hence the term proto-social-cultural anthropologists can be referred to people who wrote on culture and society and humanity now recognized those with social-cultural anthropology. Proto means earliest or not yet fully developed. The contributions of proto-social-cultural anthropologists can be labelled together as proto-social-cultural anthropology.

By introducing the concepts of culture, society and humanity, the proto-social-cultural anthropologists have given the people that a science with culture, society and humanity as an integrated field of investigation can be formed. By putting forth the idea that human behaviour is learned, and not biologically inherited, the proto-social-cultural anthropologists have given the hope to make changes in the behaviour of humans. By advancing the idea that culture is the creation of human species or the origins, advancement and evolution of culture lies in the ability of human species, the proto-social-cultural anthropologists have given the clue that human cultures are not stable but dynamic, that they are designs for living worked out over a long period of time and one's culture is only one's design for living among many in the history of humanity. By presenting the idea that there is continuity and change in human culture and society, the proto-social-cultural anthropologists have shown the light to understand that all parts in a culture and a society such as language, marriage, family, economy, religion, politics, law, art, morals, values and different groups are inter-related, and changes are often very difficult to make in one area only. By proposing the idea of comparative study of different cultures and societies to arrive at what is common to all cultures and societies, what is common to some cultures and societies and what is particular to a culture and society, the proto-social-cultural anthropologists have given the hope to understand universalities, generalities and particularities about culture and society. By giving the idea that each culture and society must be understood in its own terms the proto-social-cultural anthropologists have given the stimulus that culture and society must be studied objectively. And by introducing the idea that culture and society must be observed, and on the basis of the information collected by means of observations culture and society must be analysed, they have given the hope to form empirical method of research. Thus these proto-social-cultural anthropologists have provided the ideas about the basic concepts to be used, the topics to be covered, the areas of interest to be pursued and the methodology to be adopted for understanding humanity in terms of its culture and its society. In brief, the ancient and classical Greek writers have explained how culture and society together form as a field of study and how an understanding of humanity in terms of its culture and society forms as the subject matter of that study.

Check Your Progress

1. List out the names of Greek writers whose writings constitute the areas of social-cultural anthropology.

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4.2.2 Proto-Social-Cultural anthropology in the Medieval Period

The ideas about culture, society and humanity formulated by the Greek writers of the ancient and classical period started fading with the commencement of medieval period. This is because of the fall of the Roman empire took place, Christianity emerged as the religion, and the concepts of culture, society and humanity were defined according to the rules of Christianity. Christianity became a strong religion of the Empire under Constantine the Great (280-337 A.D.). The champions of Christianity namely the church father declared that God is the creator of culture, society and humanity, that God alone can change culture, society and humanity and that Almighty alone can save culture, society and humanity (Penniman 1935: 5-11).

For almost nine centuries between 400 A.D. and 1400 A.D. the views of church fathers on culture, society and humanity reigned supreme. Especially the views of Augustine (354-430 A.D.) dominated the European thinkers almost until the end of thirteenth century. Augustine argued that human species is essentially an evil one and devoid of reason and that any study made by human species, about human species culture and about human society is an exercise about in human futility and that what is said in Bible about the origins of humans and about the inventions, developments and rise and fall of civilizations is the real story about culture, society and humanity. Under the impact of Augustine's society arguments no scientific study about culture, society and humanity could be made. Indeed, Augustine's views on culture, society and humanity were anti-scientific, anti-anthropological, anti-Proto-Social-Cultural anthropological. These anti-scientific views from the beginning of fifth century have become so strong that neither the scientific works of some scholars nor the reformistic efforts of some leaders between eighth and fourteenth centuries could change them almost until the end of thirteenth century. More particularly neither Charlemagne's (742-1294 A.D.) work on imparting of higher learning and culture nor Roger Bacon's (1214-1294 A.D.) work on objective and empirical study of culture, society and humanity could wean the people from the influence of the anti-scientific views of Augustine (Malefijit 1974: 22-26).

However as the thirteenth century was coming to an end, good climate for scientific study of culture, society and humanity was slowly created. Augustine's twin ideas that God alone is the master writer of human culture, human society and humanity and that the Biblical version about the origins of humanity, origins and development, rise and fall of culture and society of human beings is God's version have started slowly eroding from the minds of people when diplomats and travellers started writing on cultures and societies in different parts of the world. Glorinn'de Plano Carpine (1182-1252 A.D.) the diplomat sent by Pope to Mongol, gave an account of the culture and society of Mongols. Among the travellers, William Rubruquis (1215-1270 A.D.) described the culture and society of Asians, Marco Polo (1253-1314 A.D.) described the cultures and societies in several parts of Africa, in Mongolia and China, and John Mandeville (1372 A.D.) described the cultures and societies in the Middle-East. Such accounts of the diplomats and travellers influenced the people to understand the diversity of human cultures and human societies in different parts of earth. Thus the interest and understanding of human diversity in terms of culture and society that have disappeared at the beginning of medieval period have reappeared by the end of medieval period and the anti-scientific views of Augustine started receding into the background.

Check Your Progress

2. a) With the commencement of medieval period the concepts of _____, _____ and _____ were defined according to the rules of Christianity.
- b) At the end of 13th century _____ of culture, society and humanity was created.

4.2.3 Proto-Social-Cultural anthropology during Renaissance

The proto-social-cultural anthropology during Renaissance between fourteenth and seventeenth centuries has acquired new dimensions.

Knowledge about different continents and the peoples inhabiting those continents grew. Especially, the maritime explorers provided the world with information on new continents, on new cultures and on new societies. Vasco de Gama (1397-1499 A.D.) provided some descriptions of the cultures and societies in Africa and India. Christopher Columbus (1451-1506 A.D.) discussed the cultural and social diversity of American Red Indians. Vasco Munez de Balboa (1475-1570 A.D.) discussed the cultural and social conditions of American Red Indians. The accounts of these maritime explorers brought the existence of peoples quite different from those of Europe to attention and raised the problem of how those peoples came to have such cultures and societies (Panniman 1395: 11-16; Hodgen 1964; 209-20; Malefijit 1974: 4-59).

Knowledge about different continents and cultures has stimulated the European philosophers, social thinkers and other academicians to know why such amazing cultural and social diversity has existed. Francis Bacon (1561-1626) argued for reformation of knowledge, objective descriptions of cultures and societies and correct assessment of the reason for the unity as well as diversity of cultures and societies all over the globe. Rene Descartes (1596-1650) also wanted to have scientific knowledge of nature including humans. Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679 A.D.) argued that nature had made humans equal in body and mind but humans had formed different cultures and societies because they had different types of social contact. Herbert of Cherbery (1588-1648) studied the similarities and differences among the religions and explained what is religiously common to all known societies and what is specific to every known society. Similarly Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) studied the law of different human societies and concluded that natural law was the basis of all social life. Thomas Mun (1571-1641) examined the economics of different human societies and derived the principles common to different economics in different human societies. Samuel Pufendor (1632-1694) re-examined the law of different human societies and suggested that social life is the basis of natural law. John Locke (1632-1704) speculated that social and cultural diversity is due to the differential knowledge of human beings. According to him human mind at birth resembles a fair, sheet of paper but after birth humans in different parts train their minds to think in different ways and acquire different types of knowledge. This diversity of knowledge becomes responsible for the creation of different types of social interaction, different types of social relations and finally different types of cultures and societies.

In general the scholars of Renaissance explained the diversity of cultures and societies in terms of 'the fall'. In this context they gave two varieties of theories. According to one theory the Europeans and the peoples of America, Africa and Asia had originally shared a common culture and society. Over the centuries, the people of America, Africa and Asia became isolated from Europeans. As a result they lost more of the original social items which were proper and

represented a superior state of development. Therefore the non-Europeans had 'fallen' from a higher state of cultural and social development at an earlier period while the Europeans 'retained' the higher state of cultural and social development. Thus the varying degrees of the fall from a higher stage of social and cultural development explains the social and cultural diversity among non-Europeans. Another theory stated that both Europeans and non-Europeans had had 'fallen' from a higher state of social and cultural development, but non-Europeans more so. According to this theory originally all humans were biologically similar. However, over the millennia there was 'degeneration' from the original conditions. The Europeans remained closest to the original physical conditions, but people in Asia, Africa and America 'deteriorated' due to climate, disease and breed. This physical 'deterioration' was responsible for the 'cultural deterioration' in the non-European groups just as the superior culture of the Europeans was the result of the physical state of Europeans. The physical 'deterioration' was related to cultural 'deterioration'. The idea was that all humans were 'fallen' but non-Europeans more so than Europeans (Swartz and Jordan 1976: 13-14).

The Renaissance period has thus witnessed some scientific effort as against the anti-scientific effort between the fourth and thirteenth centuries, regarding the study of culture, society and humanity. The idea that human being, not the supreme being, is the best writer of human history is only a religious version but not a scientific vision about humankind and its culture and society started becoming more and more popular (Hodgson 1964: 213-214).

4.2.4 Proto-Social-Cultural anthropology during Enlightenment

During the period of enlightenment between 1690 A.D. and 1790 A.D. proto-social-cultural anthropology tried to explain the differences between European and non-European cultures and societies by means of the *fall theory* as proposed during Renaissance and in addition by means of the new theory of *progress and evolution*. The proto-social-cultural anthropologists of the Enlightenment were scholars from Italy, the philosophers, social thinkers and encyclopaedists from France, the moral philosophers from Scotland and the philosophers of Germany.

Giambattista Vico (1668-1744), an Italian scholar said that cultures and societies are in a state of constant change, that change itself is a regular phenomenon and it is governed by laws and that when change brings progress cultures and societies evolve from their simple stage into a complex stage. Vico argued that all cultures and societies were similar in the beginning. Although each culture and society had their unique history, all went through similar stages of development. However, some cultures and societies could develop faster than others. Those which reached the highest stage were in the beginning like the one's which are still at the earliest stage. By studying the cultures and societies which are still at the earliest stage it is possible to know how the most advanced cultures and societies lived in their earliest stage. Vico thus believed that all societies passed through the same stages of development in the course of their history, that the contemporary primitives represent the ancestors of advanced societies and that progress and evolutionary changes are the bases for understanding culture and society of humanity (Penniman 1935: 21-26).

Similar and several other ideas were offered by a stream of French philosophers, thinkers and encyclopaedists like Montesquieu (1689-1755), Condorcet (1743-1794), Turgot (1727-1781) and Denis Diderot (1713-1784), August Comte (1798-1857), and Saint-Simon (1760-1825) by a

number of German scholars like Immanuel Kant (1724-1834), Adelung (1732-1806), Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), Christopher Mieners (1747-1801), and Frederick Hegel (1770-1831), and by several Scottish moral philosophers like David Hume (1711-1776), Adam Smith (1723-1790), Dugald Stwert (1753-1828), Adam Ferguson, Lord Kames and Lord Monboddo. They drew their inspiration from the writings of ancient Greeks and Romans, and from the works of Bacon, Locke and Descartes. They all proposed clearly a science of culture and society. They insisted that the science of culture and society should be empirical, that cultures and societies are natural systems, that cultures and societies are governed by general laws and that, the general laws governing the cultures and societies can be known by means of inductive method. They also believed that human nature everywhere is the same, and that all cultures and societies therefore progress through the same stages of development, and these stages can be reconstructed by using comparative method. Here we have all the ingredients of social, cultural anthropological theory in nineteenth century and even at the present day (Evans-Pritchard 1962-14). At the same time the Pacific voyages of Captain Cook (1728-1779) brought more large areas of the world, formerly unknown to Europeans to their attention. Knowledge of different culture grew further. There was an eager market for books on various cultures and societies. Advances in geology and prehistory gave definite ideas about biological and cultural evolution of humans (Barnouw 1979: 6-7). Firm foundations for a clear study of culture and society of human species were laid by the end of Enlightenment.

Check Your Progress

3. Scholars of Renaissance explained the diversity of culture and societies in terms of the _____ theory.
4. During the period of enlightenment proto-social cultural anthropology explained the diversity of cultures and societies by means of _____ and a new theory of _____.

4.3 DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL-CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

4.3.1 Development of Social-Cultural anthropology during the Victorian era

During the Victorian era between 1812 and 1901, the intellectual currents of Enlightenment inspired the scholars from different countries to develop scientific evolutionary thinking and form specific theories about biological and social as well as cultural evolution of human species. In the middle of nineteenth century several influential works dealing with the evolution of humans and human society and culture appeared. In 1859 Charles Darwin (1809-1882) and Alfred Wallace (1824-1913) brought about concrete ideas of the biological evolution of humans. The ideas of Darwin and Wallace about human evolution were not primarily concerned with human culture and society. But they gave an impetus to the evolutionary point of view in general. As a result between 1861 and 1871 Bachofen (1815-1887), Maine (1822-1888), McLennan (1827-1931), Bastinn (1826-1905), Tylor (1832-1917), Morgan (1818-1881), Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), Lubbock (1834-1913), Frazer (1854-1941), Marett (1866-1943) and several others wrote many large volumes purporting to show the evolution of social and cultural institutions: The evolution on monogamous marriage from promiscuity, of property from communism, of contract from status, of industry from nomadism, of positive science from theology, of monotheism from animism (Evan - Pritchard 1965: 14-15). They proposed an evolutionary theory similar to that

of Vico. They came to be known as **evolutionists**. They agreed that all humans have the same mental equipment and they evolve in the same way going through the same stages of development namely savagery, barbarism and civilization. As different societies have developed at different rates, some are still at the level of savagery, some reached only barbarism and some could become civilized. Hence, there is social and cultural diversity in the world. The evolutionists thus explained why there was social and cultural diversity of humanity.

Most of the evolutionists especially McLennan and Tylor in England and Morgan in America treated primitive societies as a subject to be studied. Other evolutionists like Bachofen, Maine, Frazer and so on have studied civilized societies also in addition to primitive societies. Since other disciplines have not looked into the Primitive societies, it was to this gap in knowledge that the evolutionists in England and America turned their attention. Moreover the evolutionists said that in order to understand that 'complex' civilized societies it is better to have knowledge about 'simple' Primitive societies. Another point raised by evolutionists was that the Primitives are living examples of earlier stages of society and cultural development and therefore advanced societies cannot be understood without knowing the primitive societies. A final point raised by evolutionists was that the primitives in contact with Europeans are fast losing their cultures and therefore it shall be the task of the evolutionists to study them before they vanish. So, a ground was prepared whereby culture and society of humanity in general and the culture and society of primitives in particular have become the subject-matter of a special branch of science. Just as culture and society of humanity have been recognised as fields of scientific study to know the humanity, other aspects namely biology, language and pre-history have also been recognised as distinct fields of scientific study to understand humanity. Simultaneously, a unified knowledge of biology, language, pre-history, culture and society of humanity has been recognized as essential for understanding of the totality of humanity in all times and all places. As a result such a total study of human species has been labelled anthropology and that discipline has been introduced as a subject of teaching and research in many universities like Oxford (1884) and Cambridge (1900) in England, Clark University (1887), Columbia University (1896) and University of California (1902) in America. Anthropology was established as a distinct discipline with human origins and primitive societies as the main subjects of its concern. Physical anthropology dealing with human origins, pre-history dealing with the cultural origins and ethnology dealing with culture and society of humanity in general and primitives in particular have been formed as the branches of anthropology. That means at the time of its formation towards the end of 19th century social-cultural anthropology has appeared as ethnology in various university departments of anthropology.

The aim of social-cultural anthropology or ethnology was to know why cultures and societies differ and how these differences can be explained by means of evolutionary theory. The ethnologists strengthened the subject for wider recognition all over the world. With few exceptions all the ethnologists brought together a vast information in various cultures and societies that was gathered by others such as colonial officials, explorers, missionaries, and so forth. Several of these sources of information were not accurate. Techniques of field-work were still rudimentary. Nevertheless ethnology has initiated a scientific study of mostly primitive cultures and societies and to some extent advanced cultures and societies.

Check Your Progress

5. a) _____ and _____ brought about ideas of biological evolution of humans.
- b) Stages of Development (1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____.
- c) Total study of human species has been labelled as ____.
- d) Anthropology as a subject has been introduced in universities like
(1) _____ (2) ____ (3) _____.

4.3.2 Development of Social-Cultural anthropology in twentieth century

The early decades of twentieth century constitute something of a benchmark in anthropology. In England and America the various branches of anthropology were recognised in two main divisions: Physical anthropology and social or cultural anthropology. Physical anthropology has become concerned with human species as a biological organism and social or cultural anthropology has become concerned with human species as social or cultural actor, and thinker and communicator. Social or cultural anthropology included several sub-branches: Prehistory dealing with extinct cultures, ethnography dealing with description of every living culture, ethnology dealing with the description, analysis and interpretation of living cultures. Anthropological linguistics dealing with the origins, development and diversification of languages was a branch of ethnology. Unlike in the nineteenth century, in the beginning of twentieth century pre-history, ethnography and ethnology were regarded as branches of social or cultural anthropology in England and America. On the European continent the term 'anthropology' was taken to mean what the British and Americans referred to as physical anthropology but the social or cultural anthropology was referred to as ethnology or as 'sociology'.

Further, American anthropologists studying cultural and society of primitives referred to themselves as cultural anthropologists while British anthropologists studying the culture and society of primitives called themselves as social anthropologists. The American anthropologists preferred the term 'culture' while the British anthropologists preferred the term 'society' and understood culture as well as society of primitives. In other words the anthropologists of both the countries studied the same reality but they preferred to be called by different designations. Like the American anthropologists, the German anthropologists preferred the term 'culture' and studied social as well as cultural phenomena of primitives. The French anthropologists, like the British anthropologists, emphasized the term 'society' and studied cultural as well as social phenomena (Leaf 1974: 24-25).

There were many small differences between cultural and social anthropology and a few large differences in emphasis. Social anthropology defined society as a human aggregation, sharing a common habitat characterised by a relative self-sufficiency and maintaining continuity of existence across generations. The word society emphasises the importance of links and networks that join individuals and groups to other individuals within a human aggregation. Cultural anthropology defined culture as the sum total of what an individual acquires from his or her society: technology, tools, domestic life, kinship, economy, religion, politics, law, art, morals, values and other items created by humans. Society uses cultural items and makes a living. Cultural forms as a guide to the society. Society and culture are inter-dependent. One cannot exist without the other. The

study of one involves the study of another. Therefore both cultural anthropology and social anthropology were for the most part two parallel developments trying to deal with culture as well as society in roughly the same way (Leaf 1974: 25; Swartz and Jordan 1976: 28-29).

The branches of cultural and social anthropology were similar. They contained ethnography, ethnology, pre-history and anthropological linguistics as their main branches. Their aims also were similar. Under the influence of evolutionists both the branches explained why cultural and social diversity exists. They said that differential evolution brought diversity of cultures and societies. As against the evolutionists there were the diffusionists who argued that social and cultural diversity was due to differential diffusion. Diffusion means the spread of social and cultural items from one society to another. The diffusionists from England such as Elliot Smith (1871-1937) and William James Perry (1887-1949) speculated that culture originated only in Egypt and then spread to different parts of the world at different rates. Therefore social and cultural diversity came into existence. But the diffusionists from Germany such as Ratzel (1844-1904), Fritz Graebner (1877-1934), Leo Frobenius (1873-1938) and Father Wilhelm Schmidt (1868-1954) said that different items of culture originated in different parts of the world and spread at different rates to all places throughout the world. This resulted in diversity of cultures and society. But Franz Boas (1858-1942) and his followers like Clark Wissler (1870-1947), A.L. Kroeber (1876-1960), Robert H. Lowie (1883-1957) and Leslie Spier (1863-1961) rejected speculations about the spread of cultural items and argued for careful firsthand accounts about diffusion of cultural items one society to another. They emphasised empiricism and field-work in building a scientific base for the understanding of culture and society.

The theories of evolutionists and diffusionists to explain why social and cultural diversity exists did not last long. After World War I, two stalwarts Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) and Radcliffe-Brown (1885-1955) in England argued that evolution and diffusion of cultural and social items explain nothing but reconstruction of histories of culture and society and mere history of culture and society should not be a subject for social or cultural anthropology. They said that instead of telling why there is cultural and social diversity, it is better to tell how does cultural and social diversity exist. For this purpose they argued that the anthropologists must visit the same societies, learn the language of those societies, stay there for two or three years, observe what is going on there, note the cultural and social items, then come back to the table, organize the data, describe what is seen and explain how each item of culture and society function to satisfy the various needs of individuals and groups. They thus emphasized functionalism as the theory and field-work as the method of social or cultural anthropology. According to them the aim of cultural or social anthropology should be to explain how the diversity of human culture and human society exists. Due to the influence of functional theory of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown between 1920 and 1925, English, German and French anthropologists had turned away from any interest in the evolution and diffusion of culture and became absorbed in functional analysis of living cultures.

During and after World War-II contacts with the most remote parts of the world became common place for a great many English people, Americans, Germans, Canadians, French people and so on. Social and cultural anthropologists studied primitives living even in remote areas and started studying even several other societies such as peasant societies and industrial urban societies in different parts of the world. They did field-work and collected information. In America Franz Boas' numerous students such as Kroeber (1876-1960), Robert Lowie (1883-

were gathered from 863 societies. The files containing these facts are called **Human Relations Area Files (HRAF)**. These files have formed as data banks serve the scientific needs of social and cultural anthropologists all over the world.

In the last three decades the specialization of pre-history dealing with culture, history and anthropological linguistics dealing with human language within social or cultural anthropology have grown to such an extent that they have become major divisions of anthropology. They exist now as archaeological anthropology and linguistic anthropology.

Another development took place in the last three decades. The difference between the American sort of work focussing on 'culture' and the British sort of the work focussing on 'society' has diminished and a number of American anthropologists have begun to use the term social anthropology interchangeably with cultural anthropology. The Anthropology panel of Scientists which surveyed the position of social and cultural anthropology in 1967 had come to the conclusion that an effort to distinguish sharply between social and cultural anthropology is futile. The panel emphasized that social anthropology limits itself to the study of interpersonal relations and social groups while cultural anthropology concerns itself with the study of interpersonal custom, tradition and values. However, customs and values involve interpersonal relations and traditions are passed through organised social groups. Hence the panel treated social and cultural anthropology as one and designated it as social-cultural anthropology (Smith and Fisher 1970: 20, 21).

Since 1970s majority of the anthropologists working in the United States, Britain, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and other parts and present members of British Commonwealth specialize in social-cultural anthropology. They consider that the term social-cultural anthropology is concerned with social as well as cultural phenomena as described and explained by social and cultural anthropologists. However, there are a few who still maintain that social anthropology and cultural anthropology have important differences besides significant similarities and they shall be kept separate (Leach 1982:37). But in the last one decade the term social-cultural anthropology has acquired scientific popularity in all the countries including France, Netherlands and Scandinavian countries. Nevertheless in several countries on the European continent this same speciality still goes by the name 'ethnology' or 'sociology'. In India, the usage social anthropology does not use the term social-cultural anthropology used in other parts of the world (Sarana 1977, 6-7). The goal of social-cultural anthropology is to acquire the fullest possible understanding of humanity in terms of culture and society. It studies cultures and societies at all levels of development in all places. The societies may be primitive tribes, may be peasant societies and may be urban industrialized societies. To some extent social-cultural anthropology also tries to predict the society and culture of future humanity.

4.4 METHODS OF SOCIAL-CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Social-cultural anthropology uses several methods to study social and cultural phenomena. These methods are: scientific method, historical method, comparative method, case study method and statistical method. The scientific method goes by various names such as ethnographic method, Field-work method and observation method.

1907), Ruth Benedict (1887-1948), Ralph Linton (1893-1953), Margaret Mead (1901-1978), Cora Du-Bols (b. 1903) besides others like Abram Kardimer (b. 1891) became representatives of American cultural anthropology and studied the relationship between culture and personality in different societies and explained how cultural and social diversity exists. Some of these cultural anthropologists besides others like Herskovits (1895-1963), Kluckhohn (1905-1960) and Robert Redfield (1897-1957) studied culture and social change taking place in tribal and peasant societies and explained that social and cultural diversity of tribals and peasants is disappearing due to contact with industrially advanced societies.

The students of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown include such important figures as Evans-Pritchard, Meyer Fortos, Raymond Firth, Max Gluckman, Fred Eggan, Friedrich Nadle and many others. These anthropologists and their students became the representatives of British social anthropology all over the world. They explained how cultural and social diversity exists in terms of the functional theory of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown.

After 1945 the interest in evolutionary theory was revived to explain the social and cultural diversity of humanity. The new evolutionary theory is called neo-evolutionism. Leslie White (1900-1975) explained that cultural and social diversity exists because the amount of energy spent by people differs from culture to culture and society to society and at the same time all cultures and societies have unity because they spend specific amount of energy when they pass through a particular stage like savagery, barbarism and civilization. Julian Steward (1902-1972) said that cultural and social diversity exists because different groups of cultures evolve in different ways. Gordon Childe (1892-1957), Marshal Sahlins and Elman Service said that cultural and social diversity exists because specific cultures and societies adjust to different environments in different ways and at the same time all cultures and societies progress through the same stages.

Levi-Strauss (b-1908) a French anthropologist, studied several societies and explained why and how cultural and social diversity exists. He said that people in different ways, categorize their experience in different ways hence there is cultural and social diversity. He also said that people not only think and categorize their experiences in different ways but also exhibit their categories in their language. A study of meanings of such categories reveals how the cultural and social diversity exists. Levi-Strauss called this kind of explaining as **cognitive approach** of social anthropology.

Like the evolutionary studies, the functional studies, the studies of culture, history and the cognitive studies, those of social and cultural change, culture and personality remained as important part of social and cultural anthropology. Such topics as Culture, History, Language, Economics, Politics, Symbolic, Religion, Kinship, Marriage, Family, Myths, Folklore, Art, War, Education, personality and so on have become special areas of interest within social and cultural anthropology. Also, specialization pertaining to the cultural and society of human groups living in specific areas like America, Africa, Asia and so forth have also been added to social and cultural anthropology. The utilization of information from all these specializations for solving several human problems came to be called applied social or cultural anthropology and became a separate branch of social or cultural anthropology. To aid all these specializations, George Peter Murdock (b-1897) an American social and cultural anthropologist and his students and associates compiled significant facts on family, kinship, kin and local groups, marriage, subsistence, art, war, religion, politics, social classes, myth, folklore, status of women and several other items, that

4.4.1 Scientific method

Social-cultural anthropology is distinguished by its reliance on its scientific method as the means by which data are collected, old theories are verified and new theories are propounded. Scientific method has several broad steps: Selection of problem, Selection of field, Formation of hypothesis, field-works, analysis, interpretation and proof of hypothesis and generalisation.

(i) The first step of Scientific method is selection of the problem and selection of field. The chosen problem may be related to social structure which refers to the social arguments in human societies. An anthropologist who studies this problem tries to determine the nature of the social arrangement in human societies and the sources and consequences of these arrangements. In this context the social arrangements may be marital ties, domestic relations, kinship networks and political relations. The chosen problem may be related to economy. Then the investigators deal with the ways people in different societies produce food, shelter, tools, weapons and so on, and how these are distributed and consumed. The chosen problem may be related to religion. If so the investigator studies beliefs and supernatural beings and supernatural forces as they occur in all human societies. The chosen problem may be related to art. The investigator studies the various forms of art and how art is related to various aspects of culture and society. Folklore and mythology may be another problem chosen for investigation. Then the student tries to know the symbolism, context and meaning of folktales, myths and legends. Myths and folktales of a society may be used to discover the basic nature or structure of human culture. Social-cultural anthropologists who work to discover the basic nature or structure of human culture are known as structuralists. Structuralists should not be confused with social structuralists. Social structuralists are interested in the study of social arrangements and the principles governing them, but structuralists are interested in the study of fundamental relations between different aspects of culture. The investigator may choose other problems such as ecology, law, law enforcement, politics, child-rearing, war, social control, corporation management, health administration, urban planning, industrial relations, labour organization, culture and social change, social work, rural development, tribal welfare and so on. There is no end to the kinds of problems in which a social-cultural anthropologist is interested. The selection of the problem depends upon the specialization of the student.

(ii) The second step in scientific method is selection of the field. Field means research setting. The research setting depends upon the problem selected for study. The chosen problem may be concerned with a particular aspect of tribal society, a peasant society or an industrialized society. Therefore the field of research setting may be located in a tribal society, in a peasant society or an industrialized society. The research setting may be restricted to a single individual, a small set of families, a village, a district, a neighbourhood, a city, a religion, a part of city, an urban conglomeration or even an entire nation.

(iii) The third step is formation of hypothesis. A hypothesis is a testable proposition about a class of phenomena. It is set forth to prove or disprove a theory which is a more general account of the class of phenomena. The problem and the hypothesis are inter-linked. By means of the problem the anthropologist focusses his or her attention on a particular issue being discussed or debated. For example, the problem may be like this: What is the relationship between changes in family and changes in kinship? What is the relationship between economic innovation and social change? What strategies do people use to elevate their status in society? Is joint family

in India breaking? Can industrial production be improved by changing the working habits of the labourers? Keeping problems in view, the hypothesis may be framed. For example, the hypothesis regarding family and kinship may be formed as follows: Changes in family structure have brought changes in kinship. The hypothesis must be stated in such a way that can be proved or disproved in the field.

(iv) The fourth step in the scientific method is doing field-work. Pertaining to the problem and hypothesis, data are to be collected by means of field-work. Field-work means the firsthand experience of studying a culture and society (Spradley and McCurdy 1975: 42). By means of field-work we collect data regarding the problem.

In nineteenth century some anthropologists who were well-to-do visited the field, stayed there for some time and collected data, but some depended upon written accounts put together by missionaries, administrators, travellers, merchants and others. There was still no systematic attempt to do field-work. So, towards the end of nineteenth century A.C. Haddon in England and Franz Boas in America tried to develop scientific techniques such as participant observation, genealogy, interview, schedules and questionnaire, Census taking and mapping.

However it was only in the first quarter of twentieth century, Malinowski has formed the field-work tradition and from that time anthropologists began to be scientific field workers. Since the day of Malinowski field-work has become the hallmark of social-cultural anthropology. From 1920s onwards training in field-work has become part of curriculum. Graduate and post-graduate programmes are designed to give training to the students in field-work: how to prepare for the field, how to collect data in the field and how to analyse and interpret the field data.

An anthropologist's laboratory is the field centre. A botanist or a zoologist can bring a plant specimen or an animal specimen to his laboratory and examine it. But an anthropologist cannot bring his specimen namely community or society to his study room, rather he has to go to the community or society and study it. The pond cannot come to the horse but the horse has to go the pond. An anthropologist visits his field centre and does field-work.

After visiting the field anthropologist collects data with the help of a number of techniques. One of the field techniques is participating observation. According to field-work tradition an anthropologist must live in the field centre in which he wants to do field-work, must learn the native language, and must adopt participant observation. Observation alone is not enough because an observer cannot know the true meaning of the actions of others until he himself has an opportunity to participate in them. At the same time participation alone is insufficient because without the ability to observe objectively he may not be able to grasp the meaning of actions, customs, traditions and values of the people. Therefore, an anthropologist must participate in and observe the daily routine of life in the field in order to learn about culture and society.

Not all data can be gathered through participant observation. The field worker may want to know about the past events, may want to check the data obtained through participant observation or may want to know the opinions of individuals about a particular issue. People of different ages, sexes and statuses in the field centre may have different ideas about the same fact. Some members in the field centre may have knowledge about religious beliefs or the reason behind certain activities. The field worker may want to collect myths, legends and tales. All these types

of information may be collected through interviews.

Collection of genealogies is another field technique for obtaining information. Through genealogies the field worker can get data on family structure, marriage links between families and other groups and kinship networks.

Collection of case studies and life-histories are other important field techniques for gathering firsthand information. Through extensive interviews the field worker collects life-histories of individuals. Life-histories provide data on change as it has occurred during the life of the person studied. Case studies are specific examples which help the field worker to substantiate his findings.

Collection of emic and etic data is also another tool of importance in field-work. Information about peoples point of view regarding culture and society is emic data but information about an anthropologist's point of view regarding culture and society is etic data. Both types of data enrich the study.

Sampling is another technique to be used in field-work. When data on every individual are impossible to collect sampling becomes necessary. A proper sample offers the assurance that a small number of individuals represent the wider group. Such samples can be drawn from the whole population of field centres.

Technological aids also are considered as important field techniques for gathering information. Still photography, cinema, and tape recordings, including video tapes form as useful permanent records. They can be shown and played for the people in the field centre. In this way detailed explanations about particular events can be elicited with great care.

(v) The fifth step in scientific method is analysis, interpretation and proof of hypothesis. Once an anthropologist collects data he leaves the field, returns home and spends a year or more to analyze and interpret the data. Analysis is the process of isolating the constituent parts of a configuration. (Spradely and McCurd 1975: 667). The total information obtained on the problem of study is the data. It is sorted out from the field notes and arranged in a systematic way. What information must be put first, what information to be put next, and what information must be put finally will be judged by the investigator. The data thus arranged becomes a meaningful totality. This totality is the configuration. Each part of this configuration may usually appear as a chapter in the write up or report prepared by the scientist. Each part deals with a specific aspect of the problem. If the total picture gained after going through the report is considered as a configuration, what has been gained by going through every chapter is a constituent part of the configuration. To put it in another way, the scientist isolates the constituent part of the totality and presents them in a meaningful manner. This is what is meant by analysis.

Analysis and interpretation go simultaneously. While analysing the data, the scientists may find facts to prove the hypothesis, or the facts may not support the hypothesis. The data may be interpreted with the help of certain theories such as neo-evolutionary, functional, social structural, structural and other theories. New interpretations may be provided to the data if the existing theories prove inadequate to interpret the data. Finally, the scientist answers several questions: Has the hypothesis been confirmed or refuted? What are the findings? What conclusions can be drawn about the particular field centre under study?

(vi) The final step in the scientific method of social-cultural anthropology is making a generalization. Suppose the hypothesis is confirmed, then the scientist searches for examples of societies which can support the hypothesis. If the hypothesis can be proved by facts obtained from other societies, the statement or proposition made through the hypothesis becomes a generalization. This generalization may be put to tests again and again in different cultures and societies to make it applicable to all societies and cultures. The long term aim of social-cultural anthropology is to accumulate scientific data to enable the discipline to arrive at meaningful, scientific laws describing the behaviour of people everywhere. Such laws would have to rely on generalizations arising from the systematic analysis and comparison of data from the vast number of cultures and societies. By forming several such generalizations and laws, anthropologists can know the universalities, generalities and particularities of cultures and societies of the whole humanity.

4.4.2 Historical Method

Social-cultural anthropology uses historical method to understand the history of groups and institutions in the society and culture of humanity. History examines past. By means of historical method an anthropologist can study the origins and development of institutions and groups, and certain social and cultural problems. Several social problems and processes of contemporary society have their roots in the past. How a particular problem has arisen and how it has evolved can be understood only by means of historical method. Suppose you want to know why a particular group commits crime, you must have knowledge of the historical background of the group. Similarly you can know the form and nature of concubinage (Sati or Suttee) only by means of historical method. Suppose you want to know why an economic system, a technological system, a religious system, a political system, a mythological system, kinship system and other systems in a society have come to be what they are, you must investigate into the history of all these institutions. Thus historical method helps a social-cultural anthropologist to know why certain groups, institutions, systems, problems and processes have come to be what they are.

4.4.3 Case study method

Social-cultural anthropology adopts case study method if it wants to present the life of an individual, a group, a community or a society. The case study method does not examine only one aspect but all aspects of the individual or institution, community or society to be studied. It examines the technological, economic, social, religious, political and other aspects including the aspects of change and presents a total picture of the life of the unit chosen for study.

Field-work will be adopted for collecting the data relevant to the case study. Techniques such as observation, interviews, questionnaire, schedule, and collection of life-histories, genealogies and autobiographies may be utilized to gather data. The information thus collected may be analysed and interpreted and certain conclusions may be drawn. S.C. Dube's study of a village by name Shamirpet near Hyderabad is an example of case study method. He gave a picture of the social, economic, political and religious life of Shamirpet besides the various changes that took place in the total life of Shamirpet. Similarly the village studies pertaining to specific institutions, groups and specific individuals presented by several Indian and Foreign anthropologists come under this category.

4.4.4 Comparative method

Social-cultural anthropology uses comparative method to know universal, general and particular features of cultures and societies, and of the internal dynamics of social and cultural systems and processes.

Social-cultural anthropology uses two varieties of comparisons in its work; synchronic comparison and diachronic comparison. Synchronic comparison is the systematic comparison of several cultures and societies at one point of time and diachronic comparison is the systematic comparison of culture and society at different points of time in a specific geographical area. From synchronic comparisons one can learn about the regularities of human behaviour around the world at a particular point of time, usually the present or the recent past. From diachronic comparisons one can learn about the evolution of cultures and societies (Hunter and Whitten 1976: 15).

Social-cultural anthropology uses comparative method for the study of systems and processes. It approaches the study of human behaviour through the systems that contribute to it: Social system, cultural system, psychological system and environmental system. Each of these systems can be further divided into several sub-systems. Analysis of the internal dynamics of each system and the processes of interaction going on among all systems is an important task of social-cultural anthropology. Social-cultural anthropology studies every system within each culture and society and in all cultures and societies in synchronic and diachronic way. By such comparisons one can understand how each system has evolved and how one system has become related to all other systems within a culture and society and within the whole human culture and the entire human society (Hunter and Whitten 1976: 17).

Data for making such comparisons will be obtained from various works available already. Human relations Area Files comprise the source of data. These files existing in the form of written series of cards and xeroxed page are housed in a number of libraries. By using the files extensive indexing system, an investigator can find specific information on almost every item of any culture and society that have been studied. Similarly worldwide surveys or samples or all known cultures and societies also comprise another major source of data for an anthropologist. It is with the help of comparative method that anthropologists have drawn several significant conclusions about human behaviour and social life.

4.4.5 Statistical Method

Social-cultural anthropology has started using statistical method since a generation ago. Prior to 1945 E.B. Tylor and Franz Boas used statistical techniques to analyse some data related to marriage and some data related to the influence of environment on race respectively. Since 1945 G.P. Murdock applied statistical techniques to analyse basic data on kinship. A.L. Kroeber, Harold Driver and others also used statistical method for surveying cultural elements in California. Claude Levi-Strauss advocated the use of statistical techniques for socio demographic researches. In the last two decades social-cultural anthropologists have subjected quantitative data to statistical analysis, often with the aid of computer technology. Now statistical method has become an important method of research in social-cultural anthropology (Sarana 1977: 37-38, 42-42, Alland Jr 1980: 352-353).

Social-cultural anthropology uses statistical method to know relationships between different kinds of social and cultural phenomena and to cover the universalities, generalities and particularities of human culture and human society that might otherwise never come to light. For example, Frank Cancian studied the system of religious ranking among Zinacantecos in Mexico. The common observations reveal the absence of social classes among the Zinacantecos. However, statistical analysis revealed that Zinacantecos tend to marry people from families of similar religious rank and sons generally achieve the same religious rank as their fathers (Plog, Jolly and Bates 1976: 227).

Statistical method is often used in social-cultural anthropology for establishing a clearcut relationship between different kinds of cultural and social phenomenon. For instance, an anthropologist may study how income level influences drug use. He may conclude that greater the income level, greater is the use of drugs. Such a conclusion will be on shaky grounds unless it is statistically proved. The statistical method may prove that there is a significant correlation or true relationship exists between income level and drug use (Plog, Jolly and Bates 1976: 227, 230, Alland Jr 1910: 352-364).

Statistical method is quite essential in understanding the demographic conditions of societies, and in knowing the birth rate, death rate, age at marriage and fertility rate. It plays a key role in the study of social attitudes. Thus statistical methods have become essential for establishing relationships between different kinds of social and cultural phenomena for making rigorous cross-cultural comparisons and for testing theoretical generalizations about human society. 'Figures do not lie', hence statistical method has become quite useful in the researches of social-cultural anthropology.

Check Your Progress

6. What are the methods to study social and cultural phenomena ?

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7. What are the different steps of scientific method ?

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4.5 SUMMING UP

In this unit we have studied the origin of social-cultural anthropology. The ideas about culture, society and humanity were introduced by the proto-social-cultural anthropologists. The term proto-social-cultural anthropologists can be referred to people who wrote on culture, society and humanity. Proto means earliest or not yet fully developed. In the early decade of twentieth century American anthropologists studying culture and society of primitives referred themselves as cultural anthropologists while British anthropologists studying the culture and society of primitives called themselves as social anthropologists. The American anthropologists preferred the term culture, while the British anthropologists preferred the term society and understood culture as well as society of primitives. Since 1970's majority of the anthropologists working in the United States, Britain, Canada, Newzealand, Australia and other past and present members of British Commonwealth specialize in social-cultural anthropology. Scientific method, historical method, comparative method, case study method and statistical method are the methods to study social and cultural phenomena.

4.6 KEY WORDS

1. Analysis : The process of isolating the constituent parts of configuration.
2. Empirical : Based on verifiable evidence or experience.
3. Field-work : The firsthand experience of studying a culture and society. It encompasses all the activities that are necessary when anthropologists go to a society to discover and describe the culture and social life of the people there.
4. Genealogy : A record or account of the ancestry of person or kin group.
5. Human Relations Area Files (HARF) : The files which contain information on various cultures and societies in the world.
6. Inductive method : Reasoning or research proceeding from observation of concrete particulars to more abstract generalization. This method is an opposite of deductive method. Deductive method is reasoning or research proceeding from general theory or principles to more concrete result or conclusions.
7. Participant observation : Participation in and observation of activities of another society as a technique for collecting data on culture and society of humanity.

8. Social-cultural anthropology : A branch of anthropology which studies relations and patterns of life among different types of cultures and societies as seen through their institutions such as marriage, kinship, economy, religion, politics, social control and law and through their groups such as family, clan and other kinship groups, economic groups, religious groups, political groups and so on.

4.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

1. Beattie, Joh, A.M.
1964 : Other cultures; Aims methods and scope of Social Anthropology.
London: Cohen & West.
2. Evans Pritchard, E.E.
1962 : Essays in Social Anthropology
1964 : Social Anthropology
London : Cohen & West
3. Firth, R.
1951 : British Social Anthropology
American Anthropologist
pp 477-499
4. Frazer, J.
1908 : The scope of Social Anthropology.
London : The Mackmillan & Company
5. Hoebel, E.A.
1949 : Man in the primitive world.
Newyork : McGraw Hill Book Company
6. Hoebel, E.A. & Frost, E.L.
1976 : Cultural & Social
Anthropology
Newyork : McGraw Hill Book Company
7. Hoebel, E.A. & Weaver, T.
1979 : Anthropology & the
Human Experience
Newyork : McGraw Hill Book Company
8. Kluckhohn, C.
1949 : Mirror for Man : Anthropology
and Modern Man.
McGraw Hill Book Company

9. Kolhah, C.P.
1979 : Cultural Anthropology
Second Edition)
Newyork : Random House
Publications.
10. Lowie, P.H.
1937 : History of Ethnological Theory
Newyork : Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
11. Malinowski, B.
1926 : Social Anthropology - Encyclopaedia
Britannica 13th adition
Lodon : The Macmillan Company
12. Mead, M.
1963 : The Teaching of Anthropology
American Anthropology Association
Memoir, 94 pp 595-607
13. Murdock, G.P.
1951 : British Social Anthropology
American Anthropologist
LIII pp 465-475
1954 : Sociology and Anthropology
in Joh Gillen (Ed) for a
Science of Social Man.
14. Nadel, S.F.
1951 : Foundations of Social
Anthropology Vol. I
London : Cohen & West
15. Nanda, S.
1980 : Cultural Anthropology
16. Olien, M.D.
1978 : The Human Myth : An
introduction to Anthropology
17. Piddington, R.
1952 : An introduction to Social
Anthropology
18. Sarana, G.
1977 : Introducing Anthropology

4.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. Explain the development of Social Anthropology during Victorian Era.
2. Explain the development of Social Anthropology during twentieth century.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. Explain the difference between scientific Method and Historical Method.

III. Answer the following in about 5 lines each.

1. Statistical method
2. Comparative method

BRAOU

Unit-5 : SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY : SCOPE, NATURE AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contents

- 5.0 Aims and Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Scope of Social-Cultural Anthropology
 - 5.2.1 Limited Scope
 - 5.2.2 Limited-cum-Universal Scope
 - 5.2.3 Universal Scope
- 5.3 Nature of Social-Cultural Anthropology
 - 5.3.1 Nature as Revealed by its Specializations
 - 5.3.2 Nature as Revealed by the Total Content of its Study
- 5.4 Social-Cultural Anthropology and its Relationship with Other Social Sciences
 - 5.4.1 Social-Cultural Anthropology and Sociology
 - 5.4.2 Social-Cultural Anthropology and Psychology
 - 5.4.3 Social-Cultural Anthropology and History
 - 5.4.4 Social-Cultural Anthropology and Economics and Political Science
- 5.5 Summing Up
- 5.6 Key Words
- 5.7 Suggested Books
- 5.8 Model Examination Questions

5.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with the scope and nature of social anthropology and its relationship with other social sciences.

By the end of this unit, you will be able to :

- * explain how social cultural anthropology has changed its limited scope to universal scope,
- * show how social-cultural anthropology with its various topical and area specializations answers certain fundamental questions in order to derive, delineate certain principles, regularities or laws concerning cultures and societies,
- * explain how social cultural Anthropology as a whole forms as a Social Science even though some of its specializations be placed among humanities, some among historical disciplines and some among Social Sciences,
- * show which social sciences are its closest allies and what are its relations with other social sciences.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we studied about the origin, development and methods of Social Anthropology. We have studied how social and cultural anthropology studying almost similar phenomena have acquired the form of social-cultural anthropology. We have also studied about the methods used by social-cultural anthropology in studying culture and society. In this unit we will study the scope, nature of social anthropology and its relationship with other Social Sciences.

5.2 SCOPE OF SOCIAL CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

5.2.1 Limited Scope

The first British anthropologists who referred to themselves as social anthropologists emphasized that the scope of social anthropology is limited. Adhering to this view point in 1908 Sir James Frazer said that social anthropology limits itself to a scientific study of primitive societies (Frazer 1908 : 4). Almost fifteen years later neither Radcliffe-Brown nor Bronislaw Malinowski differed from the view point of Sir James Frazer. They stated that social anthropology conforms itself to a systematic investigation of primitive tribes (Radcliffe-Brown 1923:45; Malinowski 1926 : 112).

5.2.2 Limited and Universal Scope

The view points of various British anthropologists on the subject matter of social anthropology since 1940s show how social anthropology has been treated by some as a discipline of limited scope and some others as a discipline of universal scope. Those who said that the scope of social anthropology is universal argued that since social anthropology has started studying present societies and urban societies in various parts of the world besides the various primitive societies in some parts of the globe, its subject of study has become not just one type of society but all types of societies in all places and hence its scope has become not just one type of society but all types of societies in all places and hence its scope has become as vast and universal as the humanity itself. Therefore by the year 1944 the definitions of Frazer, Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski which were given almost two decades ago, became quite inadequate to explain the universal scope of social anthropology. Radcliffe-Brown himself revised his opinion and said in 1944 that social anthropology studies societies at all levels of development in all times and in all places (Radcliffe-Brown 1944 : 257-260). Malinowski, Evans Pritchard and others expressed similar view points on the universal scope of social anthropology (Murdock 1951 : 465, 472; Firth 1951 : 475-89; Evans Pritchard 1964 : 5). Notwithstanding this opinion of these stalwart social anthropologists there were some social anthropologists of repute like S.F. Nadel and Ralph Piddington who held even in the early 1950s that the scope of social anthropology was restricted to the study of primitive societies because they believed that social anthropology was largely devoting itself to the study of primitive tribes in various parts of the world (Nadel 1951 : 2-7; Piddington 1952 : 2). Thus during the period between 1940 and 1955 the scope of social anthropology was limited according to some but universal according to some others among the British social anthropologists. Social anthropology has therefore become a discipline of limited-cum-universal scope by the end of 1955.

As the scope of social anthropology has changed from its limited to limited-cum-universal character its aims also shifted from the discovery of generalizations regarding the behaviour of primitive people either to the discovery of laws regulating the behaviour of primitive people or to the discovery of laws regulating the behaviour of the whole human society. Prior to 1940s the aim of social anthropology was emphasized as the discovery of laws that were responsible for the creation of the diversity of primitive cultures and societies. But, after 1940s some argued that the aim of social anthropology has been to describe and compare the structure, organization and function of primitive societies, know the similarities and differences, and on that ground make generalizations and discover certain laws regulating the behaviour of primitive people, while others argued that the aim of social anthropology has been to describe and compare the structure, organization and function of all types of societies, identify the structural, organizational and functional similarities and differences and on that basis make generalizations and propound certain laws regulating the behaviour of human society as a whole.

Like the first British social anthropologists, the first American cultural anthropologists also said that the scope of cultural anthropology was also limited to the study of the cultures and societies of primitives. Between 1900 and 1915 Franz Boas, Alfred Kroeber and Edward Sapir emphasized that the scope of cultural anthropology is limited to the study of primitive cultures only (Redcliffe-Brown 1923 : 127-131).

Since 1937 some American anthropologists have find the scope of cultural anthropology as limited while others claimed it as broad or universal. Robert Lowie, Clyde Kluckhohn and several others mentioned that the limits of cultural anthropology coincide with the limits of human culture. The implied meaning is that cultural anthropology studies human cultures at different levels of development in all places and in all times (Lowie 1937 : 3; Kluckhohn 1949 : 3-7). However, there were some who still considered the scope of cultural anthropology as limited mostly confined to the study of primitive societies (Hoebel 1949 : 3-10). Thus the opinions of American anthropologists between 1930s and 1950s on the subject matter of cultural anthropology in a period of five decades have shifted the scope of cultural anthropology from limited character to one of universal character. This development is parallel to that of British social anthropology.

Like the British social anthropology, the American cultural anthropology also has changed its stand with regard to its aims as it shifted its scope from limited to mixed character. Prior to 1930s cultural anthropology aimed at the description and comparison of patterns, systems and functions of primitive cultures, identification of similarities and differences between primitive cultures, and on that score make generalizations governing the behaviour of primitive societies. After 1937 this limited aim of cultural anthropology was subscribed by a few American anthropologists while a majority of them said that the aim of cultural anthropology is to describe and compare the patterns, systems and functions of all human cultures, understand the similarities and differences between all cultures and on that basis make generalizations and propound certain laws regulating the behaviour of the whole humanity (Nanda 1980 : 5).

The above discussion reveals that prior to 1940s both the social anthropologists and the cultural anthropologists studied primitive societies. Therefore, the scope of social as well as cultural anthropology was not wide. But after 1940s both social and cultural anthropology started broadening their scope from the study of primitive groups to the study of all types of societies.

There is one more point to be stressed here. Even though British and the American anthropologists emphasized that the focus of social anthropology is structure, organization and function of society and discovery of laws governing human behaviour and that the focus of cultural anthropology is pattern, system and function and discovery of laws governing human behaviour, they never confined themselves to their respective positions. Social anthropologists did study cultural or social life, and cultural anthropology did deal with structure, organization and function of society. (Srinivas 1960 : xix; Beattie 1961 : 16-17).

5.2.3 Universal Scope

As British social anthropology and American cultural anthropology entered 1960s they moved closer and merged into a single field of enquiry known as social-cultural anthropology. Simultaneously anthropologists have begun increasingly to be attracted away from the study of primitive tribal groups to an examination of complex societies. They have intensified research on several areas of enquiry such as economic, educational, semiotic, legal, political, medical, psychological, applied and urban anthropology. Moreover they have also acquired lot of information on several societies that existed in the recent past. They have further obtained data on cultural patterns, social structures and social organization, economic, political, religious and other organizations, folklore, mythology, medicine, law, education, symbolism and various other cultural and social aspects of the societies at various levels of development and living in different parts of the world in different times. Using this data they described how various societies lived and explained how both the similarities and differences existed among all societies and all cultures and tried to propound certain laws governing the behaviour of the whole humanity.

Social-Cultural anthropology is now defined as the study of relations and patterns of life among all types of societies as seen through their institutions and groups such as kinship, marriage, the family, economic institutions and activities, religious institutions and practices, political behaviour, mythology, folktales, symbols and so on (Sarana 1977 : 10). It is concerned with particular, generalized and universal social and cultural phenomena (Kottak 1979 : 12). As it studies all aspects of cultures and societies at all levels of development in all places and all times its scope has become universal. The overall scope of social-cultural anthropology may best be introduced by the following propositions.

- (i) Humans are creators and creations of culture.
- (ii) It is by depending on their culture humans interact with their surroundings and amongst themselves and form into society.
- (iii) The diversity of cultures and societies displays a multiplicity of solutions to problems that though ostensibly different are nevertheless, rooted in the indivisible oneness of humanity in all places and in all times.
- (iv) The social-cultural phenomena of humanity is governed by certain uniform social-cultural laws. The aim of social-cultural anthropology is to discover these universal laws.

(i) We will try to know the meaning of the first proposition. Life appeared about 3 billion years ago. The tiny organisms came into being and gave rise to complex organisms which in turn gave rise to fishes about 450 million years ago; amphibians gave rise to reptiles nearly 225 million years ago; from reptiles there emerged birds roughly 190 million years ago; mammals descended from the birds approximately 110 million years ago; out of the mammals came the primates

about 100 million years ago; from primates there evolved an animal like creatures (pithecines) evolved into another branch.

Almost 750,000 years ago the ape-like creatures (pithecines) gave rise to early humans (pithecanthropines). The early humans were tool-makers as well as tool users, discovered fire, hunted big game, collected roots, fruits, and berries from the woods, lived in open sites, in cave shelters, in sex, communicated and in oval huts, ate cooked food, divided work among themselves according to age and groups. Their tools, food-gathering and hunting technology, division of labour, of food habits, fire making techniques, communication of ideas, co-operative endeavours, habitations and their knowledge about environment comprised their culture. They were the creators of their culture. And at the same time they followed their culture, formed mobile groups and led group life or social life. That means their society consisted of small nomadic groups and network of social relations woven by those nomadic groups.

By about 100,000 years before present the early humans gave rise to pre-humans (near-dethals). They spread over large areas of Africa, Asia and Europe. Living in different areas they made and used different types of tools used fire extensively, practised individual and collective hunting, innovated new methods of hunting, collected several varieties of vegetable foods, shared work according to age, sex, and skill, used several signs and sounds for communicating ideas, believed in afterlife, buried the dead, performed rituals and ceremonies in honour of the dead, drew figures, made toys, participated in recreational activities, constructed shelters and lived in small nomadic groups. Their tools, hunting and gathering activities, division of labour, communication, belief in religion, art, shelters and recreation comprised the culture, and their group life based on these cultural items comprised their society. Their culture and society were more complex than those of early humans. In fact their culture and society showed differences in different parts of Asia, Africa and Europe, because they had to adjust to different environments. Each culture was a specific design for living. This specific design acted as a specific guide for people living in a specific environment. Thus cultural and social diversity came into being.

About 40,000 years ago modern humans (cromagons) appeared in Western Europe. Shortly after their appearance in Western Europe modern humans moved in all directions. They reached Hungary, Russia, the Middle East, North Africa, South Africa, China and South East Asia. From South East Asia they reached Australia. From Eastern part of Russia, through Bering straits they reached North America and they moved into South America. In that way modern humans appeared in Western Europe and settled in the remainder of the world. They became fisher folk in addition to being hunters and gatherers. Their complex division of labour, their food habits, their art, their religion, their magic and witch craft, their knowledge about environment, animal movements, availability of foods and animals in specific seasons, their language, their dwellings, settlements and their elaborate recreational activities together comprised their culture. Their domestic groups, their villages and their co-operative association together formed as the components of their society. Their culture and society were thus more complicated than those of the early humans and pre-humans.

About 10,000 years ago modern humans revolutionised their cultural and social life. They started agriculture. Agriculture led to the establishment of permanent villages. In addition to agriculture they also practised domestication of cattle. As a result they could cultivate several food items near their villages instead of depending on the wild food items available in the forest.

As they depended on agriculture they could get leisure time during the off season. Leisure time was utilized for making several innovations such as pottery, weaving, basketry, music, dance and other crafts and arts. Division of labour became complex. Occupational diversity increased. Trade and commerce were invented and expanded. Writing was innovated. Villages transformed into towns and cities. Nations, states were formed. Empires were built. Civilizations were found. The human accomplishments of the 10,000 years seem incredible in comparison to the first 3 million years during which the early humans and prehumans existed. All these human achievements have ultimately led to the development of the types of cultures and social living that we have today. Today there is an amazing diversity of cultures.

What is it we can understand from the above account of the culture and society of early humans, pre-humans and modern humans? Early humans were the creators of culture. They transmitted it to their children. The transmission of culture from generation to generation and person to person was through signs and sounds. Culture established a common ground of understandings or a set of shared ideas about how the early humans and their descendents had to behave. Culture served as a tool; it formed as a guide for their behaviour and it functioned as a design for living. The behaviour of early humans was guided by rules of culture. Rules of culture were taught and they were accepted as their ideals. That means early humans created culture, yet in some sense were created by culture. The early humans passed on their culture to the pre-humans who improved the culture further and the pre-humans transmitted their culture to the modern humans who expanded it to a great extent until the type of culture that we have today. The early humans created culture. The pre-humans added something to the culture that they received from the early humans. Likewise the modern humans added several new items to the culture that they got from the pre-humans. We have added a large number of items to the culture that we have received from our ancestors. Then in a way the pre-humans, the modern humans and ourselves are creators of culture. Like the early humans the pre-humans, the modern humans and ourselves are the creations of culture. As we obey our cultural norms we think, we feel and we act accordingly. Therefore we are the creators of culture.

(ii) We will examine the second proposition pertaining to the scope of social-cultural anthropology. The second proposition says that humans follow their culture and interact with surroundings as well as amongst themselves and form into a society. While depending upon culture the early humans, the pre-humans and the modern humans followed certain rules and coped with their surroundings. Surroundings mean the natural surroundings as well as the social surroundings. Following the rules of their culture they got food, they obtained raw materials and made tools, constructed shelters and so on. In all these activities they depended upon one another, cooperated with one another and led group life. That means according to cultural rules they interacted amongst themselves to cope with geographical surroundings. Thus it is culture that has guided the people to interact with the surroundings and interact amongst themselves and form into a society. Animals do have society, but their society is not based on culture. It is human society, human society alone, which is based upon culture.

(iii) We will try to know the meaning of the third proposition regarding the scope of social-cultural anthropology. The third proposition says that humanity is one but its cultures and societies are diverse. This unity and diversity of cultures and societies is due to the diversity of solutions to problems. All humans have culture and all humans have society. Hence there is cultural unity as well as social unity amongst the humans. If all humans have biological,

cultural and social unity, why should there be diversity in culture and society? Humans have needs: hunger, sex, reproduction and child-rearing. Without satisfying hunger individuals cannot survive. Without satisfying sex need, individuals cannot reproduce and without reproduction society cannot continue. Without passing on culture to children through child-rearing culture cannot continue. In other words without satisfying hunger individual ceases to exist, without satisfying sex and replicating through reproduction society becomes extinct and without passing on culture to the young, culture comes to an end. Therefore all humans must satisfy these needs. But all humans do not satisfy these needs in the same way they live indifferent surroundings and interact with their surroundings in different ways. Thousands of years ago humans appeared in Western Europe, then settled in the remainder of the globe. This diversity of surroundings forced them to interact with environments in different ways and satisfy their needs which were common to all of them. For interacting with different types of surroundings they worked out different plans or designs for living which are technically known as cultures. According to the plans or designs they formed into groups and led different types of social life. Each culture is only one design for living among many in the history of human kind. Each culture is an adaptation to one kind of environment with a particular level of technology, and each culture is due to a particular set of historical circumstances. Thus the diversity of cultures and societies display a multiplicity of solutions to problems that though ostensibly different are nevertheless rooted in the indivisible oneness of humanity in all places and in all types.

(iv) We will try to grasp the meaning of the fourth proposition set forth with regard to the scope of social-cultural anthropology. The proposition says that despite their diversity all cultures and societies are regulated by certain uniform laws. Social-cultural anthropology studies all cultures and all societies in all places and in all times. The diversity of cultures and societies is bewildering. There are societies like Eskimos in Canada and Chuckchees in Siberia coping with ice cold regions of the earth. There are tribes like ituri of Congo and semang of Malaya who live in dense forests. There are several Australian tribes which even today live in open places. Some of the Red Indian tribes of Venezuela live in tree holes even to this day. Even now people of Cappadocia live in caves, Eskimos live in houses built with ice blocks. Several societies in industrialized parts of the world live in a variety of houses and buildings and work in skyscrapers. All these societies have diverse cultures. They are at different levels of development. Despite their cultural and social diversity, they are governed by some common laws. Social-cultural anthropology studies all societies and cultures at all levels of development in all places and in all times. It studies tribes, it studies peasants, it studies all types of industrialized urban societies, it investigates all social aspects and all cultural aspects; it examines cultural as well as social unity, cultural as well as social diversity; it tries to know the distinctive, general and universal social and cultural phenomena; and it makes an effort to discover the laws governing the culture and society of the whole humanity. Indeed the scope of social-cultural anthropology is vast. The culture and society of a remote tribe of Congo tropical rain forest are no less deserving of serious consideration than those of the sophisticated groups in Bombay, Tokyo, London, Paris, Mexico and New York. That means the scope of social-cultural anthropology is universal. It is as fascinating as the culture and society of humanity itself.

Check Your Progress

1. What are the propositions by which the scope of social-cultural anthropology is introduced?

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5.3 NATURE OF SOCIAL-CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

5.3.1 Nature as revealed by specialities

The nature of social-cultural anthropology is to examine every aspect of a single culture, every aspect of a single society and every aspect of the relationship between individual and his or her society, to examine every aspect of several cultures, several societies and the relationship between individuals and their respective societies in a single geographical area, and to examine all aspects of the cultures, all societies and the relationship of individuals to their respective societies in all geographical areas of the world. In brief the nature of social-cultural anthropology is to study all aspects of a particular culture and society, all aspects of several cultures and societies in a specific geographic area and all social-cultural aspects of the whole humanity in the world.

The nature of social-cultural anthropology can be clearly understood from an examination of its branches and sub-branches, otherwise called specializations. Social-cultural anthropology is divided into two main divisions: ethnography and ethnology. Ethnography forms the factual basis for social-cultural anthropology. A detailed description of a particular culture and society is known as ethnography. An anthropologist who writes such a description is an ethnographer. Ethnography is idiographic i.e., it derives at a thorough and objective description of the social and cultural phenomenon of a society without involving a search for general principles, regularities or laws. Ethnography thus reveals the social-cultural anthropology's nature of examining every aspect of a single culture and a single society.

Ethnology is a comparative and generalizing study of different cultures and societies. It is nomothetic i.e., it seeks to establish general principles, regularities for laws. Ethnology uses data not from a single society but from several societies. Therefore it uses the ethnographies of several cultures and societies, compares them and tries to explain social and cultural similarities and differences. It is in this context that the universalities, generalities and particularities of cultures and societies are derived. In other words, ethnology reveals the social-cultural anthropology's nature of examining all social-cultural aspects of the whole humanity all over the world. The nature of study of the various sub-branches or sub-specialities clearly reveals these facts.

Ethnology is divided into several topical specialities and area specialities. The topical specialities have resulted when ethnology has devoted itself to the study of different cultural and social aspects such as technology, foods, family, kinship, political life, art, music, dance, folklore,

medicine, religion, education, cognition, symbols, adaptations to environment and so on. Accordingly ethnology has partitioned into several topical specializations such as ethnotechnology, social structure, economic anthropology, political anthropology, anthropology of art, ethnomusicology, anthropology of religion, educational anthropology and so on.

Ethnotechnology studies material culture. *Ethnobotany* investigates into herbalism and vegetable stuffs. *Ethnozology* examines animal phenomena and animal food stuff. *Anthropology social structure* seeks to determine the nature of social arrangements in human societies and the sources and consequences of these arrangements. The social arrangements involve person to person relations; person to group relations and group to group relations. The total network of such permanent and socially approved social relations is the social structure of a society. Social structure is the skeleton of a society. How this network of social relations works over time refers to social organization. The contribution of social organization towards the maintenance of society is social function. Thus social structure refers to the network of social relations or social arrangements. The sources of this network of social arrangements are the various parts of culture such as marriage, kinship, economy, politics and law. The consequences of this network of arrangement are social organization and social function. Social organization refers to how the network of social relations work over time. The contribution made by the networks of social arrangements towards the maintenance of society is social function. Thus anthropology of social structure tries to know the nature of social arrangements in all societies and the sources and consequences of these arrangements.

Economic anthropology examines how people in different societies produce food, shelter, tools, weapons, and so on in different ways and how these are distributed and consumed once produced. Then it compares different ways of production, distribution, and consumption, derives certain generalizations governing the economic behaviour of all societies.

Political anthropology studies the organization and conduct of behaviour relating to the use of power in all societies. Like economic anthropology, political anthropology also deduces certain general principles or laws regulating the political behaviour of all societies. *Legal anthropology* is concerned with the study of law and decision-making in all human societies.

Religious anthropology or anthropology of religion studies religions of all societies. In this connection it examines the beliefs concerned with supernatural beings and forces as they occur in all societies.

Anthropology of art studies art as an integral part of every culture. *Folklore and mythology* studies folktales, myths and legends as integral parts of all cultures and tries to discover the basic nature of human society. *Ethnomusicology* studies both the techniques and structure of music and its linkages to different social-cultural aspects of human society. There are separate fields which are interested in the cross-cultural study of dance, drama, graphic and plastic arts, games and other pastimes.

Psychological anthropology is the investigation of the relationship between culture and the human mind. It tries to know how different societies, their cultures, what determines how societies perceive things, how cultural changes effect societies psychologically, and what are the relationships between culture and individual psychology.

Cognitive anthropology the study of culture in terms of the rules and meanings underlying human behaviour. It defines culture as a 'blueprint for action', a 'grammar' or system of rules for behaviour and a 'code'. Cognitive anthropology breaks this 'code'. What people learn when they learn 'culture' is not just customs but ways of cognizing and organizing their own experiences. In other words cognitive anthropology aims to discover the rules, principles or laws used by different societies for cognizing and organizing the social and cultural phenomena.

Semiotic anthropology or **symbolic anthropology** treats culture as a system of shared symbols and meanings. It investigates the relationship between symbols and human behaviour in all societies. It shows how symbols used by various societies affect what people do.

Cultural Ecology or **ethnoecology** studies the adaptation of people to the total environment.

Social-Cultural dynamics is the study of the conditions and processes, by which customs and groups change or persist across space and time. **Ethnohistory** studies the 'unwritten history' of societies in the form of myths and oral tradition.

Educational anthropology is a speciality which examines educational processes and problems in all societies. **Medical anthropology** studies the standardized responses to disease as an aspect of culture, the cultural factors affecting health and disease and the relationship of disease to human biological and genetic characteristics and the various human habitats. **Nutritional anthropology** is concerned with food, nutrition, biological factors and culture of different societies.

Urban anthropology studies the lifeways of various types of contemporary towns and cities. **Applied social-cultural anthropology** uses anthropological knowledge gained from the study of many different societies of the world towards the solution of contemporary social, economic and technological problems.

Whatever are the topical specializations in ethnology the nature of every specialization is first to compare a specific aspect of social and cultural phenomena in numerous societies or in all societies and then to draw certain generalizations, regularities, principles or laws governing human behaviour. The anthropologist of every specialization within ethnology gathers data from cultures and societies everywhere in time and space and tries to make sure to base their generalization on a number of societies or on all societies in the world.

Different from the topical specializations, there are area specializations of ethnology which reveal the nature of social-cultural anthropology as an examination of every aspect of several cultures and societies located in specific geographical areas. Ethnology specializations by geographical area may be *African, Oceanian ethnology* and so on. Each area specialization studies all aspects of social and cultural phenomena in all societies situated in each geographical area and tries to derive the principles or laws regulating each and every social and cultural aspect of all the societies located in that geographical area.

Check Your Progress

2. What are the main divisions of Socio-cultural anthropology?

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3. What is ethnography ?

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4. What is ethnology ?

5.3.2 Nature as revealed by the total content of its study

The nature of social-cultural anthropology as understood from its various specializations can also be understood from an examination of the total content of its study. As mentioned already social-cultural anthropology studies all cultures and societies in all places and in all times. The various specializations also reveal the same. In other words the focus of attention of all specializations is human society and the culture of human society. That means the total content of the study of social-cultural anthropology is human culture and human society all over the world.

Human beings distributed all over the globe put together comprise human society. Human society is different from animal society. Human society has culture and animal society has no culture. Society is technically known as *society*. So, society has culture. Society is not found in one place alone. It is distributed in different parts or places of the globe. Therefore society is divided into small groups of people. Each such group is called a society and each society has a culture. Hence, a society refers to a particular part of society and a culture refers to a specific part of culture. A culture is just one design for living evolved by a society. Then every culture is a design for living among many in the world. It has come into existence because it is an adaptation to one kind of environment with a particular level of technology and because of a particular set of historical circumstances.

Each society has several components in the form of groups. The groups may be associations

and committees. Committees are in the form of villages, towns and cities. Associations are in the form of families, kinship groups, economic groups, political groups, councils, courts, religion groups, educational groups, sex groups, age groups, recreational groups, clubs and so on. The members of these groups, interact amongst themselves, and satisfy their needs. But they interact according to certain established rules or procedures. The established forms, procedures or rules characteristic of group activity are **institutions**. The institutions lay down what customs are to be accepted, what preferences are to be made, who has to do what type of activity, and what type of technology, what sort of symbols, what kind of art, what kind of domestic life, what form of religion, what sort of political life and what sort of values are to be followed. In other words all the institutions together set the design for living or culture. Whereas the various groups follow the design for living, perform their activities, fulfil their needs, survive and ensure the perpetuation of society; the institutions specify the aspects of a culture and the groups specify the aspects of a society.

Ethnography simply describes all the aspects of a culture and a society. But ethnology with its numerous specializations collects a number of ethnographies, then compares single aspect of all cultures and societies all over the world, finds what are universal, what are general and what are particular features of all these cultures and societies and finally deduces certain regularities, principles or laws governing those aspects of the cultures and societies. In that way social-cultural anthropology tries to discover the principles or laws governing various aspects of culture and society. These laws try to answer three major questions: Why do societies and cultures differ? And what is the relationship between individual, culture and society? They answer the first question 'why' societies and cultures differ because of differential evolution and differential diffusion of cultural items. They explain the second question 'how' : societies and cultures differ because they have to fulfil similar human needs in different ways or because they have to cognize and organize the social and cultural items in different ways. They answer the third question in terms of preparing an individual to secure his or her survival and to make the survival of culture and society possible. The principles or laws derived by the specializations such as ethno-technology, ethnohistory and social-cultural dynamics answer the first question. The laws or principles delineated by anthropology of social structure, ethnoecology or cultural ecology, political anthropology, cognitive anthropology, semiotic anthropology and so on answers the second question. The law or principles discovered by psychological anthropology explains the third question.

The total content of all these specializations, the questions that the different specializations try to answer, the principles or laws that the specializations try to discover and explain the questions clearly show that the nature of social-cultural anthropology is to conduct an ideographic study of a society and a culture, and nomothetic study of society and culture. In brief it studies social and cultural phenomena all over the world at all times. Then what is its exact nature? Is it a humanity? Is it a historical discipline or is it a social science? It includes all of them. It does not fall into any category of humanities, historical disciplines or of social sciences. The nature of some of its specializations like technology, folklore, arts, myth, ethnomusicology, ethnobotany, ethnozoology, cognitive anthropology and semiotic anthropology represents the nature of humanities which are concerned with the nature of humanities, which are concerned with the arts of language and with the versions that cultures have given of the definition of humanity and that of human thought regarding human relationship to the universe. On the other hand, the nature of some of its specializations like ethnohistory and social-cultural dynamics represents

the nature of a historical discipline which deals with the past of several cultures and societies in different parts of the world. But the nature of some of its specializations like anthropology of social structure, political anthropology, legal anthropology represent the nature of a social science which deals with human species as member of a group, as follower of group rules, as a producer and consumer of goods and services, and as a possessor of psychological faculties (Mead 1963 : 595-596). Social-cultural anthropology may thus be treated as an uncommitted discipline. Some of its specializations may be grouped with humanities, some with historical disciplines and some with social sciences.

However, social-cultural anthropology can be treated as a social science for two reasons. One reason is that its specializations which can be placed along with social sciences have expanded more rapidly than its other specializations and they now hold a place of primacy over its other specializations. Second reason is that whatever are the specializations, they ultimately try to explain the 'why' and 'how' of social and cultural unity as well as diversity, and the 'what' of the relationship between individual, culture and society. Such an explanation of the three questions never failed to understand the group behaviour of humanity. Hence, all of them have been placed along with social sciences. Thus social-cultural anthropology now holds a place among social sciences.

Check Your Progress

5. What are the reasons by which social-cultural anthropology can be treated as a science?

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5.4 RELATIONS WITH OTHER SOCIAL SCIENCES

5.4.1 Social-cultural anthropology and sociology

Social-cultural anthropology and sociology are the closest kin amongst the social sciences. About two centuries ago both emerged as twins and grew together. At that time the term 'sociology' was interchangeable with 'ethnology'. No differences between the subject matter and methods of research of 'sociology' and 'ethnology' existed. Either the terms could apply to concerns with examining now various groups of primitive as well as advanced people lived in different parts of the world. But by 1900 both the disciplines separated. Social-cultural anthropology defined its scope in terms of the study of primitive societies while sociology explained its scope in relation to an examination of advanced societies. Correspondingly both the disciplines defined their distinct aims and methods of investigation (Pierre de Bie 1954 : 16-28; Murdock 1954 : 15-17).

In the last one century social-cultural anthropology, has widened its scope to the extent

of covering all types of societies at all levels of development in all places and in all times. Sociology has extended its scope to the study of peasant societies in addition to urban societies. Social-cultural anthropology now studies all types of primitive societies, peasant societies and urban societies.

Social-cultural anthropology and sociology have the following similarities:

(i) Both share a common interest in human society, in the organization and behaviour of humans in groups and in patterns of humans in groups and in patterns of social relations.

(ii) Both examine the patterns of human behaviour and the social relation to the other aspects of human society.

(iii) Both use several indistinguishable theoretical approaches to examine the likeness and difference, the unity and diversity of social phenomena.

(iv) Both are converging with regard to subject matter. Sociologists now study peasant societies that were once almost exclusively within the province of anthropology. Likewise social-cultural anthropologists study urban societies that were once almost exclusively within the province of sociology.

(v) Both are increasingly converging with regard to analysis of urban societies. Social-cultural anthropology has subjected urban cultures and societies to the same kinds of analysis it has used when it has studied other cultures and societies. However in studying the urban cultures and societies in recent years it has adopted many of the techniques of data collection and analysis used by sociologists. However in studying the urban cultures and societies in recent years it has adopted many of the techniques of data collection and analysis used by sociologists. Similarly for studying peasant cultures and societies, sociologists have found that there is something of value in the techniques of Social-Cultural anthropology such as industrial interviews and intensive work with informants.

Social-Cultural anthropology and sociology have the following differences.

(i) Both differ with regard to the types of societies that they study. Sociology is best known for its study of peasant and industrial societies but social-cultural anthropology is best known for its study of primitive societies besides peasants and industrial societies.

(ii) Both differ with reference to their perspective. The holistic perspective sets social-cultural anthropology apart from sociology. Sociology rarely considers more than the social and sometimes the cultural dimensions. But social-cultural anthropology considers a wide range of factors such as social, cultural, psychological, economic, political, ecological, cognitive, semiotic, educational, historical and many others to understand human behaviour. Unlike sociologists, social-cultural anthropologists are sensitive to the complexity of human behaviour. Thus holistic perspective has become the hallmark of social-cultural anthropology.

(iii) Both differ with reference to organization of their academic interests. Sociology has no museum. Social-cultural anthropologists collect specimens of material culture from different types of societies they study and keep them in museums. Museum maintenance has become a

trademark of social-cultural anthropology. However, the emphasis on collecting specimens of material culture by contemporary social-cultural anthropologists is less than it was in the past, because modern techniques of documentation such as photography, videotape and audiotape offer alternatives that were not readily available formerly.

(iv) Both differ with reference to their methods of data collection and analysis. (a) The distinction between the intensive study and the extensive survey approach represents major methodological difference between social-cultural anthropology and sociology. A social-cultural anthropologist works as a participant observer in the field setting; conducts a more intensive study of individuals as exemplars of social cultural phenomena. His interest revolves round many questions. He allows his informants decide what they want to talk about. He establishes an intimate relationship with a few people who will talk with him freely and frankly than with selecting a representative sample. Thus he gathers rich information. However in recent years social-cultural anthropologists are increasingly choosing samples of informants to a large society that they want to study. In contrast a sociologist typically engages in the extensive, large scale study of precise questions. He is greatly concerned about the adequacy of his sample of respondents or the accuracy of the data of others which he uses. (b) Sociologists tend to be quantitative while social-cultural anthropologists tend to be qualitative. (c) Sociologists generalize from broad surveys of large members of people, from peasants or industrialized societies. But social-cultural anthropologists rely upon close and intimate knowledge of a small group of informants to form their impressions. (d) Social-cultural anthropologists spend weeks tracing a lead to the answer of a particular question because of their personal involvement in the study. On the contrary sociologists cannot afford to become deeply involved with their informants if they intend to survey large samples of the society (Olien 1978 : 15-16).

(v) Sociology is devoting much attention to social problems and social work : delinquency, crime, poverty, mental illness and broken homes. Social-cultural anthropology is trying to turn its attention to social problems in urban areas with the development of applied and urban anthropology (Kottak 1979 : 17).

Check Your Progress

6. What are the similarities between social-cultural anthropology and sociology?

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5.4.2 Social-cultural anthropology and Psychology

Psychology is in many ways closely related to social-cultural anthropology. Especially the sub-division of social-cultural anthropology known as psychological anthropology is closely tied to psychology.

Social-cultural anthropology and psychology have much in common in the following ways :

- (i) Both are concerned with human behaviour.
- (ii) Both address themselves to the problems how humans learn and how they acquire personalities.
- (iii) Both contributed to some extent for a common understanding of individual, culture and society.
- (iv) Both have come closer to recognize the importance of the patterns of human cognition and the beliefs and values related to these patterns of cognition.
- (v) Both are linked to each other in the study of aggression, sexuality, sex roles and intelligence.
- (vi) Both have contributed for strengthening their theories, methods and analysis. Social-cultural anthropology has the greatest relevance for those psychological studies which are concerned with motivation, personality structure, and the tenor of social relationships. Psychology has gathered data and made observations in the modern, industrialized or advanced societies. Social-cultural anthropology has contributed to psychology much data on the human behaviour from all types of societies, primitive, peasant and advanced societies (Hoebel and Weaver 1979 : 17).

Social-cultural anthropology and psychology differ in terms of their subject matter, methods and analysis as follows.

(i) Both differ in their primary interests regarding human life. Psychology is limited to one area of human life namely the psychology of human organism. On the contrary social-cultural anthropology studies psychological, cultural and social phenomena concerning the whole humanity.

(ii) Both differ in their attitude toward individual. Psychology is interested in an individual as an individual organism. It is concerned with how an individual organism responds to specific stimuli. On the contrary social-cultural anthropology is interested in group organization. It views an individual as member of a group. It is concerned with individual behaviour as a product of group behaviour or cultural patterning of behaviour (Beattie 1964 : 13-24).

(iii) Both differ in their assumptions about individual behaviour. Some areas of psychology like psychoanalysis assumes that each individual's personality is structured or integrated in a unique way. Some other areas of psychology like general psychology assumes that the general psychological processes and problems can be understood by examining a variety of individual cases. In contrast all specializations of social-cultural anthropology are concerned with structure, integration and consistency of a culture or a society rather than of an individual personality. When any specialization of social-cultural anthropology examines a single individual, it tries to discover how an individual, is influenced by his or her culture and society. Every specialization of social-cultural anthropology is interested in the understanding of universal, generalized and particular psychological as well as social-cultural phenomenon (Kottak 1979 : 19).

(iv) Both differ with regard to their methods of study. Generally speaking, psychology uses laboratory experiments, tests, measurements and statistical techniques to acquire precision in the field. However, social-cultural anthropology uses participant observation, informal discussions, interviews and other techniques besides a few statistical techniques to have in-depth investigations in the field (Hoebel and Frost 1976 : 14).

(v) Both differ with regard to the use of controlled experimental. Experiments psychology conducts experiments to study behavioural situations. In this context it uses pigeons, mice, rats, guinea pigs and monkey because these animals are more manageable than the human animal. The results obtained by such studies are applied to human organism. Social-cultural anthropology also conducts experiments to study behavioural situations. But it uses anthropoid apes like gorilla, chimpanzee and orangutan almost exclusively. The findings are applied to human species (Hoebel & Frost 1976 : 14-15).

Check Your Progress

7. What are the aspects which social-cultural anthropology and psychology have in common?

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5.4.3 Social-cultural anthropology and history

Social-cultural anthropology and history also have closer relations. Both deal with human experience across time.

Social-cultural anthropology and history have much in common :

(i) Both have similar views about human life. They deal with the stream of life as a continuous flow. As such they deal with changes through time.

(ii) Both have a common aim of knowing the facts of human experience and cultural systems. Social-cultural anthropology depends to some extent on history when it tries to know the reasons for the origins, evolution, development and retardation of social, political, religious and economic systems of different societies. Historians are to some extent like social-cultural anthropologists. Especially those historians who study changes in social form call themselves macrohistorians or social historians. Their work parallels that of social-cultural anthropologists.

There are some differences between social-cultural anthropology and history.

(i) Both study the past but unlike historians, social-cultural anthropologists often deal with a more remote past.

(ii) Both are concerned with individuals and individual events but unlike historians, social-cultural anthropologists are less concerned with individuals and individual events than with major changes in forms of human adaptations and institutions (Kottak 1979 : 21).

(iii) Both differ with regard to the types of societies that they deal with. History deals with literate society. But social-cultural anthropology deals with pre-literate, non-literate and literate societies (Evans - Pritchard 1962 : 20-21).

(iv) Both differ in their interests. The central interest of history is to explain an event or specific events through time. The time and the place and what happened then and there are what is important to historians as chroniclers. The primary interest of social-cultural anthropology is not to explain an event or specific events but to relate a number of events to one another so as to derive valid generalizations, principles or laws regulating those events (Hoebel and Frost 1976 : 13).

(v) Both differ with reference to the ways of organizing their knowledge and the methods of operation. The field for historians is the library. Their working unit is a document. Their joy is the discovery of a long lost packet of letters or reports. For a social-cultural anthropologist the field is a tribal group, a peasant community or an urban population. Their working unit is the person and a people. Their joy is the discovery of a new custom or a new type of social relation (Hoebel and Frost 1976 : 13).

Check Your Progress

8. What are the differences between social-cultural anthropology and history?

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5.4.4 Social-cultural anthropology, Economics and Political Science

The relationship of social-cultural anthropology with economics and political science and vice versa is not as close as that with sociology, psychology and history.

(i) Social-cultural anthropology studies economic, political, legal and all other social-cultural aspects of society. On the contrary, economics or political science deals with only one of the social-cultural aspects, economic aspect or political aspect of society. That means whereas social-cultural anthropology studies all areas of human behaviour, economics and political science study only particular areas of human behaviour.

(ii) Economics studies systems of production, distribution and consumption of commodities of mostly modern nations. Social-cultural anthropology studies systems of production, distribution and consumption of material resources of primitive, peasant and to some extent urban societies.

(iii) Economics and social-cultural anthropology face entirely different kinds of problems when they study economic systems. Economics deals with the problems of production, distribution and consumption of commodities and their prices, values and so on. But social-cultural anthropology deals with different kinds of problems when it is studying the economics of primitive and peasants. It discovers that the principles and theories of economics applicable to advanced societies may not be applied to some of the primitive and peasant societies. However, even when studying the economic institutions of the primitives and peasants, social-cultural anthropology takes note of the principles and theories of economics and acquaints itself with what economists say and do (Sarana 1977 : 12-13).

(iv) Like economics, political science also deals with one aspect of human behaviour. On the one hand it examines the philosophical ideas of the Western thinkers from Plato and Aristotle to David Easton, one of the leading political scientists of today. On the other hand, it studies the constitution and parliamentary and other institutions of the developed societies which are nation states. Unlike political science, social-cultural anthropology examines entirely different kinds of problems. It studies politics among pre-literate, non-literate and other societies who do not live in nation states.

(v) Social-cultural anthropology cannot be learnt much from the principles and theories of political science which are built around the established political institutions of the civilized countries of the nation-states of the West (Sarana 1977 : 13).

The relationship of social-cultural anthropology with sociology, psychology and history is very intimate but with economics and political science social-cultural anthropology has a perfunctory relationship. Social-cultural anthropology borrows something from all these disciplines. It can also enrich these disciplines with comparative-holistic perspective which is its hallmark and in which these disciplines are deficient (Sarana 1977 : 13).

Social-cultural anthropology, thus, is distinguished from other disciplines concerned with an understanding of humanity by the scope of its interests, by its attention to all types of societies, and by its attempt to understand humanity in all types of societies from every corner of the earth and all periods of time. Social-cultural anthropology is also different in the way it approaches the specific problems it deals with. The basis of this distinctive approach is to be found in its concern with culture as the foundation of human society. As part of its deep concern with culture and society, social-cultural anthropology uses holism as its trade mark. The most important reason for social-cultural anthropology's insistence on holism or comparing the ways of life of societies in different parts of the world and different periods of time is that such comparison helps to illuminate the culture of every society and to establish the basis for finding what is universal to all humanity, what is general to groups of societies and what is distinctive of particular societies (Swartz and Jordan 1976 : 3, Kottak 1979 : 17-21).

Check Your Progress

9. What aspects does social-cultural anthropology study.

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BRAOU

Unit-6 : DEFINITION, CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTRIBUTES OF CULTURE

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6.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with the definition, characteristics and attributes of culture.

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their parents. Rather, the result would be a horde of people essentially without culture. If they were somehow able to survive which would also be impossible they might develop their own culture, different from any other way of life on earth. They would not speak a language that was intelligible to anyone else and reflecting their parents' culture. Although born of people from our culture, there is no way that such individuals would acquire our culture, without being taught.

Culture has unity as well as diversity. All humans have Culture. This aspect of culture refers to cultural unity. Different groups of humans or societies have different cultures. This shows cultural diversity. All humans have culture, but all cultures are not alike. In this context, it is necessary to draw a distinction between a culture and culture. The term "culture" signifies the way of life of human societies as a whole and the term 'a culture' signifies the way of life of a specific part of human society which is technically called a society. A culture is used in a specific sense, but culture is used in a genetic or general sense.

All cultures are composed of the same general categories of phenomena. All of them have items that can be classified as technological, economic, social, political, legal, religious, aesthetic, recreational or educational. In this sense there is unity among all cultures. The obvious reason cultures everywhere have items of these kinds is that all people are born with similar biological characteristics but into different portions of the same planet. Human species is one, the planet also is one, but the portions of the planet are different. The same species have to cope with different portions of the same planet, namely, earth. As a sequel, the technological, economic, social, political, legal, religious, aesthetic, recreational or educational items of human species differ from one portion of the earth to another. In this sense, there is diversity of cultures. Each society came to possess a particular culture. Particular cultures vary, some slightly, others profoundly. No matter what these differences may be, all humans share cultures. In other words, every culture is in certain aspects like all other cultures, like some other cultures and like no other cultures. There is thus cultural unity and diversity.

Investigation into the cultural unity and diversity is the concern of socio-cultural anthropology. Such an investigation helps us to understand how culture works as the basis of human life and society. In this context, socio-cultural anthropology studies distinct cultures in every possible place and at every time and level, dissects them, describes their details, then compares them, delineates similarities and differences among them, then from such information derives what is common to all societies, generalises what is common to a group of societies, identifies what is unique to every society and thereby explains cultural unity as well as diversity. In socio-cultural anthropology this descriptive, comparative and explanative orientation takes the form of the cross-cultural approach or the comparison of cultures from various times and places as the basis for understanding human life. In this attempt, the concept of culture is basic. It provides the basis for most of our knowledge about different designs for human living and thereby supplies material for comparison and explanation of human life and human society, and contributes to the understanding of human species by human species itself. Anthropology has made, therefore, a notable contribution to human knowledge in the form of a scientific concept of culture. Is not culture, then a core concept of anthropology ?

Check Your Progress

1. What is culture ?

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6.3 DEFINITIONS OF CULTURE

6.3.1 Popular Definition

The word *culture* was originally a biological term. It is derived from the Latin words “*culture*” (“a tending”) and “*colere*” (“till”, “Cherish”) and related to the breeding and improvement of animals and plants. This earlier usage is still found in words such as *cultivate*. Its application to human societies occurred initially in Germany in the eighteenth century. The Germans popularised the term as *Kultur*. They gave the term two meanings: (i) a stage of advancement higher than savagery or barbarism, and (ii) higher values of a society. Both the meanings of *Kultur* carried the connotation of improvement in human life.

6.3.2 Anthropological Definitions

Sir Edward Bannet Tylor (1832-1917) was the first anthropologist to offer a definition of culture. Ever since Tylor defined culture in 1871, hundreds of definitions have been proposed, and their number continues to grow steadily. Today there are more than 200 definitions of culture.

Anthropologists differ about the exact definition of culture, because they have diverse views on what exactly is the phenomenon to which culture refers. Some say that culture is “that which distinguishes men from animals” (Oswald 1907). Others say that culture is “what a society does and thinks (and, we might add, says)” (Sapir 1921). Still others believe that culture is a “product of human association” (Groves 1928). There are some who consider that culture is “all behaviour mediated by symbols” (Bain 1942). Some anthropologists think that culture is a system of ideas (Goodenough 1963). While others think that culture is a composite of beliefs, ideas and values (Geertz 1957). Many think that culture is an entity of not only beliefs, ideas, values but also customary patterns of behaviours (Boas 1938, Herskovits 1948, and Goodenough 1970). But many others think that culture is a complex of tools, dwellings, weapons, and art work in addition to beliefs, ideas, values and customary patterns of behaviour (Tylor 1871, Parsons 1949). All anthropologists agree that culture is a way of life and that morality is part of culture.

All these anthropological definitions may be classified into several categories on the basis of criteria: the criterion of emphasis of the definitions and the criterion of the content of the definitions. The various categories based on the emphasis are:

6.3.2a Definitions based on the criteria of emphasis

- i) Descriptive definitions
- ii) Historical definitions
- iii) Normative definitions
- iv) Cognitive definitions
- v) Structural definitions
- vi) Genetic definitions

(i) **Descriptive definitions of Culture** include broad statements about the various aspects of culture. The descriptive definition given by Tylor says that culture "is 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". Clark Wisler also gives a definition of culture. He defines culture as "all social activities in the broadest sense such as language, marriage, property system, etiquette, industry, art etc. Likewise Lowie defines culture as the "sum total of what an individual acquires from his society, those beliefs, customs, artistic norms, food habits and crafts which came to him not by his own creative activity, but as a legacy from the past conveyed by formal or informal education. These descriptive definitions emphasize that culture consists of innumerable aspects such as technology, economics, social organisation, political organisation, religion, art, education, morals, attitudes and several others and that these aspects are fitted together, arranged into a complex whole, a comprehensive totality or an integrated system. The descriptive definitions have two main drawbacks: (1) they fail to enumerate and describe all aspects of culture; (2) they hold that past legacy alone comprises culture. They do not mention that present achievements along with the past legacy comprise culture.

(ii) **The Historical definitions of Culture** stress that culture is historically created, and that it is social tradition or social heritage passed on from generation to generation. Ralph Linton defines culture as "the total social heredity of mankind" and as "a particular social heredity". Malinowski also defines culture as strain of "social heritage" or the "inherited artifacts, goods, technical processes, ideas, habits and values". All these definitions point out that human beings have a biological heritage and also a social heritage. Humans inherit their biological traits from their parents. But, they do not inherit but acquire their culture from their parents. The two main drawbacks of these definitions are: (1) that they imply that cultures are not changing. (2) They show as if every item of culture is obtained from parents, relatives and others and that nothing is added to culture by individual creation. Thus they impute stability to culture and ignore the capacity of humans to create culture.

(iii) **The normative definitions of culture** give importance to the rules, regulations, standards, norms, ideals and values of a society in regulating its culture. For Raymond Firth, culture is the "sum total modes of behaviour". According to Kluekhohn and Kelly, of the culture may be said to be "all those historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behaviour of man". In accordance with these definitions, culture includes only that which is expected by society and not what is actually going on in society. That means, the normative definitions says that culture includes only what is ideal but not what is actual. Therefore, the normative definitions of culture are narrow and artificial.

(iv) **The cognitive definitions of culture** lay stress upon cultures as systems of ideas, adjustment, learning, habit, patterning and psychology. Young says that culture "consists of common and more or less standardized ideas, attitudes and habits which have developed with respect to man's recruitment and continuous needs". Piddington defines culture as "the sum total of the material and intellectual equipment whereby they satisfy their biological and social needs and adapt themselves to their environment". For Goodenough, culture "consists of standards for deciding what can be, standards for deciding how one feels about it, and standards for deciding how one goes about doing it. All these definitions give cognitive conception of culture. They say that culture is not material, that it does not consist of things, people or behaviour but that it includes ideas, standards or what members of a society see themselves as doing. These definitions have two drawbacks: (1) they give only what is in the minds of people and (2) they cannot provide the overall design of culture.

(v) **The structural definitions of culture** attach significance to the organisation of culture. For example, Robert Redfield defines culture "as an organisation of conventional understandings manifested in art and artifact which persisting through tradition, characterises a human group". The emphasis here is on the arrangement of different parts of culture. In other words, the definition deals with the organisation of culture. The structural definitions have two insufficiencies: (1) they do not include behaviour which cannot be easily observed and (2) they ignore patterns of non-conventional behaviour.

(vi) **The Genetic definitions** focus their attention on the factors and forces responsible for the emergence of culture. David Bidney says that culture is "the dynamic process and product of self cultivation of human nature as well as of the natural environment and involves the development of selected potentialities of nature for the attainment of individual and social ends of living. In similar way, Murdock says that culture is "a body of socially transmitted adaptive behaviour which appears super-individual because it is shared, because it is perpetuated beyond the individual lifespan and because its quantity and quality so vastly exceeds the capacity of any single person to achieve by his own unaided effort". These definitions emphasize that culture is a group phenomenon, that it is independent of individuals, that it is transmitted from generation to generation, that exists before the birth of the particular individuals living at any one time and continues after they die, that all humans learn it during their lives and pass it on to other individuals before they die, that culture is differentially shared by all individuals in a group, and that in no known social group does every member share everything he or she has learnt with every one else. The genetic definitions thus emphasise that culture is an end product of certain processes and that humans are creators of culture and creations of culture.

6.3.2b Anthropological definitions based on the criteria of content

We will now discuss the categories of anthropological definitions of culture according to the content of the definitions of culture. The various categories based on the content of the definitions are:

1. Definitions offering sensate view
2. Definitions offering abstract view
3. Definitions offering symbolic view
4. Definitions offering adaptational view

5. Definitions offering cognitive view
6. Definitions offering instrumental view.

(1) **The definitions offering a sensate view of culture** say that the content of culture is a substantive reality and that it exists by itself. The definition of culture given by Tylor and Bidney reveal this viewpoint. Tylor's definition of culture includes things in people's minds (knowledge, beliefs and morals), the way people behave (customs and habits), and things that people produce (art and law). Bidney defines culture as the product of agrofacts (products of cultivation), artifacts (product of industry), sociofacts (products of social activity such as social organisation) and mentifacts (products of creative thinking such as language, religion and art. These definitions are based on the belief that every item of culture can be perceived by senses and that all items of culture are real, hence culture are real, hence culture is a substantive reality.

(2) **The definitions offering the abstract view of culture** emphasise that the content of culture is an abstraction. Sapir and Linton say the way of life of a people is one thing and what we study and write about is another. The former is the reality, the latter our understanding of the same. If the former is to be called "culture", then the latter may be called only "culture-construct". Radcliffe-Brown declares that culture does not denote any concrete reality but an abstraction. Kroeber and Kluckhohn say that culture "is an abstraction from concrete behaviour but is not itself behaviour". Beals and Hoijer also say that culture "is not itself behaviour but is an abstraction from behaviour". All these definitions emphasise that culture is not behaviour, it is not activity, but that it is a model of the reality or it is an abstraction from the reality.

(3) **The definitions offering the symbolic view of culture** describe that the content of culture is symbolic thought. Leslie White says that culture is an "extrasomatic (nongenetic, nonbodily), temporal continuum of things and events dependent upon symboling". Many other scholars like Marett and Redfield offer almost similar definitions. These definitions say that human language is symbolic. Language contains symbols. Symbols convey meanings. People give meaning to every idea, every event and all things. Any thing with a meaning is a symbol. Then culture contains nothing except symbolic thought.

(4) **Definitions offering the cognitive view of culture** consider that the contents of culture stand for the processes of putting one's perceptions into categories. Ward Goodenough describes the content of culture as standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating and acting. Clifford Geertz considers that the content of culture stands for "a set of control mechanisms-plans, recipes, rules, constructions, what computer engineers call programmes for the governing of behaviour". These definitions emphasise that the content of culture can be described only by getting into the heads of the people studied. Their strategy is to understand how people think, how they view and categorize the world, how they use, follow and manipulate shared rules for behaviour, how they conceptualize and explain their behaviour.

(5) **The definitions offering the adaptational view of culture** describe that the contents of culture generally help members of a group to adapt themselves to the particular conditions of the physical and social environment. The definitions of culture given by Bidney, Murdock, Steward and several others present this view point. According to them the acquisition of culture amounts to learning how to adapt oneself to physical and social environment. Culture is a totality of adaptive in another. Within a culture also, some items may be more adaptive

than others. Even though these definitions assume that the contents of culture are generally adaptive, not all cultural contents are necessarily adaptive. Some may be natural in terms of adaptation. For example, clothing styles may not have direct relationship to biological needs or environmental conditions. Specifically, buttons and jacket sleeves may not have any adaptive value. Some contents of culture may merely have been adaptive in the past and still others may be maladaptive.

(6) **The definitions offering the instrumental view** consider that the contents of culture act as instruments for satisfying human needs. Malinowski regards culture as a total way of life which secures for an individual the fulfilment of his or her biological, psychological and social needs. Radcliffe-Brown says that culture is the process of handing down and acquiring traditions, as a result of which society fulfils its needs. These definitions consider that the contents of culture are minor instruments and that culture as a whole is a major instrument for fulfilling the needs of individuals and societies possible.

The various categories of definitions enumerated above show that culture is the central concept of anthropology. Among the practitioners of anthropology, there is no unanimity as to what constitutes culture. Each viewpoint has led to useful researches. No viewpoint is superior to the others. All anthropologists agree that culture is a staggering complexity. They also accept that culture refers to a shared way of believing, evaluating and doing what is passed from generation to generation and from person to person within a group through the process of learning. All agree that morality is part of culture. Irrespective of their specific view points, all anthropologists have evolved a distinctive anthropological perspective. That perspective has two related parts; one part consists of the way anthropology goes about trying to understand how a particular society works by examining every aspect of the group's life in the context of its own culture; the other part is the use of cross-cultural comparison or comparison of different cultures in different parts of the world and in different periods of human history for extracting universalities, generalities and particularities. Thus, anthropologists may either describe a society's culture or some aspect of it, or classify, compare and interpret different cultures.

Check Your Progress

2. List out the definitions based on the criteria of emphasis.

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3. List out the definition based on the criteria of content.

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6.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF CULTURE

During the past seven or eight decades, anthropologists have made cross-cultural comparisons and derived certain characteristic features common to all cultures of the world. We will now discuss the characteristics of cultures as delineated by the anthropologists.

6.4.1. Culture is Learned

One common characteristic of culture is that it is learned. Culture is not instinctive or transmitted biologically. Culture is learnt through social interaction with people in society. Human beings, more than any other animal, depend on the social transmission of knowledge for survival. The learning process through which human culture is passed on from one generation to another is called enculturation. The importance of learning for humans is related to the prolonged dependency of the human infant and child. Even though our complex brain gives us the capacity for learning, we develop the capacity for learning more slowly and require the support of others in order to survive. Society provides the basic context in which we can learn from others. Although some higher animals have a high capacity for learning, they need prolonged dependency and group living. No animal species has as great a capacity for learning as the human species. No other animal depends so much on learned behaviour for its survival.

6.4.2 Culture is Inculcated

Another characteristic of culture is that it is inculcated. All animals are capable of learning, but humans alone seem in considerable measure to pass on their acquired habits to their children.

6.4.3 Culture is Social

Culture is not only learned and inculcated but also social. The social nature of culture is understood in two ways. One way of understanding it is, that we learn culture in society and inculcate it in society and by social experience we learn our culture. Another way of understanding is that it is a group phenomenon and it is differentially shared by the members of a society. That means no single individual in a society can possess all the elements of a culture. All persons in a society do not belong to the same sex, same age, same kin group, same economic group, same political group and so on. Different categories of individuals hold different statuses and play different roles. As a result, many of the cultural elements of one category are different from many of those of another category. Therefore, all categories of people share the culture within a society. When we say that culture is social, we mean that culture is a group phenomenon and that we can learn and inculcate it in society.

6.4.4 Culture is Adaptive

Culture is adaptive in the general as well as specific sense. In the general sense, it means that socially transmitted knowledge is the major adaptive mechanism of the human species, that is to say, culture is the major way in which humans adapt themselves their environments. This view

that culture is an adaptive system does not necessarily mean that every part of culture is adaptive. Some parts of a culture may be neutral in terms of adaptation, that is, they may contribute little or nothing to survival. Some parts may also be maladaptive. Ultimately the maladaptive parts may be modified or may die out altogether. In the specific sense, cultural adaptation means that culture is a design for living which enables a group of people to survive and reproduce themselves in a particular environment. This does not mean that every culture is the most efficient design for utilising its environment. Existing culture represents one possible solution out of a number of alternatives that might have been equally adaptive in the same environment.

6.4.5 Culture is Gratifying

Culture always and necessarily satisfies the basic biological and secondary needs of human beings. Cultural elements continue so long as they satisfy the needs of humans. If they fail to fulfil the wants of humans, they may be changed or replaced by new ones to secure the satisfaction of human wants. Gratification of needs reinforces, strengthens and perpetuates cultural elements.

6.4.6 Culture is Structured

Culture has a structure. Its structure is the arrangement of its units or components. It is through the constitution of units or components that we can know the structure. The structural components are traits and complexes.

The unit of our body build-up is cell. Similarly, the unit of culture is a trait. A cultural trait is the smallest identifiable unit in a given culture. For example, an axe, a pen, a custom, a practice, a belief, a prayer and a ritual are cultural traits. A trait has form, use, function and meaning. Form refers to features or shape, use refers to the ways in which people employ the trait, function refers to the place of the trait in the total culture and meaning refers to the totality of associations that the people in a society attach to a given trait.

Several cells in the human body form into a tissue such as muscle or native tissues. There are several such tissues in the human body. In the same way, a culture complex consists of a series of traits that organically hang together (Herskovits 1948). All the traits forming into a complex tend to persist as a unit or tend to be transmitted as such from one generation to another. For example, the plough complex is a unit. It comprises draught animals, harness instrument, and an operator. This complex first appeared about 5,000 years ago in Mesopotamia. But this whole complex has reached nearly every corner of the world as one unit. Like the plough complex there are automobile complex, alphabet complex and so on. The alphabet complex has yet to reach some parts of the globe.

In a given culture, there are many traits. The traits form into complexes. Each complex acts as a unit. The traits and the complexes are arranged in a systematic manner. The arrangement of traits and complexes is the plan or structure of a culture.

6.4.7 Culture is Ideational

The ideational character of culture refers to the cultural knowledge of the members of a society. Cultural knowledge means the shared notions about what the members of a society think and do, or what they ought to think and do. As such, cultural knowledge consists of peoples

ideas about ideal norms or musts and shoulds or imperatives and operatives. They are the ideas that a society has about what ought to be done and about the ways in which behaviour ought to be carried out.

The ideal norms are of several varieties. Compulsory norm refers to the only acceptable way of behaviour to meet certain situations. For example, among the Bagathas of Visakhapatnam Agency in Andhra Pradesh it is compulsory for every individual to marry outside his clan. Preferred norms refer to those acceptable ways which are highly valued. For example, a Bagatha prefers to marry his cross-cousin. Typical norms refer to those acceptable ways which are more often expressed than the rest. For example, among the Bagathas monogamy occurs quite frequently. Alternative norms refer to those ways which are equally acceptable. A Bagatha boy or girl can practice marriage by negotiation, if not, they can choose the alternative namely marriage by elopement. Restricted or special norms refer to those acceptable ways which are allowed for some members of society. For example, among the Bagathas, the custom of marrying a widowed sister-in-law is restricted to younger brothers only. That is to say that a man can marry his elder brother's widow, but he cannot marry his younger brother's widow.

The behavioural norms may be consistent with ideal norms or may be deviant from ideal norms. In every culture, there is considerable gap between what people do and what people ought to do. Thus, in practice the Bagathas strictly adhere to the ideal of clan exogamy. Therefore, the behavioural norms match with the ideal norms. However, some of the behavioural norms of the Bagathas are not consistent with the ideal norms. Among the Bagathas, the 'little white lie' is a behavioural norm. It does not meet the ideal of "the whole truth and nothing but the truth".

In every society, the ideal norms always exert pressure on behaviour. Culture as a system of ideal norms, meanings and expectations does limit behaviour both by channeling it in socially approved directions and by punishing known violations. Culture contains both the ideal and the behavioural norms.

6.4.8 Culture is Integrative

Culture tends to be integrated. Cultural integration refers to the tendency of mutual adjustment among cultural elements. A culture is not simply a list of traits, complexes, norms, objects and values. Cultural elements are inter-related to form a system. All traits, complexes within a culture tend to fit together. The values underlying the traits and complexes tend to be consistent. The integration of culture is only a tendency; no culture is perfectly integrated.

6.4.9 Culture is Dynamic

Culture exhibits both stability and change. It may be stable for a few years or for thousands of years. In fact, there were prehistoric cultures which exhibited stability over thousands of years both in their broad outlines and in some of their details. In our culture, there are certain cultural items like temples and rituals which have exhibited stability over the last two thousand years. But is our culture the same as it was 2000 years ago? Certainly not. Cultures change, culture may remain static for some period of time but becomes dynamic some-time after. Because culture is a system, a network, a 'spider's web' any change in one part of culture leads to change and adjustment in other parts. The rate of change is different in different cultures. Some cultures change fast, others change slowly. The rate of change depends partly on internal factors

like environmental conditions, level of technology, innovative capacity and values and partly on external factors like invasion, war, migration and diffusion.

Check Your Progress

4. List out the characteristics of culture.

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6.5 ATTRIBUTES OF CULTURE

After examining the word cultures, anthropologists have identified several attributes of culture, which refer to the qualities of culture. Some of these cultural attributes are covertness and overtness, implicitness, ideality and reality, ethos and eidos, organic and superorganic.

6.5.1 Overtness and Covertness

Overtness and Covertness of culture refer to the qualities of culture as detected by an observer. The observer may be an anthropologist or a member of the society who is unfamiliar with certain parts of culture. Overtness stands for easily detectable qualities of culture. Overt cultural items are artifacts, actions and utterances which may be perceived directly. Artifacts include houses, clothes, vehicles, books and other tools and material equipment. Actions include postures executed in various situations, curing practices, sports, externally manifested signs of respect and several others. Utterances include speech forms employed in a group, songs, riddles, proverbs and many more. An observer can easily detect them because he has plenty of opportunities to see them, experience them and record them.

Covertness stands for not easily detectable qualities of culture. Covert items of culture are sentiments, beliefs, fears and values. They are not amenable to direct observation. They can be known only through what people say or do. People do not always express what they feel or believe; they often find it difficult to express some of the abstract ideas. The covert items are the last to be detected by observers. Some of them may never be discovered by observers. They also may be the last and most difficult to be learnt by a child or a young person in a society.

6.5.2 Explicitness and Implicitness

Explicitness refers to people's awareness of the existence of cultural items but implicitness refers to people's dim awareness or unawareness of cultural items. Explicitness and implicitness concern the experience of people possessing the culture, while overtness and covertness refer to the view of the observer.

Explicit cultural items can be verbalized, described, or criticized readily by the persons who

possess them. But there are certain items of culture about which people are only dimly aware or unaware and cannot give clear accounts. These are implicit items of culture.

6.5.3 Ideality and Reality

Ideality and reality of cultural items are already discussed in detail. Ideality refers to how people say they should behave, or the way they would like to live. For example, the Attawapiskat Cree Indians from the West coast of James Bay in Canada identify generosity as the mark of a good person. They also claim ten dogs are needed to make a good sledge team. They affirm that every one of them in their society lacks enough to eat. These are the three ideal sentiments of the people. On the reality level of the culture, the Attawapiskat Indians are not exceptionally generous, dog teams with fewer than ten animals pull heavily loaded sledges, and not all Cree Indians are hungry chronically. In other words, there is discrepancy between the ideality and reality of culture items.

6.5.4 Ethos and Eidos

Ethos refers to the affective or emotional quality of a culture expressed in series of beliefs, thoughts and behaviour. It acts as a central force, interest theme or pattern and colours every item of culture. As it determines what people should have, do, think and feel, it prepares all the people in a culture to express the same emotional tone in all acts, thoughts and feelings. According to its nature, ethos may be classified into two types: the Apollonian ethos and the Dionysian ethos. Apollo and Dionysus are ancient Greek Gods with contrasting emotional qualities. Apollo was poised, serene, restrained and well-balanced but Dionysus was violent, impulsive, exotic and imbalanced. Cultures whose emotional qualities resemble those of Apollo and Dionysus are identified as having Apollonian ethos and Dionysian ethos respectively. What will be the behaviour of people possessing cultures with Apollonian and Dionysian ethos? The behaviour of people possessing the culture with Apollonian ethos will be made calm, moderate, well-balanced and appreciative of aesthetics, but the behaviour of those possessing the culture with Dionysian ethos will be exuberant, aggressive, imbalanced and savage (Benedict 1934).

Eidos is the formal appearance of a culture derived from its constituents. Through cognitive processes operating within, a culture acquires its formal appearance or eidos. Eidos is the totality of items of culture. On the contrary, ethos is the emotional quality colouring this totality. Ethos is affective but eidos is cognitive. (Kroeber 1947).

6.5.5 Organic and Superorganic

Culture is organic in the sense that it is ultimately rooted in the biological nature of human organism. Without humans to act, to think, to feel, or to make and use things, there would have been no culture. This culture is organic.

Culture is superorganic while it is organic. Once created, culture acquires a superorganic quality or the quality by which culture exists on a level above that of the individuals who carry it. Accordingly, culture becomes a phenomenon in its own right, with its own laws and processes apart from the human carriers who sustain it (Kroeber 1917). Culture is superorganic to the extent that it outlines the particular generation of people who carry it and so persists from one generation to another. This does not mean that its origin is other than biological. Culture is

created by humans and dependent upon human choice for its continuity. Culture can be altered through the decisions of human beings. But this does not mean it is easy to change culture.

The superorganic may be injurious to the organic. Some cultural traits, for example, are definitely harmful to the organic life of humans. Thus, some of us eat polished rice and acquire as a result a disease called beri-beri. If we eat unpolished rice, the disease would disappear. We have thus, learnt through culture a habit that is definitely harmful physiologically. But culture is the King. It says eating polished rice is right and proper even though the practice is harmful to life itself. What is deemed right at one time may be deemed wrong at another in the same society. The superorganic is, then, an order of phenomena different from the organic and goes its way with a certain amount of independence from the organic. Human beings are equally the creators of culture, its creatures and carriers.

Check Your Progress

5. List out the attributes of culture.

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6.6 SUMMING UP

In this unit we have studied the popular and anthropological meaning of the concept of culture. Culture is the key concept of anthropology and is central to all the sub-divisions of anthropology. All Anthropologists agree that culture refers to a shared way of believing, evaluating and doing what is passed from generation to generation and from person to person within a group through the process of learning. Culture is learned, inculcated, adaptive, gratifying, structured, ideational, integrative and dynamic. Covertness and overtness, implicitness and explicitness, ideality and reality, ethos and edios, organic and superorganic are the attributes of culture.

6.7 KEY WORDS

Artefact or Artifact :	An object created, worked or altered by humans
Cognition :	The process of knowing.
Diffusion :	The spread of cultural item from one society to another.
Enculturation :	The process whereby individuals learn through experience, observation, and instruction in the culture of their society.
Innovation :	An idea, tool or technique that is new and qualitatively different from the existing ones.

Instinct :	The inborn traits that characterize most non-human animal behaviour.
Pattern :	The recurrence of similar features in any tool, technique, activity, belief, behaviour and so on.
Preculture or protoculture :	Proto means first or earliest form of, or trace of. Protoculture means the first, earliest or traces of culture.
Symbol :	Any object or event that has been assigned meaning. Symbol is arbitrary and abstract; it means whatever people have agreed it will mean. Thus, symbol is something that stands for something else, both arbitrarily and conventionally.
Theme :	Any postulate or position either implicit or explicit, that usually controls behaviour or stimulates activity.
Value :	Any concept referring to a desirable state of affairs. The way people characteristically look on the universe.

6.8 SUGGESTED BOOKS

- Hoebel E.A. : Man in the Primitive World.
 Piddington : An Introduction to Social Anthropology.

6.9 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each:

1. Explain the attributes of culture.
2. Explain the characteristics of culture.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each:

1. Explain the meaning of culture.
2. Discuss Anthropological definitions based on the criteria of content.

Unit-7 : CULTURAL PROCESSES : **Evolution, diffusion, acculturation,** **transculturation and enculturation**

Contents

- 7.0 Aims and Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
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 - 7.2.1 What is a Cultural Process?
 - 7.2.2 Types of Cultural Processes
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- 7.3 Basic Processes of evolution
 - 7.3.1 Socio-Cultural Continuity
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 - 7.3.3 Socio-Cultural Selection
- 7.4 Summing Up
- 7.5 Key Words
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7.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with the Cultural Processes. By the end of this unit, you will be able to :

- * define and explain a cultural process,
- * explain the various forms of cultural processes,
- * explain the major differences existing between these cultural processes,
- * explain how each type of cultural process operates in a culture and a society.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied the meaning, definitions, characteristics and attributes of culture. In this unit we will study the various types of cultural processes such as evolution, diffusion, acculturation, transculturation.

7.2 CULTURAL PROCESSES

7.2.1 What is a cultural process?

A cultural process is a specific continuous action by which a culture produces a situation or a change. A cultural process includes not only action that promotes human survival and

adjustment but also action that changes a way of life or resists change in a way of life.

What do we mean by the cultural process that promotes human survival and adjustment? A culture is a design for living. It guides members of a society to learn what to be learnt, to think what to be thought, to do what to be done, to act how to be acted and to live how to be lived. It means a culture acts as a guide to the members of society in their ways of thinking, behaving, feeling, responding and making their survival possible. Therefore a cultural process is a continuous action that promotes human survival.

A cultural process also promotes adjustment of people to the environment and adjustment of people amongst themselves. A culture provides the guidelines to the members of a society for copying with fellow beings and natural surroundings. Through its action it directs individuals and groups in a society regarding how to exploit the environment for procuring resources and how to depend upon one another for getting food, for acquiring a mate, for establishing a family, for obtaining support from kinsmen, for resolving a dispute and for seeking the help of supernatural. This specific uninterrupted action of a culture helps the individuals as well as groups in a society to adjust amongst themselves and to adjust with their natural surroundings for their survival.

A cultural process may also bring changes in a specific part of a culture or in all parts of a culture. The specific parts of a culture are the technological skills, the economic life, the social life, the political life, the religious life, the moral life and so on. The action of culture to bring change either in one of its parts or in all its part is one kind of cultural process.

A cultural process may also be an action in the culture of a society. A culture may not favour change in its existing order. Suppose beef or pork is recommended as a nourishing food for your society. Do you accept that kind of food? You may not accept that type of food. Your cultural rules and procedures may not favour the use of such a food item. Your culture may oppose to bring such a change in the food habits of your society. The very opposition or resistance to change is an act of culture. This opposition to change represents another kind of cultural process.

A cultural process may appear in many other forms. It may appear as an action to alter the form or the appearance of a cultural item, or a culture complex. It may appear as an action for changing the form, the use, the meaning and function of a culture trait, a culture complex, an institution or a number of institutions in a society. It may appear as an action for changing a particular aspect of human behaviour or all aspects of human behaviour.

A cultural process may set a chain reaction of change in the culture of a society. Since culture is a design for living change produced in one part of the design, it is likely to produce changes in other parts of the design. The design is like a web. If one thread in the web is disturbed all the threads will get automatically disturbed because they are inter-linked. Similarly one part of the design is related to another part of the design. The part of the design related to economy, the part of the design related to politics, the part of the design related to religion and the various other parts of the total design related to different aspects of life are all inter-related. If there is change in economy, there is likely to be change in politics, in religion and so on. Therefore a cultural process may set a chain reaction whereby change brought in one part of a culture may also bring changes in several other parts of a culture.

Check Your Progress

1. What are the different forms in which a cultural process may appear?

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7.2.2 Types of cultural processes

The most significant types of cultural processes are : evolution, diffusion, acculturation, transculturation and enculturation.

Evolution is a process of social and cultural change in a definite direction particularly from a simple to a more complex state, from a state of homogeneity to a state of heterogeneity. The word evolution comes from the Latin word *evolver* which means to develop or unfold. The process of evolution refers to the development of culture and society through progressively more complex stages.

Diffusion is a type of cultural process whereby culture elements, culture complexes or even different aspects of culture pass from one group to another, from one society to another society. It refers to the spread of cultural elements from one group to another, from one society to another. One group or society borrows elements from another group or society. A particular group or society may create a particular item of culture or culture complex. From that group or society the culture item or culture complex spreads to other groups or societies because the latter borrow them (Honigmann 1959).

Acculturation is another type of cultural process which involves culture change when two formerly distinct cultures come into continuous firsthand contact with one another. Acculturation results when societies having different cultures come into intensive, direct or mediated contact, with subsequent major changes in the original culture of one of the societies. That means when a culture is being modified by the spread of customs from culturally different societies we can refer to the process of modification. Acculturation consists of all that action that brings major change in a particular culture as a result of direct or mediated contact between that culture and a different culture.

Transculturation is a type of cultural process which involves exchange of cultural items when two formerly different cultures come into continuous firsthand contact with one another. It comes into existence when two societies are in continuous direct contact experience subsequent major changes in their cultures.

Enculturation is the process by which a growing child learns the culture of his or her society. Enculturation is the learning process through which culture is passed on from one generation to another. It refers to how a person is influenced and learns to participate in the culture of

a society. While most enculturation goes on during the early years of life, it remains a lifelong process. Enculturation always involves interaction between individuals. With the result that the ideas and other esotraits of a culturally unexperienced person become similar to those of the culturally more experienced persons of a society. Ideas, beliefs, traditions, morals, codes, rules, regulations, values and other are parts of culture. They are learned. They exist in the minds of individuals who comprise a society. The individuals comprising the society regularly express their esotraits by means of utterances, actions and the various objects and tools that are products of actions. Unless they express their ideas, beliefs and other esotrait through words, actions and objects and tools, the child can hardly know of their existence since the ideas and other esotraits do not move directly from the mind of one person to that of another, Enculturation is thus an ongoing process in every culture whereby culturally inexperienced members learn esotraits from the culturally experienced members and develop personality traits similar to those of culturally experienced members of their society.

Check Your Progress

2. What are the most significant types of cultural processes?

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7.2.3 Differences between the types of cultural processes

What are the differences between the processes of evolution, diffusion, acculturation, transculturation and enculturation? Evolution is a continuous process of diversification-cum integration. It shows onward and upward movement generating progress and even increasing complexity. It involves a change in the form, structure and organization of a culture or a society. When we speak of evolution of an organism we refer to the emergence of certain organism from other organisms. Likewise when we speak of evolution of a culture or evolution of a society we refer to the transformation of one culture or society into a different one. Unless a culture or society undergoes change in its form, structure and organization and acquires a new form, a new structure and a new organization we cannot say that a culture or a society has evolved.

Evolution describes a series of changes in all parts of culture or society. As a culture or society evolves, more and more proliferation and diversification of parts takes place. But all the different parts become adjusted or integrated. That means as a culture or a society evolves from simple type to complex type not only proliferation and diversification of parts takes place but integration of the different parts also occurs simultaneously. When culture and society are simple they contain almost similar institutions. For example, a society may have small families and small mobile groups known as bands. One family will be like another family and one band like the other one. As such a society will be homogeneous. Similarly in the culture of the same society the technological skills, the economic conditions, the marriage practices, the domestic life, the

religious practices and beliefs, the myths, and legends and the art and morals of one band will be similar to those of another band. Hence culture of the society also will be homogeneous. When a simple society with its simple culture transforms into a complex one, its groups and cultural items transform into new types of groups and new types of cultural items. The new groups and cultural items are not only more in number but also more diverse than the groups and cultural items before evolution occurred. The diversity of the new groups and new cultural items can be seen in terms of their diversity of form, structure and organization. In other words, the simple culture of a society evolves into a complex one when it becomes heterogeneous with reference to its internal constitution.

Evolution and diffusion differ with reference to their nature and complexity. (i) Evolution is more complicated process than diffusion. Cultures or societies evolve by means of invention and discovery of new items, by alteration of existing items and by diffusion or borrowing of items from other cultures and societies. Diffusion is simpler than evolution. Diffusion occurs when people in one society borrow some cultural items which they do not possess from other cultures which posses those cultural items.

(ii) Diffusion may aid evolution. Cultures at simple levels may borrow items from those at complex levels so as to transform themselves into complex types.

(iii) Evolution and diffusion differ in their nature. The nature of diffusion is to spread or transmit ideas, tools and other cultural traits from the place of their origin in one society to other places in different societies. If I don't have money, I may borrow from you. In the same way if a particular society does not have certain cultural items it may borrow them from other cultures. Diffusion adds new items to a culture or society. But, the nature of evolution is to change the existing items, complexes, institutions and groups in the culture of a society, upto new ones of more complex order.

Check Your Progress

3. List out the differences between evolution and diffusion with regard to their nature and complexity.

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Acculturation and diffusion also differ with regard to their nature and complexity.

- (i) Acculturation involves direct or mediated firsthand continuous contact between two cultures and societies but diffusion involves direct or indirect intermittant contact. Direct contact occurs when missionaries, shopkeepers, immigration labourers, colonial administrators or refugees with a distinct culture settle down near a society with another type of culture. Mediated culture contact occurs when the printed word, radio, cinemas or other mass

media come into contact with a society. Indirect contact occurs when one society receives cultural items from another society through a number of other intermediary societies. In acculturation two cultures A and B are in direct or mediated continuous contact with one another. In diffusion culture A may transmit its items intermittantly to culture B either directly or through a series of intermediary communities.

- (ii) Acculturation does not exist until contact between two cultures is relatively continuous. Diffusion of trait from one culture to another occurs without continuous contact between these cultures. If two different societies A and B exist side by side, naturally they talk to each other, pick up some words from each other's speech and observe each other's dress, ornaments, decorations, utensils, domestic, economic, religious, political and other patterns of life. As a result A in continuous contact with B may change its whole culture. Similarly, society A in direct continuous contact with the officers, missionaries, labourers, shopkeepers and so on coming from society B may also acquire the culture of B. On the contrary, in diffusion society A acquires the cultural elements of society B either directly from B or indirectly from B through a number of intermediary societies C, D and E. But the contact between societies A and B is not continuous, rather intermittent. Thus no continuous contact between cultures is necessary for diffusion of cultural traits but continuous contact is essential for the process of acculturation.
- (iii) In acculturation the whole culture of one society is being displaced by the culture of another society. But in diffusion, traits and complexes from the culture of one society spread to another society. The whole culture of a society does not spread to other societies.

Acculturation, diffusion, transculturation and enculturation differ in terms of their nature, content and effect.

- (i) Acculturation as well as transculturation occur if two societies are in continuous contact with one another. However in acculturation the culture of one society is totally replaced by the culture of another society but in transculturation there is exchange of cultural traits and complexes between two different societies.
- (ii) Diffusion and transculturation also differ. In diffusion cultural items spread from one culture to another. That means culture A receives cultural elements and complexes from culture B and vice versa. Both the cultures are not in continuous contact. But in transculturation culture A and culture B are in continuous contact and both the cultures exchange their traits and complexes.
- (iii) Diffusion and enculturation show differences. In enculturation all the traits and complexes of a culture are passed on from one generation to another. But in diffusion several traits and complexes of a culture spread from one culture to another. When the circulation of traits and complexes is inside a society it is enculturation but when the traits and complexes circulate from one society to another it is diffusion.

7.3 THE BASIC PROCESSES OF EVOLUTION

Evolution is a complex process. Its basic constituent processes are : socio-cultural continuity, socio-cultural innovation and socio-cultural selection.

7.3.1 Socio-cultural Continuity

Socio-cultural Continuity may seem in opposition to evolution because evolution means change and continuity means an antithesis of change. However evolution implies continuity. It involves the addition of new elements to a continuity base of elements rather than the constant abandonment of existing elements and their replacement by new ones. Early humans created some cultural elements such as division of labour by age and sex and group living according to some rules which persist even to this day. Similarly the pre-humans discovered fire-making techniques, innovated the cooking of foods and created religious beliefs and practices. These elements still continue in our culture. The modern humans created certain tools and techniques of cultivation, calendar, basic techniques of metallurgy and the concept of justice. These cultural elements and complexes continue to the present day. The basic elements such as the alphabet and the very concept of books are over three thousand years old. The modern methods of paper-making, printing and book binding used in producing the lessons you are now reading contain several elements that were created hundreds of years ago. Evidence of social and cultural continuity is around us. Without continuation of all these elements created by early humans, pre-humans and modern humans there would not have been a base of elements for all cultures of humanity.

What are the causes of social and cultural continuity? One of the causes may be conscious and deliberate effort of people in a society. Every society and culture reflect conscious and deliberate efforts of people to promote continuity. Suppose every generation of people has to start afresh and build a culture from its own experiences, then humanity would never have progressed culturally and socially. The culture and society of every generation of human beings would have been as much ancient as it was several million years ago. There would have been no progress in culture and there would have been no evolution of culture and society. To overcome this situation, people have consciously and deliberately made efforts to promote social and cultural continuity. Indeed social and cultural continuity is a result of generations of human experience. It is a cumulative base of elements for the evolution of a culture and society. Thus every society and every culture have made conscious and deliberate efforts to continue some of their traits even when they try to evolve from the most simple type into the most complex ones.

7.3.2 Socio-cultural Innovation

Socio-cultural Innovation is another constituent process of evolution. The process of innovation appears in four forms : invention, discovery, alteration and diffusion. An innovation is any idea, tool or technique that is new. Discovery is an innovation that provides new information to the members of a society. For example, the discovery of a new continent or a new principle of physics provides new information to a society. Invention is another form of innovation. An innovation that involves a new combination of already existing information is invention. For example an automobile. All things such as gasoline engine, running gears, drive shaft, carriage body etc. that went into the construction of the first car were already existing elements of culture. The only thing that was new was the total combination of all these elements to make a car.

Alteration is the third form of innovation. An innovation that involves a change in the form of some aspect of culture, but no information or new combination of existing information is an alteration. Alteration are merely changes in the form of cultural elements. For example,

the different words for 'mother' now used in different Indo-European languages are derived from one root word. This shows how alterations have occurred in the form of language. Similar changes have occurred in legends, songs and other aspects of culture. The new form of any cultural elements is also an innovation.

Difussion is also a form of socio-cultural innovation. It involves the transmission of information from one society to another, or from one sub-division of society to another sub-division. Like invention and discovery it has adaptive value to the receiving society. However, unlike invention and discovery it does not add a new information to human society.

7.3.3 Socio-cultural selection

Socio-cultural selection is of major importance because it is largely responsible for the progressive characters of evolution. Selection is a spontaneous or deliberate process responsible for survival of elements of the culture of a society. Socio-cultural selection has two components: intra-societal selection or the selection of elements within societies and inter-societal selection or the selection of societies.

Inter-societal selection may be blind, spontaneous selection or rational, conscious selection. Blind, spontaneous selection is less frequent than rational conscious selection. Suppose there are two conflicting groups within a society. One group may contain some people who are specialists in the art of making canoes. In the conflict situation, one group may kill another. It so happens that the experts in the art of making canoes die in that conflict. Who have to survive and who have to perish in that situation cannot be decided by any one. Knowledge of the technique of canoe building is lost in that way. The process of selection operates entirely without regard to the wishes of the individuals involved within a society. It is a blind, spontaneous process.

In inter-societal selection, several societies are the units whose survivals is at stake. One society may try to eliminate the other one by violent means such as military power. For example, a society with its strong military power may weaken and destroy another society. On the contrary, one society may try to eliminate the other one by some non-violent means. For example, a small primitive society may come into contact with a large advanced society. As a consequence, the large advanced society may absorb the small primitive society and eventually destroy the primitive society.

To summarise, socio-cultural continuity, socio-cultural innovation and socio-cultural selection and the basic process by which cultures and societies evolve from a lower stage to a higher stage, from a stage of simplicity to a stage of complexity, from a stage of homogeneity to a state of heterogeneity. These processes contribute for continuation of some basic social and cultural items, for creation, alteration and combination of several new items of culture, and for selection of many social and cultural items within a society and for extinction of some cultural items and preservation of other cultural items, and for the creation of the basic trends of diversification of societies, differentiation within societies and generation of social and cultural progress and ultimately evolution of culture and society.

Check Your Progress

4. List out the constituent processes of evolution.

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7.4 SUMMING UP

In this unit we have discussed about cultural processes. A cultural process is a specific continuous action by which a culture produces a situation or a change. The most significant types of cultural processes are evolution, diffusion, acculturation, transculturation and enculturation. Evolution is a complex process. Its basic constituent processes are socio-cultural continuity, socio-cultural innovation and socio-cultural selection.

7.5 KEY WORDS

- Artefacts or Artifacts : Objects produced by human action.
- Esotrait : An idea or other learned element internal to an individual, which may be manifested in overt behaviour.
- Ethnocentrism : The view that your own culture is desirable and actually superior to others.

7.6 SUGGESTED BOOKS

- | | | |
|---------------------|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Barnett, H.G. | 1953 | Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change. New York: Mc Graw-Hill Book Company. |
| 2. Goldschmidt, W | 1959 | Man's Way: A Preface to the Understanding of Human Society. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Co. |
| 3. Herskovits, M.J. | 1948 | Man and His Works: The Science of Cultural Anthropology. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. |
| 4. Herskovits, M.J. | 1952 | "Introduction" in Sol Tax (Ed) Acculturation in the Americas. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. |

5. Herskovits, M.J.	1969	Cultural Anthropology: An Abridged Revision of Man and His Works. New Delhi: Oxford & IBH Publishers.
6. Horigmann, J.J.	1959	The World of Man. New York: Harber & Row Brothers.
7. Kroeber, A.L.	1948	Anthropology. New York: Harcourt & Brace.
8. Lenski, G.	1870	Human Societies: A Macrolevel Introduction to Sociology. New York: Mc Graw-Hill Book Company.
9. Nanda, S.	1980	Cultural Anthropology. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company.
10. Oriz, F.	1947	Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar, New York: ???
11. Redfield, R. Linton, R. and Herskovits, M.J.	1936	"Memorandum on the Study of Acculturation", American Anthropologist, Vol-XXXVIII, pp. 149-152.
12. Tylor, R.B.	1980	Cultural ways: A Concise Edition of Introduction Cultural Anthropology, Third Edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.

7.7 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer each of the following in about 30 lines :

1. Define culture and give anthropological meanings of the term culture.
2. Mention the various descriptive and historical definitions of culture. Specially the similarities and differences between them.
3. What do you understand by the statement that culture is learned, inculcated, social and gratifying?
4. Explain what is meant by a cultural process.
5. Discuss the basic process of evolution.

II. Answer each of the following in about 10 lines :

1. Briefly examine the structural and dynamic characteristics of culture.
2. Explain briefly how culture has become the key concept of anthropology.
3. How do evolution and diffusion differ with reference to their nature and complexity?

BLOCK IV

Society

Unit 8 : Characteristics of Tribal, Peasant and Urban Societies.

Unit 9 : Differences between Tribe and Caste.

Unit 10 : Race and Culture.

Unit-8 : CHARACTERISTICS OF TRIBAL, PEASANT AND URBAN SOCIETIES

Contents

- 8.0 Aims and Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Tribal Society
 - 8.2.1 Occurrence
 - 8.2.2 Origins
 - 8.2.3 Definition
 - 8.2.4 Characteristics
- 8.3 Peasant Society
 - 8.3.1 Occurrence
 - 8.3.2 Origins
 - 8.3.3 Definition
 - 8.3.4 Characteristics
- 8.4 Urban Society
 - 8.4.1 Occurrence
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 - 8.4.3 Characteristics
- 8.5 Tribal and Peasant Societies : Similarities and Dissimilarities
- 8.6 Summing Up
- 8.7 Key Words
- 8.8 Suggested Books
- 8.9 Model Examination Questions

8.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with different types of societies, i.e., Tribal, Peasant and Urban societies.

By the end of this unit, you will be able to :

- * describe what is a tribal society? Where the tribal societies are found and what are the common characteristics of tribal societies?
- * define a peasant society, and explain its characteristics,
- * explain the characteristics of urban society,
- * delineate some similarities and differences between tribal and peasant societies.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last units we have studied about the culture and cultural processes. In this unit we will study about the occurrence, origin, definition and characteristics of tribal society, peasant society and urban society.

8.2 TRIBAL SOCIETY

8.2.1 Occurrence

Tribal societies are found in several parts of Asia, most of Africa, here and there in Europe and many areas of North and South America, in several isolated tracts of Australia, all parts of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. The largest concentration of tribal societies is in Africa followed by Asia, Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia and Australia and North and South America. A few tribal societies each with considerable population numbers occur in Europe. It has been estimated that there are as many as 6,000 tribal societies in Africa (Murdock). The rest of the world may contain about 3,600 tribal societies of which nearly 2,000 including the 427 tribes in India may occur in Asia. 100 may occur in Europe, approximately 500 may be found in North as well as South America, and the remaining 1,000 may be seen in Australia, Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia.

8.2.2 Origins

Tribal societies are unique for they alone span most of the course of human history. From the emergence of the first humans down to the present there have always been tribal societies. The survival of the tribal societies has led to a major controversy among anthropologists. Some scholars, such as Lewis Henry Morgan, have seen in the tribal societies of the modern are the living counterparts of prehistoric groups. Others, such as Franz Boas, argued that the modern tribal societies are the products of an evolutionary process as extended as that of any modern urban society. Although the latter view prevailed for a time, there are signs of a reversal. Many archaeological anthropologists now refer to the hunting and food gathering tribal societies of prehistoric and modern times as analogous peoples, and the fishing, maritime, horticultural, pastoral and agricultural tribal societies of modern times as more cultural evolved societies.

8.2.3 Definition

Tribe, is derived from the Latin word *tribus*, meaning 'One-third', which originally referred to one of the three territorial groups that united to found Rome. The Romans later applied *tribus* to the 35 peoples who became a part of Rome before 241 B.C. Still later the Romans applied the term *tribus* to segments of the Gallic or Germanic populations whom they conquered. Thus, originally a tribe was simply a territorially defined social group. The Romans identified tribe as a political unit that had a distinct name, occupied a common territory and followed a common leadership.

Lewis Henry Morgan of nineteenth century defined a tribal society as an aggregate of smaller groups held together by the links of kinship and common culture. In his view a tribal society lacked political organization, hence was not a political unit. Henry Maine, on the other hand

defined a tribal society as an aggregate of groups held together by status rights rather than contractual rights. The scholars of present century such as Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, George Peter Murdock and Ralph Piddington have defined a tribe as a society that has a common territory, a common name, a common culture, a common dialect, a tradition of common descent and sometimes the presence of a chieftain.

Like the nineteenth century anthropologists, several anthropologists of the present century also refer to a tribal society as a primitive society, a pre-literate society and a simple society. However, even to this day there is no commonly accepted definition of tribal society. Modern definitions suggest that a tribal society is a small scale grouping that displays cultural homogeneity, uses an unwritten common language, contains segmentary social groups, possesses a self-perpetuating political organization and exhibits unity and coherence in values and world view (Lewis 1968, Beteille 1978). Thus the nature of tribal societies can be fully understood only when they are placed in the perspective of the wide spectrum of different non-tribal societies.

Check Your Progress

1. Define a tribe.

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8.2.4 Characteristics

A number of features characterize tribal societies. The following five characteristics are commonly, though not universally, found in tribal societies.

- (i) A tribal society has longer history than any other type of society. This is due to its earliest emergence than any other type of society such as peasant society and urban society.
- (ii) Among tribal societies the magnitude of the cultural differences is vast. Within that category are hunting and food gathering groups such as the Bushmen in Africa, and the Andaman Islanders in India, Arunta of Australia and the Crow Red Indians in America, livestock herders such as the Nuer in Africa, the Toda in India, the Basseri in Iran, the Chuckchee in Russia and the Lapps in Scandinavia, horticulturists such as the Dani in New Guinea, Trobrianders of Malanesia, the Apinaye Red Indians in South America, the Abdor, Ao, Rengma and Angami of India and the Bemba, Gusii, Ganda, Yako, and Zulu of Africa. That means, tribal societies are not a uniform cultural type. Variability is the rule.
- (iii) A tribal society is homogeneous. Homogeneity occurs in all major areas of life. There is techno-economic homogeneity: simple technology an emphasis on subsistence activities,

a limited range of items for consumption, freedom for the economic controls of a large society and a direct dependence on environment (weather, plant, diseases and so forth). Homogeneity also applies to social organization. The social organization of a tribal society is often kinship-oriented. Activity and interaction are often governed much more by family lineage, clan and other such relationship than they are in most non-tribal societies.

- (iv) A tribal society is autonomous and has a strong self-perpetuating political organization. Social and political organization of tribal societies relies strongly on custom and the influence of powerful and influential individuals. A vast number of tribal societies are segmentary and egalitarian. They are not subordinate to non-tribal societies. They are independent of non-tribal societies.
- (v) A tribal society most commonly remains in a common territory, has a common name, speaks a common language, shares a common culture, practices endogamy, and possesses a sense of Mutual unity among its members.

Check Your Progress

2. List out the characteristics of tribal societies.

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8.3 PEASANT SOCIETY

8.3.1 Occurrence

Peasant societies are found in all parts of the world : in Asia, in Africa, on pacific islands, in Africa and Latin America; in such highly industrialized European nations as England, France and Germany and in such rapidly industrializing European countries as Poland. Peasant societies have been the mainstay of states and empires for thousands of years. They hold the largest populations that comprise the majority of the humanity. George Foster estimates, half or more of all people who have existed since human origins have lived a peasant life.

8.3.2 Origins

The birth of peasant society is paralleled by the birth of the city and the state. There were no cities before the first cities of the states. As nations, states, empires and civilizations controlling relatively large stretches of territory have developed both in the modern times and in the age of exploration, they have brought under their influence and control agricultural societies. Even after being drawn into the political and market systems of the nations, states, empires or civilizations, they have not migrated to the cities rather maintained contact with the cities. Their food and

craft surpluses were taken through taxation or trade, bartered in open markets located in the towns and cities and fed into the exchange and consumption systems of the states and empires of which they were parts. They came into contact with the elite groups of towns and cities whose thinking affected them and was affected by them. In spite of their contact with the towns and cities, they have retained a sub-cultural identity of their own even to this day. These societies are peasant societies. The peasant society constitutes the most numerous social group in all organized states from ancient to modern times.

8.3.3 Definition

Anthropologists have defined and explained peasant societies in different ways. The first anthropologist to define peasant society as a type is Alfred Louis Kroeber. Kroeber defined peasant societies as a 'part-society' or that society which depends to some extent technologically, economically, politically, administratively, religiously and morally on a larger society. Kroeber explains that a nation or a political state can be called a specific society. Within this society there may be an elite or governing class, living in manors, towns or cities and there may be a food-producing class living in rural communities. The governing class claims or administers the territory of larger society, but the food-producing class cultivates the land within the territory of larger society, claimed or administered by the governing class. The governing class living in manors, towns or cities and claiming or administering the territory forms a larger society while the food-producing class living in rural communities and cultivating the land within the territory claimed or administered by the governing class forms the peasant society. A larger society is the dominant society whereas the peasant society is subordinate to the larger society. A peasant society is thus a 'part-society' which contains rural communities that are not completely autonomous and are located within a territory claimed or administered by a larger society.

George Foster expanded on Kroeber's suggestion where he described peasant society as a 'half-society'. He says that a larger society, generally a nation may consist of two parts: one part which is composed of cultivating classes living in villages and the other part which is composed of upper classes living in urban centres. That part of larger society which is composed of cultivating classes is a peasant society or 'half-society' while the other part of a larger society which is composed of upper classes is an urban society. The peasant society and the urban society are independent in a symbiotic way.

Following Kroeber, Robert Redfield also defined peasant society as a 'part-society'. According to him, a total society as that of a nation, a state or a civilization consists of two parts: a peasant society and an urban society. A peasant society has a way of life through cultivation of land, common social values emphasizing the virtues of work, the obligations to kin and neighbours and reverence for supernaturalism. The intellectual and often religious and moral life in a peasant society is not self-contained, because a peasant society is dependent upon the remote teachers, priests and philosophers located in urban society. Hence, peasant society is a part-society.

Eric Wolf places greater emphasis on the existence of the state as the crucial factor in defining a peasant society. According to Wolf, the birth of the state was paralleled by the birth of peasantry that occupied a social stratum separate from that of the gentry or holders of power. Peasant customs and institutions are, in part, a response to the forms of economic and political

control exercised by the gentry. That means administrative forms, modes of tax collection and types of land tenure, all influence the peasantry by asserting the limits within which the peasants must work, marry, market and worship. A peasant society is thus a society of rural cultivators whose surpluses are transmitted to a dominant group of rulers that uses the surpluses both to under-write its own standard of living and to distribute the remainder to groups in society that provide non-agricultural goods and services.

Edward Norbeck defines a peasant society as a sub-society of a large stratified society which is either pre-industrial or only partly industrialized. Its traits are rural residence, familiar agriculture on self-owned small land holdings or other simple rural occupations providing a modest or subsistence livelihood; the family as the centrally important social unit, low social status, economic interdependence in varying degrees with urban centres, simple culture and attachment to the soil to the local community and to the local traditions.

All the anthropologists who defined peasant society agree on several points. First, they describe that a peasant society is part or sub-society of a larger society that may be a nation, a state or a human aggregation with specific civilization. Second, they specify that a peasant society is connected with urban society which is another part or sub-society of a larger society. Third, they say that the peasant society is always subordinate to the dominant urban society within the larger society. They use the terms peasants, peasantry, peasant community and peasant society interchangeably. Finally, they all treat peasant society as people living in rural settlements, depending on agriculture, but lacking political autonomy and self-sufficiency because of their incorporation politically, economically, intellectually, religiously and morally into state organizations through urban society. Both peasant society and urban society are integral parts of state, a nation or a human aggregation with specific civilization that may be called a larger society.

Check Your Progress

3. Define a peasant society

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8.3.4 Characteristics

Anthropologists like Kroeber, Foster, Redfield, Wolf, Norbeck, Thorner, Shanin and many more who have written about peasant societies have agreed on the following features as characteristics of peasant societies.

- (i) A peasant society has long history commensurate with that of city and state.
- (ii) A peasant society has a social system based on face to face relationships. It includes village

communities. The inhabitants of each village are known to one another through shared experience in work, ritual and leisure activities. This close association entails a social system based on face-to-face relationships. The inhabitants of each village may also have personal ties with individuals outside their village community.

- (iii) A peasant society views agriculture as a means of livelihood not as a business for profit. It is not so much that peasants lack an interest in selling a portion of their crops but rather that such sales are not an end in themselves. These sales can best be understood as transactions that help maintain a given style of life and permit the acquisition of basic necessities. Consequently peasants are primarily concerned with subsistence production and generally consume a major portion of the food and other articles they produce.
- (iv) A peasant society is based on antiquated technology and low agricultural productivity. Its technology in many parts of the world has changed little since Neolithic times. The productivity of peasant agriculture is low. The peasant economy reveals reliance on agriculture, simple technology, an emphasis on subsistence production, a limited range of items produced, and a direct dependence on the environment.
- (v) A peasant society directs its economic behaviour at a pattern of immediate consumption and at meeting the material demands of ceremonialism. First, a peasant society is characterized by lack of deferred gratification i.e. the tendency to spend rather than to save, to spend now rather than tomorrow. Second, every peasant society directs its effort at meeting the material demands of religious observances and social position in terms of festive foods, fireworks, incense, traditional payments and obligations, taxes, shares and other dues and rents.
- (vi) A peasant society always maintains communication with the urban centres. It produces some exchangeable surplus food which goes to support towns and cities which in turn provide certain types of manufactured or processed goods and services. These exchanges are frequently organized and carried on through a system of market places usually in the towns or cities. Many of its institutions are local manifestations of national institutions such as the use of a national currency in economic exchange and national educational system. Further, the religious intellectual and moral life of the urban centres influence the life at the village level and link the peasant community to the wider society.
- (vii) A peasant society is resistant or very slow to change. Peasants have survived for thousands of years through a series of techniques designed to make them less tempting targets. It is difficult to convince peasants that they can now discard these defences with impunity. Peasants make the economists sigh, the politicians sweat, and the strategists swear all over the world-Moscow and Washington, Peking and Delhi.

Check Your Progress

4. List out the characteristics of Peasant Society.

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cities has been achieved for the most part by drawing on the rural population. Technological advances in agriculture and industry generated a demand for labour in urban centres and made it possible to grow more food with fewer workers in the countryside. Technology also facilitated mass communication and transportation improved public health, and in general made it possible for urban centres to draw on extensive hinterland for raw materials and labour. There has been the mass migration of rural residents into the burgeoning industrial centres. Never before has been a comparable realignment of populations : never have so many people changed their occupations, their way of life, within such a short span of time. More and more areas in Asia and Africa have become urban. They are the product of the interplay between East and West : political, industrial and commercial interests from the West and manpower, raw materials, handicrafts and trade interests of the East. Some of them are pre-industrial in the sense that they are at an early stage of the industrial revolution. However, through the spread of communication and trade with surrounding industrially developed areas, they are drawn into the urban world. Man is becoming industrial and urban man in these areas of Asia and Africa:

8.4.3 Characteristics

- (i) An urban society has extended history parallel to that of a peasant society. The urban society and the peasant society are twins, they are born simultaneously.
- (ii) An urban society is heterogeneous. It contains urban centres each containing a large population. An urban centre recruits part of its population from rural areas, from other urban centres and from other countries. It offers economic and social opportunities to many kinds of people. Several sub-cultures, extensive division of labour and wide variation in income, power and prestige contribute to heterogeneity of an urban society.
- (iii) An urban society has frequent travel and communication in and with the larger society. The model of travel and the means of communication are varied by purpose, function and technological development and diversity.
- (iv) An urban society has a social system based on highly impersonal relations. The large numbers, the density and the diversity of people in urban centres necessarily affect social relations. Every day the urbanite sees many strangers with whom he has no social relations. With many others he has only brief, impersonal contacts. While he is physically close to large numbers of people, he is socially close to few. He may think of people as numbers, addresses, clients, customers, patients, readers, labourers or employees. Social relations are guided by values of expediency or by the advantages to be found in associating together (Sorokin and Zimmerman 1929 : 51-52).
- (v) An urban society has an economic system based on a complex division of labour and production for trade. In the urban centres work is compartmentalized into thousands of specialized occupations. The major occupations are of an industrial nature. Production of various goods is largely for trade. There is a lot of economic competition in urban centres.
- (vi) An urban society directs its economic behaviours in terms of deferred gratification. The tendency of the vast majority in urban centre is to save and to spend because it has several means of earning money and several ways of buying the goods for consumption.

- (vii) An urban society is linked with peasant society. Urban life styles, values and tastes are diffused to the peasants in the villages by the mass media, the transportation network, the schools, and ties of kin and friends. The thinking of remote teachers, priests and philosophers living in urban centres affects and is affected by the peasants in villages. The economic well being of peasants depends to a large extent upon decisions made in cities, in state capitals, in national capitals and in metropolises in which the giant corporations are head quartered and the people depend more and more on the state rather than local governments for public services. The peasant villages and small-town populations can hardly escape the growing domination of urban centres, but they retain an image of rural people as the source of national strength and of rural life as the good life.
- (viii) An urban society welcomes change. Urban centres possess greater capacity than peasant villages to undergo changes, because they are the loci of large number of great innovations. Further, they possess greater mobility than the villages. The very size of a large urban centre like city can destroy the close links between individuals found in small social units. The city has dissolved the family and neighbourhood ties that existed in peasant societies. Urban slums are ugly, the jobs available for unskilled immigrants typically pay very low wages, and industrial cities lack fresh air and sun. But the town and city can also offer opportunity - a release from traditional patterns of exploitation. The urban poor not only share their poverty, but also a distinct life style or culture of poverty. The culture of poverty represents an effort to cope with feelings of hopelessness and despair which develop from the realization of the improbability of achieving success in terms of the values and goals of the larger society.

Check Your Progress

5. List out the characteristics of urban society.

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8.5 TRIBAL, AND PEASANT SOCIETIES :

SOME SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Tribal and Peasant Societies

- (i) Tribal societies existed even before the birth of peasant societies. There was no peasant society before the birth of state, nation or civilization.
- (ii) Tribal societies show varied patterns of subsistence : food-gathering, hunting, fishing, horticulture, pastoralism and agriculture. But peasant societies show a single pattern of subsistence based on agriculture.

- (iii) Tribal societies as well as peasant societies show reliance on simple technology, and emphasis on subsistence activities, a limited range of items for consumption, and a direct dependence on environment with regard to weather, plant diseases and so forth.
- (iv) Tribal societies are often materially poor' in the absolute sense. However, tribal societies live, or have lived until recently, in a more or less self-contained world. Politically, they are autonomous before they came under colonial control. They lack the dependence on, and hostility toward external authority, since all authority is internal and all political questions are resolved within the group. Economically, they do not form part of an external market system, they do not control, nor are they forced to compare their limited resources with the wealth of rich governing classes. In contrast, peasant societies are now (and have been for centuries) lived in a context where wealth and power are monopolized by local and nations upper classes that come under urban society. Consequently, the very notion of autonomy, of control over the determinants of life, may be thoroughly alien to them. All of these circumstances are guaranteed to make poverty of the peasant more destructive and degrading. Typically, therefore, the peasant condition is one associated with the lower orders of society and can hardly be compared with the material limitations of tribal groups.

8.6 SUMMING UP

In this unit we have described what is a tribal society, how it is unique in terms of its antiquity, where the tribal societies are found distributed in several parts of the world today and what are the most common characteristics of tribal societies. It has been estimated that there are as many as 6000 tribal societies in Africa, 3,000 tribal societies in Asia, 100 tribal societies in Europe, 500 in North and South America and the remaining 1000 in Australia, Malanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. Peasant societies are found in all parts of the world. They hold the largest populations that comprise the majority of the humanity. The earliest urban centres appeared in Mesopotamia around 4000 B.C. With the industrial revolution in the third of the eighteenth century several of the ancient urban centres became enlarge and numerous modern cities came into being between 1770 and 1850. Today several urban areas can be found in different parts of the world.

8.7 KEY WORDS

Blase attitude	: A lack of reaction to new sensations.
Leisure	: Time free from the demands of providing subsistence.
Market economy	: An economy in which the basic problems of production and distribution are settled by means of the market.
Nation	: A multi-community society governed by full-time political leaders, i.e., society with more than minimal political development.
Sophistication	: An ability to conceal feelings and manipulate situations.

State	: The association within a society that undertakes to direct or organize social policy on behalf of and in the name of the entire society.
Subsistence	: The basic necessities of life; also the process by which they are obtained.
Symbiosis	: A relationship of mutual inter-dependence of unlike organisms or populations.
Technology	: The information, techniques and tools by means of which men utilize the material resources of their environment to satisfy their varied needs and desires.
Values	: The generalized moral beliefs to which the members of a group subscribe.

8.8 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Hoebel	: Man in the Primitive World.
Kroeber A.L.	: Anthropology
Piddington R.	: An introduction to Social Anthropology

8.9 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in 30 lines each :

1. Give the meaning of the term tribal society as it came into usage from ancient times until the beginning of twentieth century.
2. Describe the views of twentieth century anthropologists on the meaning of the term tribal society.
3. Explain how tribal society has greater antiquity than any other type of society.
4. Describe the distribution of tribal societies in various continents of the world.
5. What are the most common characteristics of tribal societies?
6. Do you subscribe to the view that tribal societies belong to a cultural type with much variability?
7. Can you delineate the most common characteristics of the tribal societies in your own State?
8. Name the first anthropologist who defined peasant society as a type and explain his views on peasant society.
9. Briefly explain the most common characteristics of peasant societies.
10. Discuss the origin and development of urban societies in different parts of the world.
11. What are the most common characteristics of urban societies?

12. Is an urban society the opposite of peasant society?
13. What are the similarities and differences between the tribal and peasant societies?

II. Answer the following in 10 lines each :

1. What is the meaning of the term tribe ?
2. What is the numerical distribution of tribal societies in different parts of the world?
3. Does every tribal society share a common territory, speak a common language, and political autonomy?
4. How is a tribal society kinship-oriented?
5. Is it possible to give a universal definition of a tribal society?
6. What should we mean by a part-society according to Kroeber?
7. Are the peasants in general resistant to economic change?
8. How is an urban society linked with a peasant society?

BRAOU

Unit-9 : DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRIBE AND CASTE IN INDIA

Contents

- 9.0 Aims and Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Tribes in India
 - 9.2.1 Designations of Tribe
 - 9.2.2 Habitat of Tribes
 - 9.2.3 Characteristics of Tribes
- 9.3 Castes in India
 - 9.3.1 Designations of Caste
 - 9.3.2 Habitat of Castes
 - 9.3.3 Origins of Caste System
 - 9.3.4 Characteristics of Caste System
 - 9.3.5 Caste System in Modern Times
 - 9.3.6 Working of Caste System
- 9.4 Differences between Tribes and Castes
 - 9.4.1 Similarities and Differences in terms of Selective Criteria
- 9.5 Summing Up
- 9.6 Key Words
- 9.7 Suggested Books
- 9.8 Model Examination Questions

9.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with the concepts Tribe and Caste.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * define and explain the characteristics of tribe,
- * define and explain the characteristics of caste,
- * explain how the caste system operates in India,
- * explain to what extent caste is being modified in modern times,
- * explain the similarities and differences between tribes and castes in terms of selective criteria.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we studied about the tribal, peasant and urban societies. In this unit we will study about the tribes and castes in India and the similarities and differences with each other in terms of their historical, geographical, linguistic, economic, political and religious aspects of life.

9.2 TRIBES IN INDIA

9.2.1 Designations of tribes

Which groups are designated as tribes in India? The most ancient groups of India are designated as tribes in India. For this reason they are sometimes referred to as aboriginals, adivasis, adimjatis, untouchthones, indigenous population or primitive groups of India. When Indian Constitution was formed in 1950, the tribal groups were listed and placed under a schedule, hence they came to be known as the Scheduled Tribes. The tribes i.e., Scheduled Tribes number about 427.

9.2.2 Habitat of tribes

Where do the tribes live in India? There are about 45 million tribal people in India today. About 90 percent of them are located in the mountains and desert across Central India, South India, and the North-Eastern India and the remaining 10 per cent of them are located in the plain areas of North India, Central India, South India and North-Eastern India. The dwelling of almost 90 per cent of the tribals in hills and forests reflects the historical escape of the tribals from the agents of Hindu culture and the retreat of the tribal into geographically margin areas.

Check Your Progress

1. In India where do the tribes live ?

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9.2.3 Characteristics of tribes

What are the characteristics of tribes in India? The tribes in India have the following characteristics: a definite territory, a common name, a common dialect, a common culture, behaviour of an endogamous group, common taboos, and self-sufficiency in economy, and existence of distinctive social and political systems.

Every tribe in India is definitely a territorial group. It occupies a common territory. All tribes have their own common names which are either generic or territorial in nature. They speak languages of dialects of their own. However, a few of them speak a mixture of their own

languages or dialects and the language or dialects that are not their own. Every tribe has a culture of its own. All members of a tribe marry amongst themselves though exceptions are there in extreme cases. The members of each tribe share common taboos that specify distinct magico-religious beliefs and practices for adoption and non-adoption in all spheres of life.

The economy of every tribe is to some extent self-sufficient. It shows reliance on simple technology, production largely for consumption, less use of money and monetary institutions, absence of profit motive in economic dealings and of accumulation of wealth, natural obligation, gifts and exchange, co-operative and collective endeavour and periodical markets.

The social system of every tribe is a combination of different social units into a functioning totality. The units of a tribe may be families, lineages, villages, clans, phratries, moieties and sub-tribes. Several families reside in a village. The unit larger than the family is a lineage. Several lineages form into a clan, several clans into a phratry and several phratries into a moiety. Moieties are always two (and in exceptional cases three) in number. Two or more sub-tribes may form into a tribe. However, there may be tribes without phratries and moieties. Likewise, there may be tribes without sub-tribes. That means, it is not necessary that all the social units exist in every tribe. A particular combination of social units exists in every tribe to make up its social system.

The political systems of tribes also show different combinations of political units. Several tribes have councils or panchayats at many sub-group levels i.e., at the village, clan, phratry, moiety, and sub-tribe and tribe levels. Some have councils or panchayats at the village, clan, sub-tribe and tribe levels and some have councils at the village level only. Among some tribes villages are grouped into loose unions. Sometimes a single individual combines in his person the political, social and religious leadership of the village. The tribals have full faith in their village leaders.

Check Your Progress

2. List out the characteristics of tribes.

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9.3 CASTES IN INDIA

9.3.1 Designations of Castes

Which groups are designated as Castes in India? When the Portuguese colonized parts of India beginning late in the fifteenth Century, they used the word 'casta' to describe the social-system in India. The British translated the Portuguese word casta into English as caste. The vernacular word jati loosely represents the English word caste.

The Hindu society consists of five major hierarchical divisions: Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra (four Varnas) and Untouchables (Panchamas redesignated as Untouchables or Harijans). Each division consists of a large number of castes and sub-castes. Then in each linguistic area there are about 200 caste groups further divided into 300 sub-castes. There are thousands of castes and sub-caste groups in India (Ghurye 1950 : 28). When the Constitution was framed in 1950, the Untouchables were listed and placed under a schedule, and therefore they came to be known as Scheduled Castes and the remaining castes are classified into forward castes and backward castes. According to 1901 Census there are 2378 castes in India. To say that there are some 3000 different castes in India is probably to run a little risk of exaggeration (Hutton 1961 : 149).

9.3.2 Habitat of Caste

What is the habitat of the castes in India? There are about 600 million people in India today divided into different caste groups. The caste groups are distributed throughout the length and breadth of India. Some of the castes living near the margins of hilly and forest tracts which form the home of the tribes have started moving into the hills and forests from eighteenth and nineteenth century onwards to settle there amidst the tribals. Since the turn of the nineteenth century there is an influx of caste populations into the tribal areas. Just as some tribals live amidst the caste groups in the plains areas, some caste populations live amidst the tribal groups in the hills and jungles. Chronologically, the castes came into existence later than the tribes (Kolenda 1984 : 7-9).

9.3.3 Origins of Caste System

What are the origins of caste system? The French priest Abbe Dubois speaks of caste system as an ingenious device of Brahmins to maintain their hold on Hindu society. It first appears in a Gangetic plains and then spreads from there throughout the country. Ghurye also supports this theory.

Nesfield explains that function and function alone is responsible for the origin of caste system. That means occupational specializations or economic functions of different groups have created caste system. The Superiority or inferiority of the occupations is represented in the hierarchy of castes.

Dahlmann states that Indian society originally consisted of three national groups, namely priesthood, nobility and bourgeoisie, representing religious, political and economic branches of national life. These groups split up into a number of corporations and of groups of relatives on the basis of their occupational specializations. As a result, hundreds of castes have come into existence.

Sarat Chandra Roy maintains that caste system originated in the class system of Indo-Aryans, the tribal system of pre-Dravidians and the occupational class system among the Dravidians.

Sir Herbert Hope Risely propounds that the Aryans created caste system to save Aryan race and Aryan culture from inter-mixing with other races namely pre-Dravidians and Dravidians. D. N. Majumdar and N. K. Dutta also support this theory.

J. H. Hutton argues that caste system originated in the religious customs and rituals of the non-Aryan groups. He stresses that the non-Aryans had several taboos on food and marriage because they had a fear of the evil power of strangers. He thinks that the non-Aryan attitude to the taboos on food and marriage, the occupational division of society, and the superstitious regard for everything strange and unfamiliar might have formed the caste system in India. In other words, the fundamental elements of the caste system have been functioning in non-Aryans and the Aryans had only to superimpose an occupational grouping on a crudely stratified social system.

Denzil Ibbetson maintains that occupational classification is responsible for the origin of caste system. He regards caste as a natural order of society in the creation of which religion played no part at all.

A. M. Hocart proposed that occupational groups such as priests, gentry, traders, agriculturists and labourers based on specified religious principles and customs formed into caste groups and this led to caste system.

Senart points out that persons who worshipped one deity formed into a separate group. Each such religious group offered a particular type of food to its deity. It also refused to give food to others and accept food from others. These practices led to distinctions among various religious groups which ultimately led to the caste system in which the Brahmins were given the highest status. Thus Senart stresses the importance of commensality and derives the exclusive commensality of caste from the family worship and the family meal of the primitive groups or clans.

Slater opines that caste system was created in order to safeguard the professional and occupational secrets. Banerjee explains that caste is due to the Aryan and non-Aryan belief in magic and the Aryan attempt to save Aryan race and Aryan culture from mixing with non-Aryans and non-Aryan cultures. Blunt follows Dahlmann and accepts also Risley's theory. Chandra traces caste to function of race. Hayavadhana Rao and Ghurye regard caste as having arisen largely as a result of racial differences. Gilbert proposes that geographical distinctions led to the formation of caste-system. Jackson thinks that Hindu kings made it obligatory for every one to follow his group-occupation. This resulted in a system of hereditary occupation and corresponding system of caste group (Hutton). All these views about the origin of caste system suffer from single-cause fallacy. Each view explains one factor as responsible for the formation of caste system. There is an element of truth in each of these theories, but none is complete in itself. We cannot generalize that there is only a single cause for the origin of caste. We cannot also assume that the caste system took definite shape at one particular time and was not later modified. In fact we can trace many diverse causes or factors and forces (geographical, racial, social, economic, political and magico-religious factors and forces) working together with various potency at different times and places.

Check Your Progress

3. Explain the origins of caste system.
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9.3.4 Characteristics of castes

What features characterize castes in India? According to N.K. Dutt, G.S. Ghurye, Mason Olcott, J.H. Hutton, E.R. Leach, M.N. Srinivas and Pauline Kolenda and many others the characteristics of castes in India are: common name, hereditary membership, endogamy, hierarchy, common traditional occupation, social-economic interdependence and the compelling religious sanctions.

Every caste has a distinct name. The membership in caste is determined by birth. A person remains the member of a caste into which he is born and his membership does not undergo any change, even if change in his status, occupation, education, wealth and so on takes place.

A caste is endogamous. The members of a caste marry within their own caste. That means people marry within their respective castes. There is a strict enforcement of permanent endogamy within a caste group.

A caste has a rank in the hierarchy of castes. The various castes are arranged into a hierarchy of different ranks, one above the other. In this hierarchy, the Brahmins have the highest rank and the Harijans have the lowest rank.

A caste has a traditional occupation. Every caste has own occupation fixed by the religious rules or traditions. As such, all castes have their individual hereditary occupations. The son of a carpenter pursues the occupation of his father, the son of a blacksmith becomes a blacksmith, while the son of leather-worker becomes a leather-worker.

A caste is involved in custom-fixed socio-economic interdependence. According to custom each caste has a fixed occupation, and one caste cannot take up the occupation of other castes. Therefore one caste has to depend on other castes. This mutual dependence which has become established through custom fixes mutual responsibilities to continue from generation to generation. This system is called 'Jajmani system'. 'Jajmani system' is an exchange network operative among the caste groups in which an upper-caste family (the jajman or client) provides lower-caste families (Hindi : Kamia or Kamkarnevale, Telugu : panipatalavandlu) with grain in return for such services as carpentry, hair-cutting and washing. The system is hereditary, traditional and mandatory and serves the castes to bind together in relationship of mutual obligation. It is a system by which members of different castes in India exchange goods and services with little exchange of money.

The castes of India are governed by compelling religious sanctions. The caste system is based on 'varna, ashrama, dharma'. 'Varna' means colour, 'ashrama' refers to religious discipline, and 'dharma' covers religio-social righteousness, obligations and mores. The castes are included into four varnas namely Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vysya, Sudra and a separate group known as Untouchables. Within each varna there are several castes, and within each caste there are several sub-castes. Each varna follows its religious discipline and its religio-social

righteousness, obligations and mores. Due to such compelling religious sanctions every caste fulfills its obligations: it follows its hereditary occupations, it restricts its members from marrying persons from other castes, from eating cooked food from other castes, from touching untouchables and from following an unsuitable occupation, and it directs its members what to follow and what not to follow with reference to domestic ceremonies and customs, home and temple worship, circle of friends and relatives, occupation and payments and perquisites and benefits to be received in times of distress. The stringent observation of the system of untouchability has resulted in some being called Out-castes, Depressed classes or Untouchables who were consequently debarred from the use of place of worship, cremation grounds, reservoirs, wells, public roads and schools and from private tea shops, hotels and theatres.

Check Your Progress

4. What are the characteristics of castes in India ?

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9.3.5 Caste in Modern Times

To what extent is caste being modified in modern times? Modern education, industrialization, means of communication, new legal machinery provided by the British government for punishing all castes in the same way for similar offences, legalization of inter-caste marriages, political awakening, independence of India, abolition of untouchability, democratic method of government, movements of social emancipation, constitutional guarantees provided to the welfare of the backward castes and ex-untouchable castes and many other factors have weakened the caste system to some extent in India. At the same time castes are also tending to strengthen themselves by means of caste organizations. Castes are having similar occupations and those residing in different parts of a language area are consolidating to secure greater social and political power. Each caste fearing that some other caste will gain an advantage over it seeks to build up its educational, economic and religious position and to tear down its hated rivals. Some lower castes are trying to imitate the life of the higher castes in their neighbourhood. This process of imitating the way of life of a higher caste by a lower caste is called 'sanskritization' (Srinivas).

9.3.6 Working of Caste System

How does the caste system operate in India ? Since the late 1940s a number of Indian, British and American social scientists have studied how the caste system actually operates in India. Pauline Kolenda summarizes their studies and presents the following picture about how the caste system actually works almost in every part of India.

(i) Caste as a system operates within a limited area or locality. All the castes in India do not form a single totality and work as a single unit. In fact, one caste living in one part of India may not be knowing the castes in other parts of India. For example, although there are Brahmins all over India, the Brahmins do not form a single caste (jati). Even within the same region

there may be a number of different Brahmin castes. There are more than 200 Brahmin castes in the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat. From the point of view of non-Brahmins all these are just Brahmins. It is of no importance to a non-Brahmin that the Brahmins are sub-divided into various castes (jatis). Therefore, several castes inhabiting a limited locality such as a village or a few linked villages work together and form into a system. In other words caste at the national level does not operate as a system. In other words caste at the national level does not operate as a system rather caste at the limited locality level operates as a system.

(ii) A limited locality which may include a village or a group of linked villages is composed of a series of mutually exclusive castes. Such castes number anywhere between a handful and a score or more.

(iii) In each limited locality a particular caste, a particular family or a particular set of families has preponderant political and economic power over everyone else. Such a caste, family, or set of families is called a *dominant caste*, *dominant family* or *dominant set of families*. Dominance is rooted in monopolistic control over an arable land and in physical force.

(iv) In the limited locality, *jajmani system* operates amongst the various castes. *Jajmani system*, the landless servants, artisans, and mendicant castes offer their services to the land-controlling dominant caste or dominant families, and receive food grains in return for their services. This exchange of food, goods and services is a ritual system concerned with purity and pollution, and an economic system concerned with interdependence of agriculturist and non-agriculturist. In this the highest castes remain pure while the lower castes absorb pollution for them.

(v) In every limited locality, castes tend to have a hierarchy according to their respective degrees of pollution in their ritual system.

(vi) Efforts to improve caste rank in this local caste hierarchy are made by middle and lower castes, especially by means of discarding polluting customs and by emulating the customs of the higher purer castes. This process refers to *Sanskritization*.

(vii) Political power is monopolized by the dominant caste, family or families, or occasionally by a pair of competing dominant castes. *Non-dominant* castes tend to support their patrons within the dominant caste, family or families. Such support may be important if there are *factions* contending for power within the dominant castes, family or families.

(viii) Disputes may be settled either by councils (panchayats) within a caste group, or by one or more elders of the dominant caste, family or families.

(ix) Each caste group within the limited locality is usually composed of kinsmen and functions as an endogamous descent group.

(x) Every caste group within the limited locality tends to live in its own quarters. The ex-untouchables live in isolation from those of purer castes, either in a separate hamlet or on the outskirts of a village.

Thus everywhere in India caste operates as a system only locally. That means, the local caste system in one part of India shares the features of the local caste system in other parts of India. This does not mean that all local caste system in different parts of India are bounded units; caste system operates as multiplicity of bounded caste units within a village or set of neighbouring villages (Kolenda 1984 : 62).

Check Your Progress

5. How does the caste system operate ?

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9.4 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRIBES AND CASTES

9.4.1 Similarities and differences in terms of selective criteria

Anthropologists have differed on the question of contrast between tribe and caste in India. Ghurye opined that the tribes are backward Hindus differing only in degree from the caste groups of Hindu society. On the other hand, Erwin argued that the tribals are different from the caste groups in India. The Government of India continues to differentiate tribes from castes by keeping alive under constitutional sanction its list of Scheduled Tribes.

In fact, in terms of selective criteria such as history, habitat, settlement pattern, language, economy, social organization, political life, religion and world-view the tribes and castes of India show similarities and differences.

(i) Historically, the tribes are earlier than castes in India. Yet both are co-existing and both are the building blocks of Indian society today.

(ii) Numerically, the tribal population consisting of about 45 millions is a minority in contrast with the caste population running into about 600 millions today. In fact some of the castes which have settled amidst tribals have acquired the status of tribals. And some of the tribes like Ahirs and Gujjars which were originally tribes have now acquired the status of castes.

(iii) Geographically, most of the tribes live in tribal areas embracing hills and forests just as a vast majority of castes live in rural areas extending across plains. However the habitats or tribes as well as castes are gradually expanding, one encroaching upon the other. There are some tribes which have come down their territory of hills and forest and settled amidst the castes. Similarly some castes have migrated into the hills and forests and settled amidst the tribals. As a result the tribes and castes are co-existing in the same village as that of the Santals of Chota Nagpur. These changes are still observable today. Consequent upon these changes the geographical exclusiveness of tribes and castes is slowly fading out today in almost all parts of India.

(iv) Linguistically the tribes and castes differ from each other to some extent. The tribes speak a variety of dialects which differ on a number of important counts from the languages of several caste groups. The tribes like Santals, Oraon, Mundas and Gondas still speak their own dialects. However there are some tribes like the Bhumiya who have lost their tribal dialect and now use the dominant language of the area.

(v) Settlement pattern of tribes and castes also show similarities and differences. Some of the tribes are nomads, some semi-nomads and some settled. In the same way some castes are nomads, some others are semi-nomads and several others are sedentary. Just as a vast majority of the tribes are sedentary, an overwhelming proportion of the castes are sedentary. In both tribes and castes villages or linked villages are the most important territorial units. Both the tribal villages and the villages where the castes live are integrated into modern cash market or employment. Just as the villages of the tribals are now integrated with the neighbouring caste villages inhabited by the castes are now integrated with the neighbouring tribal villages. In villages where the tribes and castes co-exist the relations existing between the tribes and castes are almost similar to those existing among various caste groups.

(vi) Economically, the tribes and castes of India have similarities and differences. The tribe may be composed of food-gatherers and hunter like the Andamanese and Birhors, pastoralists like the Todas, artisans like the Agaria and Asur, horticulturists and agriculturists like the Bagatas, Hill Reddis, Kolams, Koyas, Maria Gonds, Ana Tans and Nagas and workers in plantations and industries like several tribes in Andhra Pradesh, in Madhya Pradesh, in Bihar and in Assam. There are no food-gatherers and hunters among the castes. The caste may be composed of pastoralists, artisans, horticulturists and agriculturists, priests, bards, musicians, sculptors, washermen, leather-workers and several others. Unlike before, the tribes like the Santal, Oraon, Ho, Munda, Raj Gonds and Khonds are now settled cultivators acquiring peasant characteristics. In contrast, like before, the castes are even today increasingly participating in market economy. The caste groups are participating in peasant economy. Their occupational specialities involve them in 'jajmani system'. This does not mean that a type of system similar to 'jajmani system' is not existing at the inter-tribal level or at the tribe-caste level. The religio-economic system of ritual distribution and exchange between various tribes and castes as those existing in Chota Nagpur in Bihar and Nilgiri hills in Tamil Nadu resembles that of 'jajmani system' in the villages inhabited by castes. However, the system of exchange and distribution of goods and services in a caste system at village and inter-village level is more institutionalized than its counterpart operating at tribe-to-tribe level or tribe-to-caste level. Notwithstanding these similarities with castes, the tribes differ from the castes in some aspects of economic life. The practice of food-gathering and hunting activities to some extent, the inexperience in hunting the cash economy due to exposure to market economy, and the availability of better food than the type of food that is available to some of the lower castes differentiate the tribal from the castes.

(vii) Socially, the tribes and castes of India are polysegmental, each segment being characterized by its own special functions. In this segmentation a family is the lowest segment, several families combine to form a lineage, several lineages into a clan or gotra, several clans or gotras into a sub-tribe or sub-caste, several sub-tribes into tribes or castes. A few tribes and castes are exceptions to this type of segmentation where they may have two or more additional segments like surnames, phratries and moieties or may not have sub-tribes and sub-castes.

Even though the tribes and castes are thus poly-segmented, they differ in the qualities of some of their segments. For example 'gotras' of castes differ to some extent from the clans of tribes. The word 'gotra' is derived from a Sanskrit word meaning cattle shed. 'Gotras' first appeared historically among the ancient Brahmin priests and referred to followers of the same ancient seer. Some castes have borrowed the 'gotras' of Brahmins while other castes have taken 'gotra' names that indicate animate or inanimate objects, ancestral place and other phenomena.

In a tribe there is little specialization of social roles in the shape of chief, headman, shaman, magician and so on. On the contrary, in a caste there is far more specialization of social roles. The caste men have to specialize in various arts and crafts associated with economic pursuits.

The two features which link a series of sub-castes into a caste are usually similarity in name and occupational functions. However, there are some castes which include sub-castes varying in both function and rank. A large caste like the Lingayat in Karnataka has the sub-castes of priests, merchants, artisans, servants and untouchables. There is an entire complement of specialists necessary for an operating caste system (Dumont). Likewise a large tribe like the Koya in Andhra Pradesh has the sub-tribes of artisans and servants which are necessary for an operating tribal system.

(viii) Politically, the tribes are essentially autonomous even after they came under the control of statutory village Panchayats. In contrast, the castes are now, and have been for centuries, subordinate elements in the wider society of which they form a part. Superordination and subordination are the key notes in regulating the relations of castes as against the emphasis on equality and reciprocity in regulating the relations between tribes. The tribes is segmentary and egalitarian while the caste is organic and hierarchical.

(ix) Religiously, the tribes and castes differ in the degree of commitment to an admixture of animism and Hinduism. The tribes in contrast with the castes have more animistic beliefs and practices but the castes in contrast with tribes have more Hindu than animistic elements in their religious life. Many religious practices found among the lower castes can also be found among the tribal groups. Idols and temples are almost absent in the villages inhabited by the tribes but they are invariably present in the villages, towns and cities inhabited by castes or castes and tribes. Idols and temples are generally found in the paraphernalia of gods and goddesses. Furthermore, among the castes there is a highly organized priestly order and references are always made to the classical texts or sacred books.

(x) The world view of the tribes resembles and at the same time differs from that of the castes. Among the tribes the concept of human universe is very much narrowed down. In contrast, the concept of human universe among the castes is wider and includes a complex network of relationship all over the world. In short the world view of the castes extends beyond the territorial limits, more liberal and vast than the limited narrow view of the tribes.

Idea of good life among the tribes means ample scope for interest in the pleasures of life. People derive more pleasure in the satisfaction of their carnal urges. In contrast, the ideal of good life among the castes emphasizes better life in the other world, and people exercise self-restraint from and self-denial of worldly pleasures. They lay primary stress on the attainment of spiritual pleasures. The moral connotations are inextricably intertwined with the concept of hell, heaven,

merit, sin and spiritual benefits and pleasures.

(xi) In terms of response to change, increasing numbers of people in tribes as well as castes are involuntarily losing their place in the traditional system. Some tribes are becoming castes; and some are increasingly adopting the traits of castes. Some castes, perhaps a few, have become tribes mostly to reap the benefits offered by the Indian Constitution to the tribes. At the same time an increasing number of people in both the tribes and castes are being integrated occupationally into a largely caste-free modern occupational structure involving government, business, factories, schools, colleges and services of various kinds (Kolenda).

The above description reveals that there are some similarities between tribes and castes in India today. There is the tribal quality of caste life and there is also the caste quality of tribal life for three main reasons. First, many castes existing at present go back to a tribal origin such as the pastoral Ahirs and Gujjars. Second, the native Indian term 'jati' covers both caste and tribe. Third, some of the cultural and structural features of a caste and of a tribe are similar and can well be understood with the help of concepts which anthropologists have used for describing tribes in various other parts of the world.

9.5 SUMMING UP

In this unit we have examined the differences between tribe and caste in India. The most ancient groups of India are designated as tribes in India. When Indian Constitution was formed in 1950, the tribal groups were listed and placed under a "schedule" where they came to be known as the scheduled tribes. The scheduled tribes number about 427. The tribes of India have the following characteristics: a definite territory, a common name, a common dialect, a common culture, behaviour of an endogamous group, common taboos, self sufficiency in economy and existence of distinctive social and political systems. When the Portuguese colonized parts of India beginning late in the 15th century they used the word 'casta' to describe the social system in India. The British translated the Portuguese word 'casta' into English as 'Caste'. The Hindu society consists of five major hierarchical divisions - Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra (four) and untouchables. There are about 600 million people in India today divided into different caste groups. According to J.H. Hutton, M.N. Srinivas and others common name, hereditary membership, endogamy, hierarchy, common traditional occupation, social-economic interdependence are the characteristics of castes in India.

9.6 KEY WORDS

Clan	: A cluster of lineages claiming a common distant ancestry.
Endogamy	: A practice requiring persons to marry within the group to which they belong.
Exogamy	: A practice requiring persons to marry outside the group to which they belong.
Lineage	: A group of kin who trace their descent from a known common ancestor who lived not more than five or six generations ago.

Moiety	: If a tribe is divided into two halves, each half is called a moiety.
Phratry	: A cluster of clans claiming a common distant ancestry.

9.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Piddington R.	: An introduction to Social Anthropology.
Hoebel	: Man in the Primitive World.

9.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in 30 lines each :

1. Explain the characteristics of a tribe in India.
2. State the views of different social scientists on the origins of caste system in India.
3. What are the different characteristics of a caste in India ?
4. To what extent is caste being modified in modern times ?
5. Explain how the caste system operates within a limited locality.
6. Enumerate the differences between tribes and castes in contemporary India.
7. Clearly describe how do the tribes and castes differ with reference to the degree of their commitment to Hindu religious life.
8. How are the increasing numbers of tribal and caste people losing their place in their traditional system ?
9. Do you support the view that the tribes and castes in any Indian village, town or city show more similarities than differences in their social, economic and religious life ?
10. On the basis of the information you have acquired through this lesson, can you draw a demarcating line between a tribe and a caste in India today ?

II. Answer the following in 10 lines each :

1. What appellations are used for referring to the tribes of India ?
2. What is the habitat of tribes in India ?
3. What are the essential features of tribes in India ?
4. What is the meaning of the term 'jajmani system' ?
5. What should we mean by Varna, Ashrama and Dharma ?
6. How does the caste system act according to compelling religious sanctions ?
7. What factors have moulded the caste system according to Risley, Nesfield and Dahlmann ?
8. What factors are responsible for the origins of caste system according to Abbe Dubois, S. C. Roy, B. S. Guha and D. N. Majumdar ?
9. Do you subscribe to the view that tribes and castes not only coexist in India but also coexist in one small community like a village ?
10. What is a dominant caste ? How does it dominate a village or a set of villages ?

Unit-10 : RACE AND CULTURE

Contents

- 10.0 Aims and Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Definition of Race
- 10.3 Is there a Relationship between Race and Culture?
 - 10.3.1 Minogenic and Polygenic Theories
 - 10.3.2 Evolutionary Theories
 - 10.3.3 Degeneration Theories
 - 10.3.4 Archaeological Theories
 - 10.3.5 Racist Theories
- 10.4 There is no Relationship between Race and Culture
 - 10.4.1 Arguments of Scientists
 - 10.4.2 UNESCO Statement
- 10.5 Summing Up
- 10.6 Key Words
- 10.7 Suggested Books
- 10.8 Model Examination Questions

10.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with the definition of race, the theories that tried to explain that culture is dependent upon race and arguments of scientists that explain that there is no relationship between race and culture.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * define Race,
- * explain the theories that culture is dependent upon race,
- * explain the arguments of scientists who state that there is no relationship between race and culture.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied about the groups which are designated as tribes in India, where they live and their characteristics. We have also studied about the castes, their habitat, origin, characteristics, its working and the changes brought about in modern times. We have seen that the differences between castes and tribes can be more clearly understood in terms of tribe-caste continuum. In this we will study about race and culture.

10.2 DEFINITION OF RACE

The term race refers to a group of individuals who, within given limits of variation possess in common a combination in heredity traits sufficient to mark them off from other groups (Ginsberg, Montagu, Hoebal and Weaver).

The concept of race is used to classify people in terms of shared physical characteristics. To be used as criteria of race, the physical characteristics must be hereditary and remain relatively constant despite changes in the environment. Moreover, they must be common to a fairly large group. The most important physical characteristics used for classifying the human populations into races are :

- i) pigmentation including the colour of the hair, eyes and skin;
- ii) hair-form, grouped as straight, smooth, wavy, curly and woolly;
- iii) head-shape, especially the ratio of the breadth of the skull or head to its length;
- iv) body-build, including height or stature and bodily proportions;
- v) facial traits, such as nasal-form, lip-form, and the form of the eyelids;
- vi) genetic traits such as gene frequencies and blood-groups; and
- vii) geographical boundaries.

Many problems arise with the concept of racial classification. First, there is the problem of combination of these traits that are used in distinguishing races and the number of self-races. There is no one trait which can be regarded as fundamental. One set of criteria is used for classifying a race and a different set of criteria is used for classifying the sub-races. Hair-form is taken as the starting point for arriving at the main races and stature, nasal index and pigmentation are used for purpose of classifying the main races into sub-races. Thus there is the problem of the number of different traits to be combined for classifying the races and sub-races.

Secondly, some human populations such as the Polynesians, the inhabitants of the South-India, and the African Bushmen are difficult to place in a group, because they have the physical attributes of more than one race. Many of the so-called diagnostic racial traits do not go together. A population may have a characteristic nose shape of one race and the skin colour of another.

Thirdly, some physical characteristics such as skin colour and height are found to be affected by the environment. They cannot be used as indicators of racial classification or historical connections between human populations.

Fourthly, identification of races on the basis of geography is arbitrary. The kind of population commonly meant when people talk about race is an aggregation of people who have inhabited in the past, and who still inhabit to a great extent, in a given continent or large section of a continent. Each such population is called a geographical race. Such geographical races tend to be sufficiently isolated from the inhabitants of other continents so that they share more common ancestors among themselves than they share with other populations on other continents. Within a continent, there may be geographic barriers to easy inter-mixture of its population. Thus,

the people of the North Baltic area breed among themselves to a much greater extent than do with the people of the Mediterranean belt of southern Europe. They constitute a local race. There is no agreement on just how many local races one can identify in the world. They may be about thirty in number (Garn and Coon). However, such classifications of populations into geographical races and the local races are somewhat arbitrary, because they do not clearly and unequivocally define the boundary delimitations between geographical races and local races.

Fifthly, even relatively recent attempts to use genetic traits such as blood type to define and classify human races meet with complications. The more the scientist learnt about the factors responsible for the relative difference in gene frequencies among human groups, the more races they have to add to their classification schemes.

Sixthly, the biological similarities among the human groups far out-weigh the differences, and because racial classifications tell us very little or nothing about other kinds of variation, some anthropologists want to drop the word race altogether. They want to focus instead on studying variation among actual human populations. It is clear that all humans belong to the same species and that the biological features essential to human life are common to us all.

Check Your Progress

1. What is race?

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2. What are the physical characteristics used for classifying human populations into race?

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10.3 IS THERE A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACE AND CULTURE?

10.3.1 Monogenic and Polygenic theories

The monogenic and Polygenic theories of eighteenth century attributed the differences in the level of culture to differences in inborn or racial endowment. Carolus Linnaeus, the eminent Swedish naturalist, was one of the first scientists to propose a classification of humankind into four varieties: American, European, Asiatic and African. Linnaeus attributed cruelty, melancholy, stobbornness and avarice to the Asian, spite, cunning, laziness and indifference to the African,

and nobility, wit and higher mental abilities to the European. Thus Linnaeus placed white people in a higher category than the others.

A contemporary of Linnaeus, Georges Louis Leclero Conte de Buffon explained that the varieties proposed by Linnaeus belong to the same species but differ in appearance because of the conditioning factors such as climate, food, living habits, diseases and geography. In distinguishing each variety of humans proposed by Linnaeus, Buffon introduced the term race.

Johann Friedrich Blumenbach attempted a classification of humans into five varieties of races, in 1775. He divided humankind into Caucasians (white race), Mongolians (yellow race), Ethiopians (black race), Americans (red race), and Malays (brown race).

Toward the end of the eighteenth century two possible explanations of racial diversity appeared: **monogenism and polygenism**. Samuel Stanhope Smith, an American professor of moral philosophy, laid the foundations of monogenism in 1787. His theory of monogenism stated that humans were of a single origin, a single species, and that the variations in the form of races are due to the influence of climate. In 1799, one English surgeon by name Charles White and other scholars did not agree with monogenism. They believed that there were several species of humans, each specially created and each species gave rise to a specific race. Charles White presented a number of anatomical differences he believed to exist between blacks and whites as proof that they were separate species. While followers of monogenism and polygenism have disagreed about the origin of human races, they both conceived of the yellow, red, brown and especially the black race, as inferior to the white race. They also believed that each race created a particular culture and that the culture of white race is superior to the cultures created by other races.

10.3.2 Evolutionary theories

With the evolutionary theory of Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace, the monogenism-polygenism debate no longer interested the scientists. An evolutionary perspective was introduced into the study of societies. If organisms could evolve so too could cultures and societies. In the wake of Darwin-Wallace theory of natural selection came social Darwinism. Social Darwinism used the theory of natural selection to support the idea of superior races and superior cultures.

Social Darwinism was a collection of assumptions about society and human behaviour. They were assumptions never expressed by either Darwin or Wallace but rather were found in the writings of nineteenth century scholars who were impressed with the theory of Darwin and Wallace. Darwin-Wallace notion of natural selection was translated into a struggle between individual members of a society, between members of classes of a society, between different nations, and between different races. The conflict between different races was seen anything but evil. Instead it was thought to be nature's indispensable method for producing superior individuals, superior race, superior cultures and superior notions (Gossett).

One of the leading proponents of social Darwinism was the English sociologist Herbert Spencer. In 1885, Spencer argued that individuals should be allowed to make fatal mistakes, because then stupid and indifferent persons would be gradually eliminated and the human species would be much improved. For example, Spencer felt that if an individual is so ignorant as to consult a quack instead of a qualified physician and dies as a result, the species has been improved by his or her removal.

Therefore, Spencer concluded, the government has a moral obligation not to interfere with a natural process by passing laws to protect the individual from misrepresentation and malpractice medicine. Likewise Spencer saw warfare between societies as necessary and useful in that inferior races would be killed off and the inferior cultures would be wiped out. Thus Spencer's beliefs served as a rationale for white Western imperialism.

Spencer also said that innate racial differences account for differences in cultural attainment. According to him the innate nature of ancient Greeks was love for independence. Hence ancient Greeks were imperialists and their culture was superior to that of any other race. On the contrary, the Incas and Aztecs had an innate servile nature. Therefore they yielded unresistingly to the despotism of European colonists. The white race had superior intelligence and superior culture, hence they became rulers of other races (Spencer).

Another follower of social Darwinism was Max Muller. He also said that racial differences in mentality explain differences in cultural development. Among the races the Negro has the lowest level of culture because it has the least mental capacity.

Lewis Henry Morgan, an evolutionist from America, said that different races have different intellectual endowments, that Aryan race has the highest intellectual endowments, that the cultural advancement of a race depends on its mental capacity and that racial superiority is an index of cultural superiority.

General Pitt-Rivers went so far as to claim that savage race is morally and mentally an unfit instrument for the spread of civilization except when it is reduced to a state of slavery.

Alfred Cort Haddon from England said that innate psychological differences between races influenced their art and culture. According to him diverse races have different ideas and ideals and a poor, miserable race has a poor and miserable art and poor and miserable culture.

Edward Burnett Tylor, a cultural evolutionist from England, argued that different races have different levels of inbred capacity of mind and that different races with different mental capacities and intellectual and moral achievements have reached different levels of cultural development. There were several evolutionists like Sir James Frazer, Theodor Waitz and several others who argued that there are racial differences in intelligence and that they are not one of kind but rather one of degree and that racial difference cannot be accounted for differences in cultural development.

10.3.3 Degeneration theories

Theories have been suggested which account for the degeneration or decline of civilizations on the ground of racial changes. Thus the decline of Rome has been ascribed to race mixture (according to Chamberlain), to excessive inbreeding (according to Reibmayr), to a reversal of natural selection brought by war and birth limitation, resulting in the elimination of the best elements of society (according to Seeck, Schallmayer and others). The low level of cultural developments has thus been attributed to the degeneration of the original high level civilization.

Sociologists like Hobhouse, and historians like Beloch, Heitland, Rostovtseff dismissed this theory of degeneration. Hertz and Lot explained that the differential levels of cultural development are the repercussions of military and economic relations but not racial inequalities.

10.3.4 Archaeological theories

Archaeologists have tried their best to map out distinct culture-cycles and relate them to specific racial groups but in vain. In the pre-historic-times, the carriers of distinct cultures were already peoples and not races. Therefore, race had no relevance to cultural development. There is evidence of race mixture even for the Palaeolithic Age, and in the Neolithic Age the racial composition of Europe was as complex as it is now. According to Professor Gordon Child, the skeletons found in the graves of Denmark and Sweden associated with the Nordic culture of the New Stone Age (3000 B.C.) belong to different physical types or races. Only about 30 per cent were longheads and even these cannot be definitely attributed to the Nordic races.

Scheidt also studied the skeletal remains of pre-historic people located in North, Central and Eastern Europe during Neolithic times and concluded that several races had the same culture, that the difficulties of linking up cultural with racial types are overwhelming. Wahle also supported the same view.

10.3.5 Racist theories

Racism refers to the belief that some human races are superior to others because of inherited, genetically transmitted characteristics. The followers of racism are called racists.

The racists advanced the idea that cultural variation, and specifically cultural superiority resulted from racial variation and racial superiority. They said that people who looked different from each other also behaved differently.

The racists usually considered the white race to be the higher and the coloured (black and yellow) races to be the lower. Some scientists, especially in Germany, Britain and the United States of America supported the Aryan theory according to which one of the North European white races was the higher race. However, there were abolitionists, (those who preached racial equality and pleaded for abolition of slavery) who argued that the Mongoloid race or Negroid race was the higher race. But, the views of these abolitionists were in the minority. The notion of the superiority of North-European white race had become prevalent all over the countries governed by whites.

The racists maintained that the few higher races had created all culture and civilization, employing the slave labour of the lower races. The higher races, they said, were active and played a leading role in history, while the lower races being inactive played a subordinate role. The majority of racists were of the opinion that development of culture and civilization did not affect racial peculiarities, but, on the contrary, the biological, innate qualities of a race determined the progress or retrogression of human culture and civilization.

The racists, sometimes equated race with nation. They made the level of cultural development dependent upon the greater size of the brain. Their theory that the races of Asia, Africa and those native to North and South America were biologically inferior was comforting to Europeans who exploited their natural resources, took over their lands, and used them as slaves and servants.

The racists advanced a theory to which not all whites were of equal superiority. Some whites were more advanced than others. In particular, different national origins were thought to produce biological differences between the whites. Since advocates of the superiority of specific national origin believed their own nation to be best, there was some disagreement as to which people were the most superior. Generally, those claiming to be superior stressed the superiority of one or another of the northern European peoples and they were regarded as true Aryans and were designated as Nordic race (from the German, Nord=north; Nordic=north European; from this comes the term Nordism; Nordist, etc.). The racists glorified that the Nordic race was the creators and sustainers of civilization. The theory rested in part on an identification of the people who originated and spread the language from which the group of languages known as Indo-European had diverged, with the Nordic race, and partly upon the role played throughout the history of civilization by men of Nordic race.

Check Your Progress

3. List out the various theories of race.

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10.4 THERE IS NO RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACE AND CULTURE

10.4.1 Arguments of Scientists

Scientists from several parts of the world argued that there is no relationship between race and culture. Some anthropologists disagree on the number of races into which people can be classified. Some even argue that there is no such thing as race. Ashley Montagu has long held this opinion, and it has more recently been adopted by other anthropologists including Loring Brace, Frank Livingstone and Jean Hiernaux. They do not pretend that all people are the same physically. They merely point out race is an artificial construct, developed to justify the different treatments accorded to different people. So their arguments are as follows :

- (i) First, the groups which are called races, constitute very inconvenient units for the study of the part played by biological factors in civilization.
- (ii) Secondly, no correlation has so far been established between culture and race, and it is highly probable that no culture is entirely the creation of single race. In fact, no culture of any known people is entirely aboriginal.
- (iii) Thirdly, everywhere we find culture migrations and amalgamations. These amalgamations are sometimes accompanied by racial amalgamations, but there are numerous instances of the diffusion of culture which have not involved any recognizable race mixture.

- (iv) Fourthly, there is no scientifically demonstrated relationship between race and intelligence, and between inequalities in intellectual endowments and levels of cultural developments.
- (v) Fifthly, culture history demonstrates that the capacity to develop culture is independent of race and is the product of a number of convergent factors such as cross-cultural stimulation and environment.
- (vi) Sixthly, many of today's so-called underdeveloped nations—primarily in Asia, Africa and South Africa had developed complex and sophisticated civilizations long before Europe had reached beyond a simple level of technology or tribal organization. The advanced civilizations of the Shang dynasty in China, the Mayans in Meso-america, and the African empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhay were all founded and developed by non-whites. Considering how long Europeans lagged behind other peoples in the development of a civilization, it seems odd that some whites should even dare to label Africans, South Americans, and other societies as backward in terms of historical achievement or as biologically inferior in terms of capacity for civilization. But racists, both white and non-white, choose to ignore that all races have achieved remarkable advance in civilization. Most significantly, such people refuse to believe that they can acknowledge the achievements of another race without in any way down-grading the achievements of their own.

10.4.2 UNESCO Statement

In 1950 the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) appointed an expert panel of scientists which has formulated a statement on race. This statement reads as follows :

- (i) In matters of race, the only characteristics which anthropologists have so far been able to use effectively as a basis for classification are physical.
- (ii) Available scientific knowledge provides no basis for believing that the groups of mankind differ in their innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development.
- (iii) Some biological differences between human beings within a single race may be as great as or greater than the same biological differences between races.
- (iv) Vast social changes have occurred that have not been connected in any way with changes in racial type. Historical and sociological studies thus support the views that genetic differences are of little significance in determining the social and cultural differences between different groups of men.
- (v) There is no evidence that race mixture, produces disadvantageous results from a biological point of view. The social results of race mixture, whether for good or ill, can generally be traced to social and cultural factors.

10.5 SUMMING UP

The term race refers to a group of individuals who, within given limits of variation possess in common a combination of hereditary traits sufficient to mark them off from other groups. It is used to classify people in terms of shared physical characteristics. Pigmentation, hair form, head shape, body build, facial traits, geographical boundaries are the most important physical characteristics used for classifying the human populations into race.

10.6 KEY WORDS

Monogenism	: The point of view that humans were of a single origin, a single species, and that the variations that appeared were merely varieties of humankind resulting from different climatic conditions.
Polygenism	: The belief that there were several species of humans each specially created.
Racism	: The belief that some human populations are superior to others because of inherited, genetically transmitted characteristics.
Social Darwinism	: The use or misuse of Darwin's biological principles to explain or justify existing forms of human social and cultural organization.

10.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Hoebel	: Man in Primitive World
Evans Pritchard	: Essays in Social Anthropology
Frazer	: The scope of Social Anthropology

10.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in 30 lines each :

1. Define and explain the concept of race.
2. What problems arise with the concept of racial classification?
3. How were racial and cultural differences viewed by those who believed in monogenism and polygenism?
4. What is social Darwinism? Explain how evolutionists of nineteenth century explained the relationship between race and culture?
5. Briefly describe how the racists explained the relationship between race and culture.
6. Why did the racists insist the superiority of Nordic race?
7. What is the response of scientists to the question of relationship between race and culture?
8. Describe UNESCO statement on race and culture.

II. Answer the following in 10 lines each :

1. What are the important physical criteria used for classifying human populations into races?
2. What is a geographical race and a local race?
3. What is mongenism? How does it differ from polygenism?
4. Give Carolus Linnaeus classification of human varieties.
5. State Buffon's views on human varieties proposed by Linnaeus.
6. What is social Darwinism?
7. Mention Herbert Spencer's veivs on race and culture.

BRAOU

BLOCK V

Family, Marriage and Kinship

- Unit 11 : Definition, Characteristics and Functions of Marriage.**
- Unit 12 : Ways of Acquiring Mates and Forms of Marriage.**
- Unit 13 : Definition, Characteristics and Functions of Family.**
- Unit 14 : Types of Family.**
- Unit 15 : Definition of Kinship and Kinship Terminology.**
- Unit 16 : Kinship Groups - Lineage, Clan, Phratry and Moiety.**

BRAOU

Unit-11 : DEFINITION, CHARACTERISTICS AND FUNCTIONS OF MARRIAGE

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11.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with the definition, characteristics and functions of Marriage.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * define marriage,
- * explain the characteristics of marriage,
- * explain the functions of marriage.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied about race and culture. In this unit we will study about the social institution: Marriage. Basically we will study the definitions, characteristics and functions of marriage.

11.2 DEFINITIONS OF MARRIAGE

During the past one hundred and twenty years, a number of anthropologists have struggled to formulate a definition of marriage that would apply to all human societies. These anthropological definitions may be classified into two categories: the early definitions of marriage that have been formulated prior to 1955 and the modern definitions that have been proposed after 1955.

11.2.1 Early Definitions

The early definitions of marriage throw light on the various criteria that are required to constitute a marriage. The definitions of marriage offered by the nineteenth century evolutionists emphasized that marriage is a ritually recognised union between a man and a woman, that the spouses live together and that the couple have clearly recognized mutual sexual rights (Westermarck 1929). This definition cannot be applied to all societies because there are some societies which contract marriages without ritual ceremonies, there are some societies in which the couple do not live under the same roof and there are several societies in which the spouses are permitted to have extra-marital relations. Almost similar definitions of marriage are offered by anthropologists in the first half of the present century. Murdock defines marriage as a universal institution that involves residential cohabitation, economic co-operation and formation of the nuclear family. This definition also cannot be applied to all human societies because there are some societies like Nayers of Kerala where husbands and wives live separately, do not have economic co-operation and do not form the basis of the nuclear family.

A different definition given by other anthropologists says that marriage is a union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are the recognized legitimate offspring of both parents (Seligman). This definition also is not satisfactory. If we accept the definition, the union of a man with several women or of a woman with several men cannot in strict sense be called marriage. There are some societies like Nuer in which woman marriages take place between individuals of the same sex. In the woman marriage of Nuer, a woman who lost her husband without a male issue, assumes the role of her late husband, marries a woman, and procures the services of a male kinsman or friend to beget children through her. The children so begotten are treated as the children begotten by the widow's deceased husband. Nuer 'woman marriage' is not a union between a man and a woman, hence it cannot be regarded as marriage according to the definition of marriage given above. Therefore anthropologists have been of the view that it has been difficult to arrive at a definition that will satisfy the patterns of marriage in all human societies.

11.2.2 Modern Definitions

During the past twenty-five years, the definition of marriage has undergone a great deal of rethinking. Many anthropologists tried to define marriage in such a way that it holds good to all

human societies. Kathleen Gough, for instance, defines marriage as a relationship established between a woman and one or more other persons, which provides that a child born to the woman under circumstances not prohibited by the rules of the relationship, is accorded full birth-status rights common to normal members of his society or social stratum. This definition does not cover some of the Societies like the Azande of Sudan which allow a form of marriage based on homosexuality.

William N. Stephens defines marriage as a socially legitimate sexual union, begun with public pronouncement, undertaken with the idea of permanence, assumed with more or less explicit marriage contract which spells out reciprocal economic obligations between spouses, and between spouses and their future children. This definition also falls short of many facts occurring in several human societies. Most societies do have taboo periods during which intercourse between couples is not permitted. In many societies extra-marital sex is allowed. In some societies marriages do not begin with a public announcement. In societies where high divorce rate exists the idea of permanent relationship between a woman and her husband does not exist. In a few societies the union of a man and a woman does not involve any marriage contract. Thus the definition proposed by William N. Stephens is hard to match against all human societies. It is difficult to arrive at a definition of marriage that will satisfy all situations in all societies.

Check Your Progress

1. How did Murdock define marriage ?

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11.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF MARRIAGE

11.3.1 Charter

One of the characteristics of marriage is its charter. The charter of marriage explains why marriage exists and what are the objectives of marriage. The charter of marriage differs from one society to another. Some societies say that institution of marriage has come into existence because of God's creation. Some societies attribute it to the genius of their ancestors. Thus different societies explain why the institution of marriage exists. The objectives of marriage defined by the charter of marriage are also different in different societies. According to some societies the primary objective of marriage is to create an intimate relationship between man and woman. Some societies say that the objectives of marriage are to procreate children and to perpetuate the family line. Some other societies like the Chukchi of Siberia say that a man needs a woman to dress the meat and skins of the game he kills, to cook food and to make clothing and therefore a man and a woman are united through marriage. The Eskimo men from Baffin Land, a Canadian Island in the Arctic Ocean, marry because woman have to do rowing of the large boats while man have to steer the boats. Most of the societies say that the objectives

of marriage are to have socially recognised specially intimate relationship between a man and a woman which is expected to involve the sexual, economic and other forms of interaction thought necessary to have a full life. In all we find two prominent objectives for marriage: establishing a family and securing co-operation in the daily life. Thus the charter of marriage explains the justification for the existence of marriage and indicates the basic ways in which marriage can be viewed: sexual access, parentage, labour, property, alliance and widening of social relations.

11.3.2 Mate Choice

Mate choice or spouse selection is another characteristic of the institution of marriage. In some societies people are free to choose their partners. In many societies people are often not free to decide whom they will marry: marriages are arranged by their parents and kinsmen.

If people are free to choose their own partners, the criteria for choice are: romantic love, sexual desire, loneliness, desire for children and full adult status, or more exotic motives such as raising one's own pigs, rowing of boats or growing crops in one's own estate. If people are not free to select their own partners, the criteria for selection are: size of bride-price, reputation of potential spouse's kin group, levirate and sororate obligations, and traditions of continuous marriage arrangements.

Age considerations and considerations of personal qualities also influence mate selection. The age at which individuals of either sex are expected to marry varies from society to society. In some societies the bride and the groom may be equal age, in some societies one of them may be a little older than the other and in some societies one of them may be much senior to the other. The personal qualities required of the partners may be good physique, hard work, thrift, modesty, chastity and so on that make them suitable mates or good wives.

11.3.3 Financial transaction

Financial transaction is also another characteristic of the institution of marriage. In many societies marriage involves the payment of bride-price or the payment made by the groom's family and groom's relatives to the bride's family and bride's relatives. In some societies marriage involves bride-service or the requirement that the groom must work for his bride's family as a substitute for bride-price. In some societies marriage involves gift exchange or the requirement whereby the two kin groups about to be linked by marriage exchange gifts of almost equal value. In some societies marriage involves woman exchange or the custom whereby a sister of female relative of the groom is exchanged for the bride, no other payment being involved. In some societies marriage involves dowry or the payments made by the bride's family and kin to the groom or groom's family and kin. Bride-price is the most common form of marriage payment. Out of the 564 societies studied by Murdock, 60 per cent practise bride-price, about 13 per cent practise bride-service, about 3 per cent practise exchange of females, almost 3 per cent practise gift exchange and only 4 per cent practice dowry.

Check Your Progress

2. What do you understand by the term charter ?

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11.3.4 Ceremonials

Ceremonials mark another characteristic feature of marriage. Ceremonials take a diversity of forms in different societies. They may be ritual observances, fasting and drinking, singing and dancing, pageantry and fancy dress, and so on. A negligible number of societies have no marriage ceremonials. Several societies have minor marriage ceremonials. A vast number of societies have highly elaborate rituals, usually involving a succession of events phased over a number of days or months.

In most societies some kind of betrothal ceremony and payments or exchange of gifts mark the initiation of marriage. Then follow a number of ceremonials such as wedding ceremonies, magico religious observances, expression of hostility in the form of insult contests between the parties concerned or in the form of beating a bride by the groom, virginity tests, instruction to the couple, finalization of marriage contract, processions and certain ritual acts such as twining the hair of the couple which symbolizes the union, presentation of wedding cake and throwing the confetti which symbolize fertility, and giving of a wedding ring which is a symbolic remnant of giving bride-price (Stephens 1963 : 215-231).

11.3.5 Specific rules

Specific rules backed by social pressure form as a characteristic of marriage. These rules are proscriptive, prescriptive and preferential. The **proscriptive rules** direct whom a person should not marry. The **prescriptive rules** guide whom a person can marry. The **preferential rules** define whom an individual can prefer to marry.

The proscriptive rules are in the form of incest taboos. Incest refers to sexual relations and marriage between blood relatives namely father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister. For religious and political reasons the royal families of ancient Egypt of Incas of Peru and of Hawai permitted marriages between brothers and sisters but they did not extend this privilege to other members of society. With these exceptions everywhere incest was or is prohibited. **Incest tabu** or **incest taboo** refers to the prohibition against sexual union and marriage between blood relatives namely parents and children, brothers and sisters. Leaving aside the ancient Egyptian, Inca and Hawaiian royal families, incest taboos are almost universal. What is the origin of incest taboos? Why incest taboos are almost universal? Anthropologists have proposed different theories regarding the origin and universality of incest taboos.

- (i) Edward Westermarck explained that primitive people recognized that mating of close kin produces bad results such as abnormal, enfeebled or insufficient number of children and therefore incest taboos were created.
- (ii) R.H. Lowie proposed that human beings everywhere have innate instincts to avoid incest hence incest taboos arose.

- (iii) Edward Westermarck argued that people who have been brought up together since earliest childhood such as brothers and sisters, would not be sexually attracted to each other, hence incest taboos came into existence.
- (iv) Sigmund Freud asserted that children acquire an unconscious desire for the parent of opposite sex, and that incest taboo serves as a device to repress such desires and save the family.
- (v) Edward Burnett Tylor stressed that early humans married members of other families, promoted co-operation among families, enlarged the size of group from which they could choose mates and helped themselves to survive and thus the incest taboo arose because it provided a survival advantage.
- (vi) Bronislaw Malinowski stated that sexual competition among family members would create so much rivalry and tension that the family could not function as an effective unit and that since the family must function effectively for society to survive, society has to curtail competition within the family and that the incest taboo is imposed to avoid conflict within the family and disruption of the family.
- (vii) Kingsley Davis emphasized that incest taboos are universally practised because they prevent role confusion within the nuclear family in all human societies.
- (viii) George Peter Murdock rejected the theories of Westermarck and Lowie but accepted the theory of Freud to some extent and proposed his own theory which states that enculturation, ecology and several other factors and forces are responsible for the origin and universality of incest taboos.
- (ix) Marian Slater suggested that the demographic attributes to early human populations were responsible for the origin of incest taboo. Once the incest taboo created it continued to this day. The average life span of an individual was between 25 and 36 years. If the life span was from 25 to 35 years and if puberty started 13 to 16, there was not much likelihood of a boy having sexual relations with his mother. If a woman had 5 children and lived until she reached 35 years, only the oldest male child who lived to maturity could become the father of one of her children, the last one. By that time most of the children who were old enough to mate their parents were dead. So, inbreeding became relatively difficult and people had to seek mates outside the family if they were going to mate at all. Thus demographic features like short life-span, relatively few offspring surviving to reproduce, maturity, wide spacing of child births and a random sex ratio rendered intra-familial breeding unlikely and led to the creation of incest taboo which in course of time became a tradition and continued to the present day (Slater).

Apart from the proscriptive rules in the form of incest taboos, there are prescriptive rules in the form of endogamy and exogamy. Exogamy (exo=outside, gamy=marriage) is a rule that requires selection of spouse from outside one's own kin group or community. Exogamy, may take many forms. It may be lineage exogamy, clan exogamy, phratry exogamy, moiety exogamy or village exogamy. That means one has to take a mate outside his or her lineage, clan, phratry, moiety or village. Anthropologists have proposed several reasons for practising exogamy.

(i) Edward Burnett Tylor argued that palaeolithic hunting and gathering bands in all probability exchanged women in order to live at peace with each other. They might have entered

into a system of marital exchange between bands. This arrangement was a positive outcome of need for survival. That means, early human populations practised exogamy in order to live at peace with them and exogamy continued as a custom since those early times (Stephens).

(ii) Herbert Risley proposed that probably humans had a desire to have variety in their life. This desire might have influenced human beings to seek marital ties with strangers, unfamiliar and unknown to them. As a result exogamy had come into existence (Majumdar and Madan).

(iii) Edward Westermarck asserted that children growing in the same village may not have sexual attraction for each other. Familiarity breeds contempt. Such an aversion for the familiar may be responsible for the origin and continuity of exogamy.

(iv) Audrey Richards argued that in hunting and food gathering societies food is difficult to obtain and women and children become a burden to such societies. To relieve themselves from this burden, societies eliminate females by killing them young. This leads to female infanticide. Female infanticide leads to scarcity of women and influences the societies to get women from other societies. The best way to get women from other societies is to fight with other societies and capture women from those societies and marry them. This resulted in bride capture. Many tribal societies have proverbs saying "we marry those we fight out", "we marry our enemies". Those proverbs reveal the custom of bride capture. Thus food scarcity is probably responsible for the origin of exogamy (Richards 1939).

(v) Several anthropologists argue that exogamy is more associated with unilineal descent groups like lineage, clan, phratry and moiety and since the members of various descent groups believe that they are related through blood, marriage is forbidden within the descent groups hence exogamy arose.

Endogamy (en=in, gamy=marriage) is the rule of marrying within a group. Many of the tribes and castes in India prescribe that one should not marry outside their group. This principle is followed in order to maintain the purity of the group or to prevent inter-mixture of biological traits.

Under the preferential rule of marriage, a person is expected to prefer certain categories of relatives over other relatives for marriage. Cousin-marriage, levirate and sororate are the best examples of preferential marriages. Two types of cousin marriages are distinguished by anthropologists. Parallel cousin marriage is the marriage of the children of two brothers or two sisters. An individual's father's brother's child or his mother's sister's child is his parallel cousin. Cross-cousin marriage is the marriage of the children of a brother and a sister.

There are two forms of cross-cousin marriage: matrilineal cross-cousin marriage and patrilineal cross-cousin marriage. An individual's mother's brother's child is his matrilineal cross-cousin and his father's sister's child is his patrilineal cross-cousin.

Matrilineal cross-cousin marriage is the marriage of a person to his mother's brother's daughter, **patrilineal cross-cousin marriage** is the marriage of a man to his father's sister's daughter. **Bilateral or symmetrical cross-cousin marriage** occurs when a person has the choice to prefer either of his patrilineal or his matrilineal cross-cousins.

Parallel cousin marriages in contrast with cross-cousin marriages are rare. Even in parallel cousin-marriages patrilineal ones occur more frequently than matrilineal ones.

Cross-cousin marriages are widely but discontinuously distributed all over the world except Europe. In India, it is more common in South India and many of the Dravidian speaking groups.

Under **levirate**, a man marries his dead brother's widow. The children of such a union are regarded as children of the dead man. In this case the second husband raises up seed of his deceased brother. When the duty or privilege of marrying a deceased brother's widow is restricted to his younger brother, the custom is known as **juniorlevirate**.

Sororate refers to marriage of a woman with her dead sister's husband. In several societies where sororate occurs the kinsfolk of dead woman are under obligation to give her sister in marriage to husband.

Both levirate and sororate serve useful social functions in the societies they occur. Levirate provides the widows the most reliable social and economic support from their near relatives. Levirate ensures the least possible social disruption of the kinship system. Further-more, when a man dies childless, levirate often ensures the continuity of his line. On the other hand, the sororate ensures that a man who has handed over bride-price shall have the privileges to which he is entitled to the services of a wife.

11.3.6 Residence

Residence or the household of the newly married couple is also a characteristic of marriage. Rules regarding marital behaviour do not stop after man and a woman are socially accepted as husband and wife. Societies have rules governing where the newly married couples will live. These rules are the residence rules. According to residence rules the types of residence vary from society to society. The most common types of post-marital residence are: patrilocal, matrilocal, bilocal, avunculocal and neolocal.

Patrilocal or virilocal residence is the residence pattern in which the bride leaves her parental home and lives with her husband, either in the house of his parents, or in a dwelling nearby. **Matrilocal or uxorilocal residence** is the residence pattern in which the groom leaves his parental home and lives with his wife, either in the house of her parents or in a dwelling nearby. **Bilocal or ambilocal residence** is the residence pattern in which both patrilocal residence and matrilocal residence co-exist in the same society. **Avunculocal residence** is the residence pattern in which the couple lives with or near a maternal uncle. **Neolocal residence** is the residence pattern in which the couple sets up a household of its own rather than living with neither the husband's nor the wife's parents.

11.3.7 Authority

Authority is a characteristic of marriage. Since a marriage establishes ties between two or more individuals and sets up new roles, there must be new patterns of authority to go along with new roles. With whom the authority rests is subject to variation from one society to another. In some societies authority may be paternal, in some it may be maternal and in some it may be revolving round the maternal uncle of the husband. In paternal authority the authority rests with the husband's father. In maternal authority the authority rests with the wife and mother. In avunculocal authority the authority rests with husband's mother's brother.

11.3.8 Stability

Stability of the union is another characteristic of marriage. Societies vary widely in the degree of marital stability. In many non-literate societies the relationship is quite brittle, and a person may have several spouses during a lifetime. Termination of the union is by divorce. The act of divorce is quite simple in some societies but complex in others. In some societies the union cannot be terminated except by the death of one of the spouses. Thus in some societies marital ties are more stable while in some others they are less stable. Then there is the question of remarriage. In a society like traditional India remarriage is unthinkable for some groups but in many other societies like those embracing Islam remarriage is possible and practised.

Check Your Progress

3. List out the characteristics of marriage.

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11.4 FUNCTIONS OF MARRIAGE

11.4.1 Biological functions

Like most species of animals, human beings must mate in order to reproduce themselves. However, unlike other animals, humans tend to form relatively permanent mating pairs. By itself mating does not constitute marriage. Every human society has formulated certain rules and regulations to define a formal, permanent mating relationship as marriage. Partners in a marriage have sexual rights in one another. Through marriage society organizes sex activities. In other words, the institution of marriage regulates and socially validates relatively long-term, legitimate sexual relations between males and females. Marriage serves as a means for getting together to satisfy sex needs and to start the reproductive process. It is through reproduction human species is replicated and society is perpetuated. Therefore the institution of marriage serves biological functions.

11.4.2 Economic Functions

As long as division of labour by sex exists, every society has to have some mechanism by which men and women share the product of their labour. Marriage would be one way to solve this problem. The institution of marriage solves the problem of how to share the work efforts of men and women and how to implement organised division of labour at the individual and inter-personal level. Without co-operation in food getting and obtaining other necessities such as water and shelter an individual cannot survive. Thus the institution of marriage performs economic functions in the form of bringing economic co-operation between men and women and ensuring the survival of individuals in every society.

11.4.3 Social Functions

Marriage is based on the desire to perpetuate one's family line. It is also a way to acquire new kinsmen, for at marriage one adds not only a spouse but most of a spouse's relatives to one's own group of kin. That means the institution of marriage brings with it, the creation and perpetuation of the family, the formation of person to person relations and the linking of one kin group to another kin group. Thus the institution of marriage serves several functions.

11.4.4 Educational Functions

The care and protection of offspring are at the heart of human social organization. Human infants have the longest period of infant dependency of any primate. The child's prolonged dependence generally places the greatest burden on parent. Unless the parents educate their young through enculturation process, the young cannot acquire culture and carry out biosocial activities successfully. It is the institution of marriage that entrusts the task of educating the young to the parents and passing on culture from one generation to another. Without education or enculturation process, culture cannot continue. Thus marriage serves educative functions for the survival of individuals and for the continuity of culture.

Check Your Progress

4. What are the major functions of marriage ?

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11.5 SUMMING UP

In this unit we have seen how anthropologists in the previous and present century preferred a definition of marriage which is applicable to all human societies. Charter, mate choice, financial transactions, ceremonials, rules of residence, authority and degree of stability and remarriage of men and women are the characteristics of the institution of marriage. The Institution of marriage provides guidelines for sexual activity, establishes a set of legal parents, establishes control over an individual's labour power, binds two families or even larger groups together, provides enculturating agencies to the young and helps the survival of individual, culture and society.

11.6 KEY WORDS

Band	: The basic local group of nomads who hunt and gather.
Clan	: A unilineal descent group whose members believe they are related to one another through descent from a common ancestor or ancestress.
Female infanticide	: Killing of female infants.
Lineage	: A unilineal descent group whose members believe they are related to one another through descent from a common ancestor or ancestors and who are able to trace their descent to known forebears.
Moiety	: Moiety means half. It is the social unit based on kinship that occurs when the tribe is divided into two units.
Palaeolithic Age	: Old Stone Age. The period lasting from about 2.5 million to about 10,000 years ago, Chareterized by the use of chipped stone tools.
Phratry	: A group of clans is called phratry.
Unilineal descent	: The reckoning of ancestry either through males (patrilineal descent) or through females (matrilineal descent).

11.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Frazer	: The scope of Social Anthropology.
Hoebel E.A. & Frost E.L.	: Cultural and Social Anthropology.
Evans Pritchard	: Social Anthropology.

11.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in 30 lines each :

1. Give the early definitions of marriage and explain the characteristics of marriage.
2. Specify the factors that enter the selection of a marriage partner.
3. Explain the proscriptive, prescriptive and preferential rules that regulate the selection of a spouse.
4. State the view of various anthropologists on the origin and universality of incest taboo.
5. What is Endogamy? Mention the anthropological theories about the origin and practice of Endogamy ?
6. Describe the various functions of marriage.

II. Answer the following in 15 lines each :

1. Explain briefly the modern methods of marriage.
2. Describe the ceremonial aspect of marriage.
3. Give the meaning of the terms incest and incest taboo.
4. Describe levirate and sororate marriages.
5. Discuss the various forms of authority.

BRAOU

Unit-12 : WAYS OF ACQUIRING A MATE AND FORMS OF MARRIAGE

Contents

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12.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to acquaint you with the characteristic procedures of mate selection for marital union in different societies of the world and the different forms and sub-forms of marriage.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * explain the ways of acquiring a mate,
- * explain the different forms of marriage.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

In the eleventh unit we have studied about the early and modern definitions of marriage, its characteristics and functions. In this unit we will study the various procedures of mate selection for marital union in different societies of the world and also the different forms of marriage.

12.2 WAYS OF ACQUIRING A MATE

12.2.1 The forms and sub-forms of acquiring a mate

The way of acquiring a mate refers to the characteristic manner in which a spouse is selected. It is the procedure or method of finding or obtaining a wife or husband. To be precise it may be called the manner of mate choice or spouse selection.

The mate choice or acquiring a mate may be classified into four broad forms: negotiated mate choice, commonly known as arranged marriage, where the consent of the parents is necessary, partial free mate choice where parents approval is necessary, total free mate choice by one or both of the potential spouses, and absolutely free mate choice where the consent of the parents is not necessary.

These three broad forms of choosing a mate appear in several sub-forms. The negotiated mate choice appears in the form of mate selection by service, by negotiation, by exchange and by probation. The partial free mate choice appears in the form of mate selection by probation. Total free mate choice appears in the form of mate selection, by capture, by intrusion and by trial. The absolutely free mate choice occurs in the form of mate selection by elopement. We will now discuss all these different sub-forms of acquiring a mate in detail.

12.2.2 Acquiring a mate by negotiations

Acquiring a mate by negotiation is quite common to all types of societies. It can be found in simple societies like the Andamanese of Andaman Islands, Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh, Ituri of Congo region in Africa, Siwas of Solomon Islands, and the aboriginals of Australia and in complex societies like the Chinese, Hindus, Japanese, Europeans and Americans (Stephens Bohannan and Middleton).

Obtaining a spouse by negotiations involves long procedure. Depending upon the custom, either the boy's parents or the girl's parents put forward the proposals and start the negotiations. Go-betweens are frequently used during negotiations. A go-between has more information about a wider network of families than any one family can have. Furthermore, by using a go-between neither the family of the girl nor the family of the boy loses face if its proposals are rejected by the other party.

Several considerations enter into mate selection by negotiation. Generally speaking, a family or kin group may choose a spouse for its child from any one or more of the following four considerations.

(i) The first consideration is the payment of **bride-price dowry or the exchange of gifts**. Bride-price payment is a major affair in a vast majority of the societies. Bride-price is also called progeny-price or bride-wealth. It is paid not only in compensation for the woman's loss but also for the loss of the children she will bear. It demonstrates that marriage is not an individual affair but a group affair because the wealth is received and used by the parents or other relatives of the bride, not by the bride herself. The payment of bride-price grants the groom the right to marry the girl and the right to her children. The bride-price contributes

significantly for marital eligibility since it may have to be returned if the relationship is dissolved. Bride-price means heavy expenses for the boy's people. For the girl's people it means one of life's main chances for economic gain. With dowry payments the situation is reversed. Dowry means heavy expenses for the bride's people; for the groom's people it means one of the life's main chances for economic gain. Gift exchange involves flow of gifts or presents between the groom's people and the bride's people. The bride's people may give gifts or offer dowry to the groom's people and the groom's people may give gifts or offer bride-price to the bride's people.

(ii) A second consideration for acquiring mate by negotiation is the reputation of the potential spouse's parents and kin group. The reputation may be in terms of social status or it may be in terms of personal qualities that lead to pleasant affinal ties.

(iii) A third consideration for acquiring a mate by negotiation is perpetuation of marriage arrangements such as those resulting from the obligations of a cross-cousin or a parallel cousin.

(iv) A fourth consideration for acquiring a mate by negotiation is sororate and levirate obligations. According to the levirate or sororate obligations an individual has to choose a widowed sister-in-law or wife's sister as his mate.

After concluding the negotiations on the basis of any one or more of these four considerations, a formal announcement is made about the acceptance of the proposals, about the amount of bride-price or dowry to be paid or the gift items to be exchanged and about the various procedures to be followed for bringing the boy and the girl together into a marital union at a future date. Thus mate selection by negotiation involves making the proposals and starting and concluding the negotiations on the basis of a number of considerations and an agreement regarding the customary procedures to be followed for uniting the boy and the girl.

Check Your Progress

1. What are the four broad forms of acquiring a mate.

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12.2.3 Acquiring a mate by service

Acquiring a mate by service is actually mate selection by negotiation in which bride-service takes the place of or supplement the bride-price. Bride-service or suitor service refers to the work that the grooms do for his bride's family for a variable length of time either before, or during or after marriage is finalized. Mate selection by service occurs in many societies such as the Chukchee of Siberia, the Kaska Red Indians of Western Canada, the Ojibwa Red Indians of United States, the Sirions Red Indians of Bolivia, the Lepchas of Sikkim, the Subanum of Philippines, the Muria Gonds of Baster, and the many peasant societies in China and India.

In mate selection by service, the boy's family negotiates with the girl's family after making its proposals known to the girl's family. During negotiations both the families come to an agreement on the amount of service or work that the boy has to do to the girl's parents, as a substitute for or as a supplement to bride-price. In some societies like the Chuckchee of Siberia and Muria Gonds of Bastar, a man has a choice between paying bride-price as well as do bride-service. In some other societies like the Kaska Red Indians of Western Canada, Lepchas of Sikkim and Subanum of Philippines a man has to pay bride-price as well as do bride-service.

Several considerations go into mate selection by bride-service.

(i) The first consideration is the duration that one has to serve the bride's family. The period of service may be a few weeks, a few months or several years. Among the Lepchas of Sikkim it may vary from a few weeks to a few years. Among the Kaska Red Indians of Western Canada it may vary from two months to two years. Among the Winnebago and Hidatsa Red Indians of North America, the Chuckchee of Siberia and the Subanum of Philippines, the Gonds and Baigas of Madhya Pradesh and the Bagata and Soaras of Andhra Pradesh the bride-service may last for two or three years.

(ii) The second consideration is the time when one has to commence his service to the bride's family, either before or during or after the marriage is finalized. In some societies like the Gonds and Baigas of Madhya Pradesh, the Bagatas and Saoras of Andhra Pradesh the grooms serve the bride's family before marriage is finalized. In some societies like the Lepcha of Sikkim and Kaska Red Indian of Western Canada, the groom may serve the bride's family either before the marriage is finalized or during the period of finalization of marriage. In other societies like the Eskimo, Hidatsa, Winnebago and Bushmen the groom offers his services to the bride's family only after his marriage.

(iii) The third consideration is the nature or kind of services that one has to offer to the bride's family. The nature of bride's service varies from one society to another. It may involve small chores or full time labour from a few weeks to several years. Among the North Alaskan Eskimo, a boy can fulfill his service obligation by simply catching a seal for his in-laws. Among the Winnebago the bride-service involves tasks such as hunting, fishing and minor services for in-laws. Among the Bushmen of Kalahari desert a man serves his wife's parents and their dependents by hunting for them. He continues this service until his wife bears him three children. Since Bushmen marry little girls and have to wait until they mature to live with them, they sometimes have to serve the bride's parents for ten years or more.

(iv) The fourth consideration is concerned with the nature of relationship between the boy and the girl during the period of service tenure of the boy. In some societies like the Gonda, Baiga, Bagata and Saora, the boy and the girl are expected to behave as strangers until the boy completes his tenure of service and thereafter marries the girl. In some societies like the Winnebago Red Indians and Chuckchee the groom during his period of service is allowed to have intimate life with the bride. In some other societies like the Bushman of Kalahari desert, the girl is usually a child and the boy cannot have conjugal life until the child bride comes of age. For about four to five years of his ten years or more than ten year period of service, he cannot have sexual relations with his wife. But once his wife comes of age, he can have conjugal life to beget three children by his wife in order to complete the period of his service to his-in-laws (Lowie).

Check Your Progress

3. What are the considerations that go into mate selection by bride service ?

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12.2.3 Acquiring a mate by exchange

Acquiring a mate by exchange is similar to mate selection by negotiation in which bride-price is substituted by exchange of women who are either sisters or female relatives of the grooms. Mate selection by exchange involves the following considerations :

(i) The first consideration is continuation of inter-family alliances by exchange daughters or sisters. Exchange of women is a significant way of establishing a bond between individuals and groups. Quite apart from what is exchanged, the act of exchange itself creates social solidarity.

(ii) The second consideration is obviating the difficulty of paying the bride-price. If there are only a few nubile females in any society, women acquire a security value which frequently implies the need for compensation. This difficulty can be overcome by exchanging women between the families.

Mate choice by exchange occurs in many societies. Among the tribal societies of Australia and Melanesia families desirous of establishing an alliance exchange females. In these societies a man gives his sister to one who gives in return his sister to the former. Among the Tiv of Nigeria women are exchanged between the two families or the kin groups involved in a marriage. Mate selection by exchange occurs in several tribes like the Muria Gonds and Baiga of Bastar, and the Bagata, the Koya and the Saora of Andhra Pradesh. Mate choice by exchange occurs in complex societies such as the Chinese, the Hindus and the Arabs. 'Take thy my sister' and give me the sister is the formula which the Arabs follow even today.

12.2.4 Acquiring a mate by probation

Acquiring a mate by probation involves the consent of the girl's parents besides the consent of the girl herself. For example, among the Kukis of Manipur, when a boy is fond of a girl, the girl's parents permit the boy to live with the girl in their house for several weeks and try to understand each other. If the boy and the girl find each other's temperament to be suitable and compatible, the parents of the girl decide to give their daughter in marriage to the boy. If the boy and the girl find each other's temperament to be unsuitable and incompatible, they separate and the boy pays cash compensation to the girl's parents.

12.2.5 Acquiring a mate by capture

Acquiring a mate by capture can be found in many parts of the world. Capture may be physical capture or ceremonial capture. In physical capture a boy adopts a procedure whereby he carries away the girl by force and marries her. In ceremonial capture a boy adopts a procedure whereby he surprises the girl by marking her forehead with a symbol that tantamounts to marriage.

(i) Physical capture takes place in three situations. In one situation a boy may seize a girl from an enemy camp or village, take her away as a feminine prize and marry her. Among the Yanomamo of Venezuela and northern Brazil, men of one village abduct women from other villages and take them as their spouses. Among the Nagas of Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh, there will be raids by one village on another. During such raids men capture women and accept them as wives.

Physical capture may take place in a different situation. A boy who loved a girl but could not get his love reciprocated by the girl ventures to take away the girl by force and marry her. That means the kidnapping takes place without the consent of the girl. This kind of physical capture occurs among the Bagatas and Saoras of Andhra Pradesh, the Ho of Bihar and the Bhils of Rajasthan.

Physical capture may also take place in still a different situation. If a boy and a girl who loved each other but failed to get married, the boy may, with the support of the girl's relatives, take away the girl by force and marry her. That means, the capture takes place with the consent of the girl and with the consent of her relatives. Among the Muria Gonds of Baster, the capture takes place often at the request of the parents of the girl. Remaining unmarried too long does not reflect any credit on a number woman and her parents often request her cross-cousin to take her away. The girl's parents pretend to resist the efforts of the boy when he carries away the girl. The girl also pretends that she is being captured by the boy.

(ii) Ceremonial capture is not as complicated as the physical capture. Among the Kharia and the Birhor of Bihar, a man desirous of marrying a girl whom he cannot acquire by a more straightforward method would lie in wait for her in a public place or at a fair, and then surprise her by applying vermillion mixed with oil to her forehead. This act of the boy is regarded as equivalent to his marriage with the girl (Majumdar and Madan).

Why people get a wife by capture? One reason is the scarcity of women. For example, the Nagas practised female infanticide because of the fear of raids by the enemies. Due to this reason often they had to get a mate from enemy groups. Another reason is that physical capture is cheap and adventuresome, if risky. For example, the Ho have to pay a heavy bride-price if a mate is to be chosen by negotiation. Hence, capturing a woman is considered as the best solution to avoid payment of heavy bride-price. A third reason is the inability of parents to arrange the marriage to their daughters in time. For example, if the Muria Gonds of Baster do not have the marriage of their daughter in time, they encourage her cross-cousin to take her away.

12.2.6 Acquiring a mate by intrusion

Acquiring a mate by intrusion can be found only in a small number of societies. In mate selection by capture a boy takes away by force a girl he is fond of but who is unwilling to marry.

him. On the contrary, in mate selection by intrusion a girl forces a boy to accept her as his spouse. It may occur in the following two situations.

(i) A girl may force a boy she is fond of but who is unwilling to accept her as his mate, to marry her. For example, among the Birhor and Ho of Bihar, a over-fond girl is actually subjected to insulting and harsh treatment. often beaten, turned out and refused food, but she refuses to abandon her intentions, and finally is accepted as one of those impossible girls before whose obstinate will one has to yield.

(ii) Mate selection by intrusion may happen if a woman tries to assert herself and secure a rightful status for her, when the man designs to ignore his responsibility. For example, among the Kamars of Madhya Pradesh a woman becoming pregnant in a casual romantic intrigue intrudes into the man's house and does not abandon her efforts until she is accepted as the legal wife of the man.

12.2.7 Acquiring a mate by trial

Acquiring a mate by trial highlights how a young man has to prove his qualities of courage and bravery for choosing a mate of his choice. For example, among the Bhils of Rajasthan, during the Holi festival, young men and women dance round a pole or a tree to the top of which a coconut and a piece of jaggery are tied. The women make an inner ring of dancers while the men an outer ring. The trial of strength begins when a young man from the outer circle of men dancers reaches and climbs the pole or tree to eat jaggery and break open the coconut. The women dancers may resist the young man's efforts by pulling him down, by striking him with broomsticks, by tearing at his clothes and hair. If the young man overcomes the resistance given by the women dancers, and succeeds in reaching the top of the pole or tree and eats the jaggery and breaks open the coconut there he has the right to select any one of the women dancers as his mate and take her away immediately.

12.2.8 Acquiring a mate by elopement

Acquiring a mate by elopement is more or less approved means by which determined individuals can disobey their elders and choose their own mates. Mate selection by elopement occurs among the Fiji of Oceania, Gusii of Kenya, Iban of Borneo, Cheyenne Red Indians and Ojibwa Red Indians of United States, Kaingang Red Indians of Brazil, Kurnai of Australia, Kwoma and Mundugumor of New Guinea, Samoa of Polynesia, Siwai of Solomon Islands, Subanum of Philippines, Murngin of Australia, Muria Gonds of Bastar, Bagata, Saora, Khond and other tribes of Andhra Pradesh and many other societies. Mate selection by elopement takes place in every known society.

Why should people choose a mate by elopement? When familial or social disapproval blocks a fervently desired marriage, or when a planned marriage, with a distasteful partner is about to be forced on the unwilling one, elopement is a way out.

What is the pattern of elopement? Elopement usually involves running off then waiting for some days, months or even one or two years and hoping that the marriage will finally be approved. Generally speaking, the indulgent elders always receive back the over-fond eloped pair and allow them to live as wife and husband (Stephens).

Check Your Progress

4. List out the various ways of acquiring a mate.

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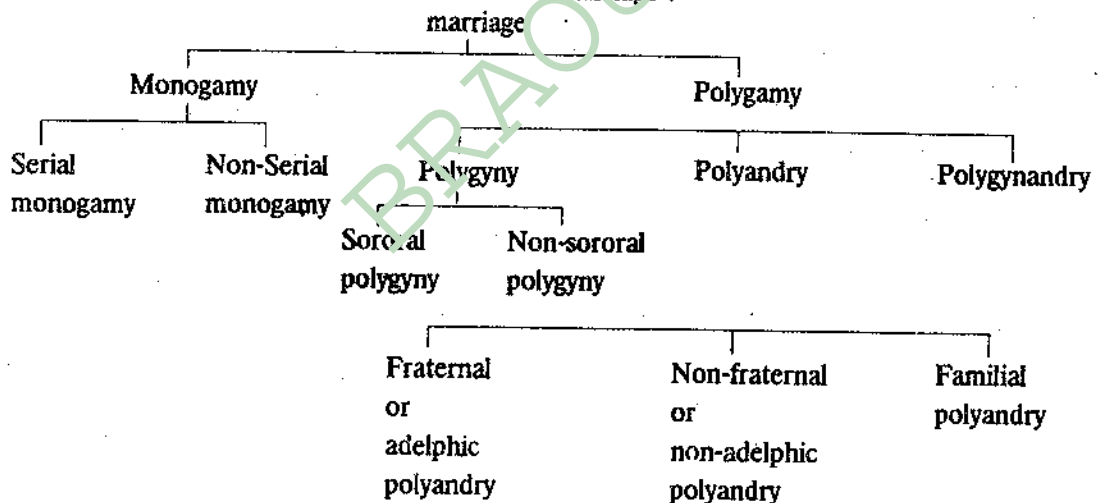
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12.3 FORMS OF MARRIAGE

12.3.1 Different forms of marriage

How many does one marry? One may marry a single person at a time or several persons at a time. If one marries a single person at a time the marriage form is called monogamy (Greek: monio=single; gamy=marriage), and if one marries several persons at a time the marriage form is called polygamy (Greek: poly=multiple; gamy=marriage). In other words, the form of marriage depends upon the number of spouses involved in the marriage. The following chart shows the various forms, sub-forms and sub-sub forms of marriage :



12.3.2 Monogamy is a form of marriage in which an individual has a single spouse at any given time. Serial monogamy is a sub-form of monogamy in which an individual has several spouses in succession. The Semangs of Malay forests, for example, limit themselves to one wife. In case of divorce or death of wife, a Semang marries again and again and remains to be monogamous. Non-serial monogamy is sub-form of monogamy in which an individual has the same single spouse lifelong.

12.3.3 Polygamy is a form of marriage in which an individual has multiple spouses at any time. Polygamy has three sub-forms: polygyny and polygynandry. Polygyny is the sub-form in which an individual has multiple wives at any time. Polygyny exists in two specialized variations: sororal polygyny and non-sororal polygyny. Sororal polygyny is a variety of polygyny in which the multiple wives of an individual are sisters. Non-sororal polygyny is a variety of polygyny in which the

multiple wives of an individual are not sisters.

Polyandry is the sub-form of polygamy in which an individual has multiple husbands at any given time. It appears in three specialized variations: fraternal or adelphic polyandry, non-fraternal or non-adelphic polyandry and familial polyandry. *Fraternal or adelphic polyandry* is a variety of polyandry in which the multiple husbands of woman are own brothers (offspring of the same mother). *Non-fraternal or non-adelphic polyandry* is a variety of polyandry in which the multiple husbands are either clan brothers (those who belong to one clan), or unrelated men. The Todas of Nilgiri Hills in Tamil Nadu and Khasas of Jaunsar Bawar in Uttar Pradesh practise both fraternal and non-fraternal polyandry in which the multiple husbands of a woman were own brothers and clan brothers respectively. However among the Nayars, the multiple husbands of a woman were several unrelated men. Familial polyandry is a variety of polyandry in which the husbands of a woman are father and son. This rare variety of polyandry occurs among the Tibetans.

Polyandry is a sub-form of polygamy in which a man has multiple wives and a woman has multiple husbands at any given time. It shows the coexistence of polygyny and polyandry. It is a rare sub-form of polygamy existing among the Todas of Nilgiri Hills, the Khasas of Jaunsar Bawar and the Marquesans of Polynesia. Some men in these societies practise monogamy as well as polyandry. As a result each man will have one wife exclusive to himself and another wife shared along with brothers or clan brothers. That means each man has two wives at any time but at the same time he along with his brothers or clan brothers are multiple husbands to one woman. Therefore polygyny and polyandry occur simultaneously.

Monogamy

Occurrence: monogamy occurs in all types of societies in different parts of the world. It occurs among the foodgatherers and hunters like the Andamanese, Chenchus and Juang of India, Semaag and Sakai of Malaya, Ituri of Congo forests and Arunta of Australia. Several horticultural societies like the Abor, Angami and Lakhes of India and the pastoral societies like the Basseri of Iran, Kalmyk of Mongolia, Lapps of Finland and Norway and Dinka of Africa practise monogamy along with polygyny. Likewise numerous agricultural societies like the Dalha, Oraon and Purum of India, Dusun of Borneo and the peasant groups dispersed all over the world practise monogamy and polygyny. Advanced industrialized societies in different parts of the world are monogamous.

Reasons

Why do different societies practise monogamy?

Different societies practise monogamy for demographic, economic, biological, social, legal and psychological reasons.

- (i) Monogamy is a response to balanced sex ratio. Even though sex-ratio is not uniform, it is approximately 1:1 all over the world. It is commonly said that a man can have two wives except by preventing somebody else from having one.
- (ii) Monogamy offers a solution to the problem of adapting to the limited availability of various resources in the environment.

- (iii) Monogamy favours almost everyone a chance to have atleast one spouse.
- (iv) Monogamy provides effective sexual gratification for both men and women.
- (v) Monogamy keeps intra-sex jealousies and quarrels at minimum.
- (vi) Monogamy facilitates relatively easy rules of inheritance, succession and membership in kin groups.
- (vii) Monogamy helps to maintain effective child rearing procedures and augments close emotional ties between parents and children.

Check Your Progress

5. What are the reasons why people practice monogamy.

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12.4 SUMMING UP

In this unit we have studied the characteristic procedures of mate selection for marital union in different societies of the world. The mate choice may be classified into four broad forms: negotiated mate choice, partial free mate choice, total free mate choice and absolutely free mate choice. The negotiated mate choice is in the form of mate selection by service, by negotiation, by exchange and by probation. The partial free mate choice appears in the form of mate selection by probation. The total free mate choice appears in the form of mate selection by capture, by intrusion, and by trial. The absolutely free mate choice occurs in the form of mate selection by elopement. Monogamy and polygamy are the two different forms of marriage. The form of marriage depends upon the number of spouses involved in marriage.

12.6 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Hoebel	:	Man in the Primitive World
Evans Pritchard	:	Social Anthropology
Kottah C.P.	:	Cultural Anthropology

12.7 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer each of the following in about 30 lines :

1. Explain the different ways of acquiring a mate.
2. What considerations go into selection by negotiation ?
3. What are the major differences between mate selection by negotiation, by service and

by exchange ?

4. How does an Indian tribal society acquire a mate by probation ?
5. Explain the different forms of marriage.

II. Answer the following in 15 lines each :

1. What is the importance of bride-price payments ?
2. How do some tribal societies acquire mate by intrusion ?
3. Explain how some tribes of India select a mate by ceremonial capture.
4. Briefly explain acquiring a mate by trial.
5. Explain the terms negotiated free and absolutely free mate choice.
6. Name some of the societies which acquire a mate by negotiation.
7. Mention some of the societies which acquire a mate by exchange.
8. Name the societies which practice polyandry.

BRAOU

Unit-13 : DEFINITION, CHARACTERISTICS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY

Contents

- 13.0 Aims and Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Definition of the Family
 - 13.2.1 Early Definitions
 - 13.2.2 Modern Definitions
- 13.3 Characteristics of the Family
 - 13.3.1 Conjugal Relationship
 - 13.3.2 Maternal and Paternal Relationship
 - 13.3.3 Conjugal-natal Relationship
 - 13.3.4 Consanguineal Relationship
 - 13.3.5 Emotional Basis
 - 13.3.6 Sense of Responsibility among Members
 - 13.3.7 Social Regulation
 - 13.3.8 Common Residence
 - 13.3.9 Limited Size
 - 13.3.10 Nuclear Position
 - 13.3.11 Persistence and Change
 - 13.3.12. Universality
- 13.4 Functions of the Family
 - 13.4.1 Sexual Function
 - 13.4.2 Economic Function
 - 13.4.3 Reproductive Function
 - 13.4.4 Educational Function
- 13.5 Summing Up
- 13.6 Key Words
- 13.7 Suggested Books
- 13.8 Model Examination Questions

13.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with the definition, characteristics and functions of the family.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * give the early and modern definitions of the family,

- * describe the various characteristics of the family,
- * explain how these characteristics reveal the living arrangements made by different human societies,
- * explain the functions of the family.

13.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last units we have studied about the social institution marriage. In this unit we will study about family which is an important social institution. In this unit we will study the definitions, characteristics and functions of the family.

13.2 DEFINITION OF FAMILY

Like the definitions of marriage, those of family also can be classified into early ones that have been formulated prior to 1955 and modern ones that have been formulated after 1955.

13.2.1 Early Definitions

Among the early anthropological definitions of the family, those offered by the nineteenth century evolutionists emphasized that the family was a group based on marriage, common residence, emotional bonds, and stipulation of domestic services. At the same time while some definitions emphasized that the family was unknown among the simplest and the rudest of human societies, others concluded that the family was known even to the earliest and rudest of human societies.

Like the nineteenth century anthropologists, those in the first half of the twentieth century have also tried to formulate a definition of the family. Robert H. Lowie defined the family as a group based on marital relations, rights and duties of parenthood, common habitation, and reciprocal relations between parents and children. On similar lines Ralph Linton defined the family as a group that involves marriage, rights and duties of parents, common residence for parents and children and reciprocal relations between parents and children. Both Lowie and Linton argued that the family is common to all types of human societies in the past as well as the present.

George Peter Murdock examined 192 societies and formulated a definition of the family. According to his definition : The family is a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation, and reproduction. It includes both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children own or adopted. Like Lowie and Linton, Murdock too concluded that the family can be found in all types of human societies in all places and in all times.

A careful examination of the early definitions of the family reveals that anthropologists felt that marriage, common residence, stipulation of domestic services and reproduction and reciprocal relations between parents and children are the necessary criteria for a group to be called the family. Opinions were divided with regard to the occurrence of the family in all societies. Although some of the evolutionists of nineteenth century denied the occurrence of the family in the simplest and rudest societies, some others among them besides non-evolutionists

of the early twentieth century argued for the occurrence of the family even in the simplest and rudest societies.

Check Your Progress

1. How did Murdock define family ?

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13.2.2 Modern Definition

During the last three decades anthropologists have tried to provide a definition of the family in terms of certain criteria which are considered as important by the societies themselves but not by the anthropologists. Edmund Leach initiated the first effort in this context. He tried to give an admirable concise definition of the family but failed to provide one that would apply to all types of human societies. Instead, he enumerated the various characteristics of marriage as the family. According to him the criteria for a group to be called the family are : marriage, legal paternity and maternity, monopoly of the couple over each other's sexuality, rights of the spouses to each other's labour services, rights of both the spouses over property to establish a joint fund of property for the benefit of their children, and a socially significant relationship of affinity between each spouse and the relatives of the other. Leach concluded that since no single one of these criteria is invariably found in every known society we ought to feel free to call the family any group which fulfills any one or more of these criteria.

Apart from Edmund Leach, anthropologists like Melford Spiro Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, Kathleen Gough and several others have tried their best to arrive at a definition of the family that is applicable to all societies but the problem of defining the family has by no means been resolved to the satisfaction of all. Levy and Fallers concluded that the family is a primary kinship unit which carries out aspects of the sexual, reproductive, economic and educational functions.

The above discussion reveals that although the anthropologists in the last three decades assumed that the family is somehow necessary and is therefore found in all human societies, there is little agreement with regard to what exactly constitute the family and what precisely is the universally applicable definition of the family. William Newton Stephens tried to give a definition of the family that holds good to all human societies. According to his definition: "The family in general is a group based on marriage and marriage contract, including recognition of the rights and duties of parenthood, common residence for husband, wife and children and reciprocal economic obligations between husband and wife."

Stephen's definition of the family rests on four criteria : marriage and marriage contract, reciprocal economic obligations between husband and wife, common residence, and rights and

duties of parenthood. Stephens says that not all these criteria can be found in every human society. The family in a vast majority of the societies satisfies all the criteria mentioned in the definition. However, there are a few societies in which the family may be formulated to make it applicable to all societies including even those societies which could not be covered by his definition of the family. This is what exactly Edmund Leach has said almost two decades ago. However, in the absence of such a definition of the family that has universal applicability, the definition of the family given by William Stephens may serve as an appropriate one for understanding the basic social group in a vast majority of the societies.

Check Your Progress

2. List out the criteria for a group to be called the family.

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13.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FAMILY

13.3.1 Conjugal relationship

The family has many characteristics. In the first instance, it is characterized by the conjugal relationship. Conjugal relationship refers to institutionalized mating relationship or marital relationship. It is not merely a mating relationship. Mating relationship is only a sexual relationship, not a socially approved, institutionalized, relatively permanent sexual relationship, hence not a conjugal relationship. A *conjugal relationship* comes into existence when the persons of opposite sex are united by the institution of marriage; it is marital relation of husband-wife relationship. Without conjugal relationship there cannot be a basis for the formation of the family. Conjugal relationship gives a man the status of husband and the woman the status of wife and offers the husband's monopoly in the wife's sexuality and the wife a monopoly in the husband's sexuality. Therefore conjugal relationship is a characteristic of the family.

13.3.2 Maternal and paternal relationship

A second characteristic of the family is the maternal and paternal relationship. The conjugal relationship invests the husband with the right to beget children by his wife and the wife with the right to bear children of her husband. From the biological point of view a child is the product of a mating between a man and a woman. The woman who bears a child is the child's biological mother and the man who begets a child is the child's biological father. The child's biological father is technically called his *genitor* and his biological mother is called *genetrix*. Genitor and genetrix are biological terms. However, in all societies a child has both a social father and a social mother. His social father may or may not be the same as his genitor, though he most often is. Similarly his social mother may not be the same as his genetrix, though she most often is. In our own society, when the social father is not the genitor, he may be a foster father. In

some societies he may be some other man who is currently married to social mother. When anthropologists speak of a child's mother or father, they mean his social mother or social father. The technical terms for social father and social mother are *mater* and *pater*. That means, from the social point of view a pater is one whom society recognized as the child's legal father and a mater is one whom society recognized as the child's legal mother.

Biological father and mother and sociological father and mother have different meanings. Biological father or genitor is one who has actually sown the seed and biological mother or genetrix is one who has actually received the seed. The man who sows the seed may be or may not be the social father or pater and the woman who receives the seed may be or may not be the social mother or mater.

Suppose a couple has adopted a child. The child is not the product of a mating of the couple who adopted the child, but the product of a mating of some other couple. The couple who mated and produced the child are the genitor and genetrix of the child, but those who adopted the child are the pater and mater of the child. Take another example from the Nuer society in which a woman is married to the ghost of a dead man. The children born in the union are considered as the children of the dead man. How does this example explain biological and sociological parenthood? The relative of the dead man who is responsible for the birth of the offspring is the genitor but not a pater.

The dead man is the ghost husband of the woman and society recognized him as *pater* not as a genitor. The woman married to the ghost of the dead man is the *genetrix* as well as the *mater* of the children.

A social father or pater and a mater or social mother are obviously cultural categories inspired by biology. Most commonly a child's genitor and genetrix are also his pater and mater. However, biology is not the whole story. This is demonstrated by the rules of society. The social categories often do not correspond perfectly to any simple biological reality, and they are important, as we have been in our own society and in the Nuer society, for quite non-biological reasons. Conjugal relationship establishes the legal father or pater of a woman's children and the legal mother or mater of man's children. From the biological point of view the woman who bears you is your mother or *genetrix*, and every person has exactly one mother. From the social point of view, your mother or mater may be the woman who bears you or the woman who adopts you, or the woman who raises you, or the woman who arranges your marriage or even any member of a class of women who are wives of your father. Likewise from the biological point of view the man who begets you is your father or genitor, and every person has exactly one father. But from the social point of view, your father or pater may be the man who begets you or the man who adopts you, or the man who raises you, or the man who arranges your marriage or even any member of a class of men who are husbands of your mother. Clear delineation regarding who is one's mater and who is one's pater besides what is the relationship between one's mater and one's pater is the characteristic of the family in every society.

Check Your Progress

3. When does conjugal relationship come into existence ?

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13.3.3 Conjugal natal relationship

Conjugal relationship refers to the tie between a man and a woman who are socially recognized as husband and wife. Natal relationship refers to the tie between a person and a person's parental family. Each family is a conjugal family for the children who are born into it. The family into which one is born is technically called the *family of orientation* or the *natal family* and the family which is founded with a spouse in wedlock is technically called the *family procreation* or the *conjugal family*. The family of procreation or conjugal family begins with the union of the married pair and the family of orientation or natal family comes into existence when the mated pair gets children. A single family serves as a conjugal family as well as a natal family: to your parents it is a conjugal family but to you it is a natal family.

The conjugal family and the natal family are alike in terms of form and function. However, the statuses of an individual within the two families are very different. In one you have the status of being a child and in another you have the status of being a parent but one cannot exist without the other. This dual nature in terms of conjugal and natal relationship is a characteristic of every family. In other words, every family is a conjugal natal family.

13.3.4 Consanguineal relationship

Conjugal relationship creates consanguineal relationship. The relationship between the mated pair and the offspring is a blood relationship technically called *consanguineal relationship*. The very conjugal-natal relationship is based on the marital-consanguineal relationship. Thus consanguineal relationship apart from but dependent on conjugal relationship is a characteristic of the family.

13.3.5 Emotional basis

The bonds that tie together the members of a family are the outcome of emotional factors such as love, mutual affection and solicitude. Love, mutual affection and feelings unite husband and wife, father and mother, and parents and children in a family. This emotional basis of the family makes it an ideally suitable primary social group in every society. Thus emotional basis is a characteristic of the family.

13.3.6 Sense of responsibility among members

In addition to having emotional basis, the family has an intellectual basis to some extent. The intellectual basis of the family has its manifestation in the rational and reasoned responsibility among the members of the family. The sense of personal responsibility towards each guarantees smooth working of the family and consequently the total society. That means, a sense of inter-personal responsibility within the family is a characteristic of the family.

13.3.7 Social regulation

Another characteristic of the family is regulation of social life. Every society maintains rules, standards or norms according to which it guides its members regarding who has to interact with whom, when and in what manner, and how to establish a network of relations amongst themselves, depend upon one another and fulfil their needs for their individual survival. It is through the survival of its members it makes sure of its survival for ever. To make every member of society follow the rules, standards or norms of a society there must be love, mutual affection, and blood tie amongst the members of a society. The best way to make the members of a society have mutual affection and blood ties is to create conjugal relations and through conjugal relations to create the blood ties and consequently allow the people involved in conjugal relations and blood ties to live in a small group, namely the family. Through its various families every society ensures a wide network of relationships and thus regulates and orders life for its members.

13.3.8 Common residence

The family has a common habitation. It requires a home or residence for its living. Without a dwelling place, the task of child bearing and child rearing cannot be adequately performed. The family may live in a single dwelling or in several dwellings.

13.3.9 Limited size

Throughout the world, the family is characterized by its limited size. It may include parents and their unmarried children or parents and their married as well as unmarried children, it may include parents, children, grandchildren and great grandchildren. That means usually it includes members belonging to two generations, three generations or four to five generations. In contrast with the size of the groups like lineages, clans, phratries and moieties, the size of the families in all societies is very small. Each lineage, clan, phratry or moiety includes hundreds and thousands of members but each family includes a few members. In our own society, there are the families (kutumbaalu) each with parents and their unmarried children or parents and their married sons besides unmarried children or parents and their married sons and grandchildren. As against the families there are the surname groups (intiperlu) each embracing thousands of members and there are the several clan groups (gotras) each embracing several surname groups and including in it thousands of members. Thus in all societies, the family is characterized by its precision in contrast with the other types of groups such as clan, phratry and moiety.

13.3.10 Nuclear Position

The family is characterized by its nuclear position in relation to other types of groups. It serves as the nucleus for the growth of other types of groupings which never deal with the preparation of a newly-born child for participation in the society. It is the family which prepares a child as a cultural creature and makes a child to participate in all other groups. It is the family which forms as the nucleus for the formation of other types of groups. A family may enlarge and group into a lineage. Two brothers of one family may become the heads of two lineages. The two lineages may grow in size and split into different lineages and at the same time lose contact with each other but all claiming to be descendents of a particular ancestor in the long run and forming into a clan. The nuclear position of the family can also be understood in terms of the importance of one's membership in various kinship groups in relation to the family. Without

being a member of the family, one cannot be a member of a lineage, and without being a member of a lineage one cannot be a member of clan, and so on. The very membership in the family affiliates an individual to the various groups in a society. Thus in terms of enculturation of an individual, in terms of creation of different types of kinship groups, and in terms of offering membership to an individual in various groupings of a society the family occupies a nuclear position.

13.3.11 Persistence and Change

The family is characterized by persistence and change. In anthropological parlance the family is a group or an association based on the institution of marriage. It is a group of personnel whose actions are designed to fulfill the aims of the institution of marriage. The persistence and change of the association of family is therefore dependent upon the persistence and change of the institution of marriage. However, some social scientists view the family as a persistent and dynamic institution as well as association and process.

If the family is viewed as an established form of procedure or as a bundle of custom characteristic of group activity, it becomes an institution. Hence, it can be understood as an instrument meant for regular and channelized sex-satisfaction, patterned division of labour, organized cultural transmission from generation to generation, systematized adjustment to people and environment and guided perpetuation of the group and species.

If the family is viewed as a group of kin who are organized for the purpose of residing together and satisfying together several needs but not all needs necessary for human existence it becomes an association. Firstly, the family is a group of kin. Secondly, the kin are organized to reside together. Thirdly, the kin have a limited number of purposes to pursue. The purpose of the married pair is to satisfy the biological drive of sex, to co-operate and perform economic tasks, to get children and rear children, to perpetuate the family line and to perpetuate the culture as well as the society. The purpose of the offspring produced by the mated pair is to get nurturance and training from the latter but offer support to the latter in their old age. That means by being a member of the family you can satisfy some biological, some economic and some social needs but you cannot satisfy all your needs. You cannot marry a person within your own family because they are your blood relatives. Therefore, you have to marry a person from outside your family. Likewise you cannot depend upon your family alone for satisfying some of your social needs, economic needs, religious needs and political needs. As the family is organized for the satisfaction of some of the human needs it stands as an association.

If the family is viewed as a systematic series of actions directed to some end it becomes a process. The first stage of the process commences with the preparation of an individual as a responsible member of society. The next stage of the process begins with the preparation of an individual for all the activities of adult life. The final stage of the process starts with the birth of offspring. As the offspring come of age, they set the same process again and again. That means, the family is an ever-continuing process, on the smooth continuity of which depends the continuity of society itself.

From whatever angle one tries to understand the family, the family has undergone several changes in its institutional procedures, in its associational composition and structure, and in its

proissuel actions. However, the family as such continues even to this day. Thus persistence and change are significant characteristics of the family.

13.3.12 Universality

The family is universal, because it is found in all human societies at all levels of development, in all places and at all times. There is no evidence to show that there ever was a time when the family did not exist in all types of human societies. Even now there is no evidence to show that it is absent at least in one human society at any place. There is no known society lacking the families as its integral parts. There is no known society in terms of which initial placement of individuals fails to be overwhelmingly in the family. Also there is no known society in which an individual is not enculturated in the family context. Thus as the family makes possible the life of an individual and the perpetuation of human species as well as human society it has become universal to human society.

Check Your Progress

4. What is consanguineal relationship ?

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5. List out the characteristics of the family.

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13.4 FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY

13.4.1 Sexual function

The family includes the husband-wife relationship to fulfill a sexual function. Unlike most other female primates, the human female is more or less continuously receptive to sexual activity. The continuous female sexuality might have created a sexual problem in that it might have fostered considerable sexual competition between males for males. Society might have prevented such competition in order to survive and it might have developed some way of minimizing the rivalry between males for females in order to reduce the chance of lethal conflict. Permanent paired mating, that is mating on a regular basis between people of opposite sex, might have become a solution to this problem. As a result marital unions, conjugal relationships or husband-wife

relationships have come into existence. The husband-wife relationship has become a socially approved means to control sexual relations, and a socially approved basis of the family. However there are some exceptional cases where it is not the husband-wife relationship established by marriage, rather the father-mother relationship established by the foundation of the family that grants sexual privileges to the males and females. For example, among the Banaro of New Guinea and some of the peasant societies in Eastern Europe a groom is not permitted to approach his wife until she bears him a child by a special relative of his father. With the exception of such small number of societies, in a vast majority of the societies the family institutionalizes and channelizes the sexual outlets, and it gives each partner a monopoly in the sexuality of the other.

13.4.2 Economic function

The family serves economic function also. Husband-wife relationship is not merely a sexual union, it is sexual union with economic cooperation. There are sexual unions without economic cooperation. There are also economic units without sexual relationship. The relationship between employer and secretary is an example of sexual union without economic cooperation but the relationship between brother and sister is an example of economic union without sexual union. But husband-wife relationship exists only when the economic and the sexual are united into one relationship and this combination occurs only in the context of the family. The family entails both sexual and economic relationship. By virtue of sex difference the spouses make a unique and efficient cooperating unit. Man with his superior muscular strength undertakes more strenuous tasks. Woman with her physiological burdens of pregnancy and nursing performs lighter tasks. In all societies there is some kind of division of labour on the basis of sex. Each partner performs tasks according to sex-based division of labour. With the birth of offspring the division of labour based on age and generation come into play. As the children come of age, they offer their parents considerable relief and help. Siblings are similarly bound to one another through the care and help given by an elder to a younger, through co-operation in childhood games and through mutual economic assistance as they grow older. The cords of reciprocal economic obligations, tie together parents and children. In simpler societies where the family is a self-contained unit of production, consumption and distribution, it encompasses all economic roles characteristic of a society, but in advanced societies where the family is not a self-contained unit of production, consumption and distribution, it includes only some of the economic roles characteristic of a society. Thus family serves economic functions.

13.4.3 Reproductive function

The task of perpetuating the population of a society is an important function of the family. Sexual cohabitation between the spouses automatically leads to the birth of offspring. The family nurses and rears its offspring to physical and social maturity. However, there are some simpler societies which have a low birth rate of children and hence procure children from their neighbouring societies through frequent raids and rear them as their own children. In these societies the family does not perform the reproductive function as in other societies do. Not considering such exceptional cases, it may be said that a society reproduces itself biologically through the family.

13.4.4 Educational function

The family fulfills educational function. The young infant must acquire an immense amount of traditional knowledge and skill and must learn to subject his inborn impulses to the many disciplines prescribed by his society, before he can assume his place as an adult member of his society. The burden of enculturation and education falls primarily upon the family. The task of enculturating and educating the children is distributed between the parents. The father alone is capable of training the sons in the division of labour by sex. He alone is capable of training the sons in the activities and disciplines of adult males. Likewise the mother alone is capable of training the daughter in the activities and disciplines of adult females. Older siblings also play an important role imparting knowledge and discipline through daily interaction in work and play. There are a few societies in which the family does not undertake the enculturative and educative functions. For example, in some societies in West Africa and Australia there are bush schools where youths receive instruction in tribal lore for several years and acquaint themselves with many cultural aspects of their society. In many advanced societies the educational function is performed by the educational institution in the form of schools, colleges and universities. Even then the family continues to be to some extent the first school. Ignoring such exceptions, it may be said that in a vast majority of the societies collective responsibility for enculturation and education welds the various relationships of the family together.

Check Your Progress

6: What are the important functions of the family ?

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13.5 SUMMING UP

The family in general is a group based on marriage and marriage contract, including recognition of the rights and duties of parenthood, common residence for husband and wife and children and reciprocal economic obligations between husband and wife. Conjugal relationship, maternal and paternal relationship, conjugal-natal relationship, consanguineal relationship, emotional basis sense of responsibility among members, regulation of social life, common residence, limited size, nuclear position, persistence and change and universality are the important characteristics of the institution of family. The family includes the husband wife relationship to fulfill a sexual function, economic function, reproductive function and educational function.

13.6 KEY WORDS

- Bush schools** : Traditional schools of some tribal societies. They are located in the hinterland of a tribal society. They impart lore of their society, a body of knowledge and many esoteric matters related to their culture.
- Education** : Refers to the process whereby mere formal knowledge is acquired. Education normally goes on in a place called a school. Enculturation is different from education. Enculturation refers to the process whereby children learn about their culture and acquire the habits and abilities appropriate to their society. But many primitive societies treat enculturation and education as one and the same while a few primitive societies and advanced societies including our own treat them as different but keeping education as part of enculturation.
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13.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

- Hoebel : Man in the Primitive World
- Evans Pritchard : Social Anthropology
- Kottah : Cultural Anthropology
- Piddington R. : An Introduction to Social Anthropology
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13.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer each of the following in about 30 lines :

1. Cite the early definitions of the family.
2. Give the modern definition of the family.
3. Present the views of anthropologists on the universal definition of the family.
4. Explain the meaning of biological and sociological parenthood in different societies.
5. Enumerate and explain the various characteristics of the family.
6. Is husband-wife relationship always the basis for the creation of the family ?
7. Briefly discuss the various functions of the family in your own society.

II. Answer the following in 15 lines each :

1. What is a conjugal relationship ?
2. Explain the terms genitor, genetrix, mater and pater.
3. What are the differences between a conjugal family and a natal family ?
4. Examine how the family is important for the regulation of social life.

5. Show how the family is characterized by limited size.
6. Is the family universal ?
7. What is a Conjugal relationship ?
8. What is a consanguineal relationship ?
9. Is conjugal relationship essential for the creation of consanguineal relationship ?
10. Explain the emotional basis of the family.
11. Explain the intellectual basis of the family.
12. Give the meaning of the terms family of orientation and family of procreation

BRAOU

Unit-14 : TYPES OF THE FAMILY

Contents

- 14.0 Aims and Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Typology of the Families
 - 14.2.1 Typologies each based on a Single Criterion
 - 14.2.2 Typology based on Multiple Criteria
- 14.3 The Nuclear Family among the Chenchus
 - 14.3.1 Habitat
 - 14.3.2 Structure
 - 14.3.3 Organization and Functions
- 14.4 The Extended Family among the Hindus
 - 14.4.1 Distribution
 - 14.4.2 Structure
 - 14.4.3 Organization and Functions
- 14.5 Summing Up
- 14.6 Suggested Books
- 14.7 Model Examination Questions

14.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to enable you to understand the different types of the family.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * show how distinct typologies of the families each based on a single criteria can be constructed,
- * explain the typology based on multiple criteria,
- * explain the frequency of occurrence of the different types of families,
- * explain what exactly is the structure and organization of the usual and rare types of families and how they work in Chenchu tribe and the Hindus.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied the definitions, characteristics and functions of the family. In this unit we will study the typologies of the families and the frequency of their occurrence in different societies.

14.2 TYPOLOGIES OF FAMILIES

14.2.1 Typologies each based on a single criterion

Typology of the families means systematic classification of the families into several types. A typology of the families can be constructed on the basis of the criterion or form of marriage. The forms of marriage may be monogamy, polygyny and polyandry. They are based on the number of male or female spouses involved in each union. Taking the different forms of marriage as the bases, the families can be classified into different types : *monogamous families*, *polygynous families* and *polyandrous families*.

Another typology of families can be built on the basis of the criterion of descent. The term *descent* refers to the way in which one acquires membership of a kinship group. If the descent is traced through father in every generation it is called *patrilineal descent* or *agnatic descent*; if the descent is traced through mother in each generation it is called *matrilineal descent* or *uterine descent*. If a person traces descent through both mother and father on each generation it is called *bilateral descent*. If one traces descent through mother in one generation but through father in another generation it is called *ambilineal descent*. According to the types of descent we may classify the families into several types: *patrilineal families*, *matrilineal families*, *bilateral families* and *ambilineal families*. If it is a patrilineal family, you trace your ancestry through your father; if it is a matrilineal family you trace your ancestry through your mother; if it is a bilateral family, you trace your ancestry through both your father and mother; and if it is an ambilineal family, you trace your ancestry through your father in one generation but in the next generation your son may trace ancestry through his mother, that is, your wife.

A different typology of the families can also be constructed with the help of the criterion of residence. The term residence refers to postmarital residence. If residence is with or near the groom's parents it becomes *patrilocal* or *virilocal* (Latin: vir=male, locus=place); if it is with or near bride's parents it becomes *matrilocal* or *uxorilocal* (Latin: uxori=wife, locus=place); if it is either with or near groom's mother's parents or with or near bride's parents it is called *bilocal* or *ambilocal* (Latin: ambi-both, locus=place); if it is with or near groom's brother it becomes *avunculocal* (Latin: avunculus=mother's brother, locus=place); and if the couple sets up a new household removed to some degree from the relatives of either the bride or the groom it is called *neolocal* (Greek: neo=new, locus=place) residence. According to these patterns of residence the families can be classified into several types: *patrilocal families*, *matrilocal families*, *bilocal families*, *avunculocal families* and *neolocal families*.

A distinct typology of the families can be built by using authority as a criterion. The term *authority* refers to the right to have power or commanding influence over the members of the family. If the authority is in the father, it is called *paternal authority* and if it is vested in the mother, it is called *maternal authority*. According to these two types of authorities the families can be classified into two types: *paternal families* and *maternal families*. In *paternal families* authority runs in the male line. It is vested generally in the eldest male living or in the eldest son. In *maternal families* authority runs in the female line. It is vested in the eldest female living or in the eldest daughter.

Types of succession also can be used for constructing a typology of the families. The transmission of office or rank is called *succession*. Succession may be patrilineal or matrilineal. Matrilineal succession means the passing of titles or ranks from males to females through females. Patrilineal succession means the passing of titles or ranks from males to males through males. Accordingly the families may be classified into patrilineal families and matrilineal families.

The families can also be classified into several types on the basis of composition of relatives or kinship structure. That means the families can be classified by determining how many *father-offspring* or *mother-offspring* units are linked with particular women or men respectively. A family that has one father-offspring unit linked with a woman or mother-offspring unit linked with a man is called single family, elementary family, simple family, atomistic family, immediate family or *nuclear family*. A family that has more than one father-offspring unit or mother-offspring unit linked with particular woman or men is called a *composite family*. The composite family may contain several sub-types. If the composite family has more than one mother-offspring unit linked with several men it becomes *polyandrous family*; if it has more than one father-offspring unit linked with several women it becomes polygynous family; if it has more than one father-offspring unit each linked with a woman or more than one mother-offspring unit each linked with a man, it is called an *extended family*.

The following table gives the various types of families classified on the basis of specific criteria such as marriage, descent, residence, authority and composition or kinship structure.

SPECIFIC CRITERION	TYPES OF THE FAMILIES
Marriage	
Monogamy	Monogamous family
Polygyny	Polygynous family
Polyandry	Polyandrous family
Descent	
Patrilineal	Patrilineal family
Matrilineal	Matrilineal Family
Ambilineal	Ambilineal family
Bilateral	Bilateral family
Residence	
Patrilocal	Patrilocal family
Matrilocal	Matrilocal family
Bilocal	Bilocal family
Avunculocal	Avunculocal family
Neolocal	Neolocal family
Authority	
Paternal	Paternal family
Maternal	Maternal family

Succession

Patrilineal
Matrilineal

Patrilineal family
Matrilineal family

Composition

One father-
offspring or mother
offspring unit linked
with mother or father

Nuclear family

More than one father
one mother
offspring or
mother-offspring unit
linked with women and men

Composite family

Check Your Progress

1. Depending on the form of marriage, families can be classified into how many types ?

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2. List out the Criteria used for classifying families.

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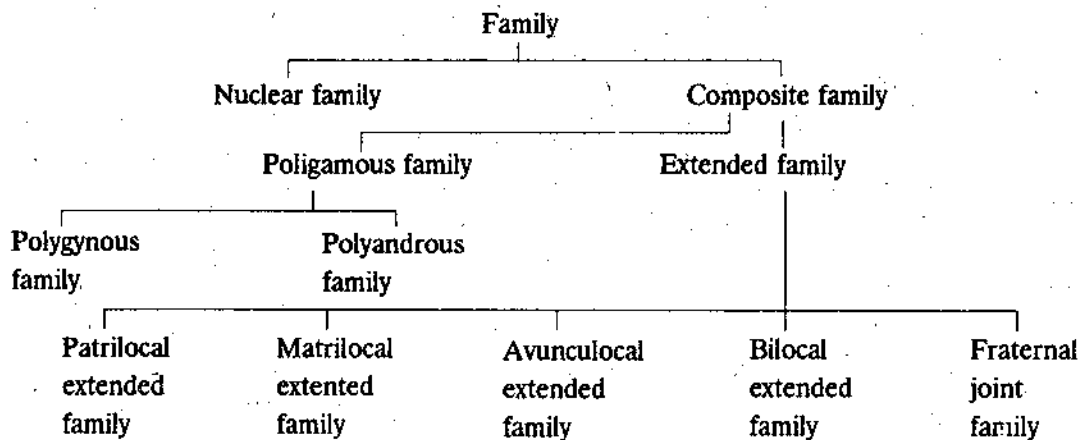
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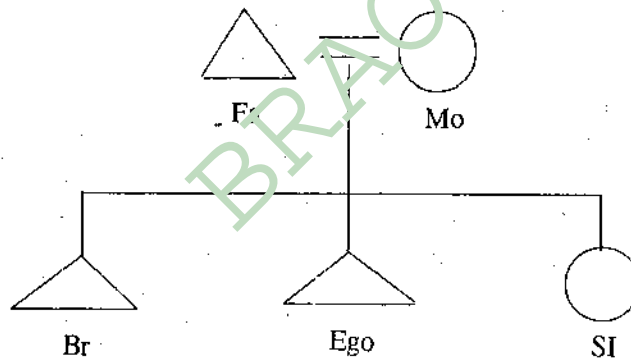
14.2.2 Typology based on multiple criteria

The typologies of families each based on a single criterion are not complete ones for two reasons. First, each single criterion employed to classify the family into distinct types takes into consideration only one aspect of the family, either marriage or descent or residence or authority or structure at a time, without simultaneously taking into consideration the various aspects of the family. Second, each single criterion cannot be considered as having universal applicability. That is, each criterion cannot be successfully employed to classify the families existing in all types of human societies in all places, at all times. Therefore multiple criteria are to be employed for evaluating a satisfactory typology of the families.

George Peter Murdock, Radcliffe-Brown and several other anthropologists have constructed separate typologies of families on the basis of multiple criteria such as forms of marriage, patterns of residence and networks of kin relations (Murdock and Radcliff-Brown). The typology of families evolved by Murdock is most commonly used by anthropologists in studying household arrangements in different societies across the globe. The following chart shows the types of families constructed by George Peter Murdock.



The *nuclear family* consists a married man and woman with their offspring although in individual cases one or more additional persons may reside with them. It can be diagrammed as follows :



The *composite family* is an aggregation of two or more nuclear families. It may be divided into two types: the polygamous family and the extended family. A *polygamous family* consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated by plural marriages. i.e. by having one married parent in common. In this context the plural marriage may be polygyny or polyandry. If it is polygyny the resultant family is a *polygynous family*. In a *polygynous family* one man plays the role of husband and father in several nuclear families. On the contrary in a *polyandrous family* one woman plays the role of wife and mother in several nuclear families.

An *extended family* consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of the parentchild relationship i.e. by joining the nuclear family of a married adult to that of his parents. Depending upon post-marital residence an extended family may be patrilocal, matrilocal, bilocal and avunculocal. The *patrilocal extended family* consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of father-son relationship. It includes the nuclear family formed

by a man and his wife and his son or sons, and the nuclear families formed by the son or sons and their wives and children. *The matrilineal extended family* consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of mother-daughter relationship. It embraces the nuclear family formed by a woman and her husband and her daughter or daughters and the nuclear families formed by the daughter or daughters and their husbands and children. *The bilocal extended family or ambilocal extended family* is a combination of patrilineal extended family and matrilineal extended family. It consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of father-son relationship or mother-daughter relationship. It includes the nuclear family formed by a man and his wife or by a woman and her husband and not by all but by some of their sons and not by all but by some of their daughters, and the nuclear families established by some of their sons and daughters and their spouses and children. *The avunculocal extended family* consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of maternal uncle and sister's son relationship. It includes the nuclear family formed by a man and his wife and daughters, and the nuclear families formed by his sister's sons and their wives and children.

The patrilineal extended families in their most common form involve each three generations of kin living together: parents, their children, and the families of their children. If the parents die, their children may remain together, often with several brothers heading the family. This form of extended family which involves the joining of two or more siblings' families, is known as the *fraternal joint family*.

The fraternal joint families exist in Iran, China, Pakistan and Balkan states. In Pakistan it is called Kumbah and in Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania it is known as Zadruga. The joint family among the Tamala of Madagascar is similar to a patrilineal extended family.

Apart from these most common types of extended families there are some uncommon types of extended families, such as matrifocal families, consanguineal families and some families confined to a few societies in different parts of the world. A *matrifocal family* is an extended family which included a woman, her daughter, and her daughter's children and sometimes several female relatives such as aunts, nieces, cousin sisters or grandmothers. A matrifocal family is characterized by the absence of permanent adult male members. It generally consists of three successive generations of related females living together. The matrifocal family is widespread among the blacks of the lower economic sector in Jamaica, Haiti, Dominican Republic and other Caribbean countries besides Guyana, Ecuador and Colombia of South America and several parts of United States of America.

The *consanguineal family* is an extended family which includes a woman, her sons daughters, her daughter's children. It does not include sons' wives and sons' children. It consists of three or more successive generations of related females living together. It has similarities and differences with the matrifocal families. Both consanguineal and matrifocal families include only blood relatives. Both are mother-offspring centred domestic groups. But both differ in two important respects: First, unlike the consanguineal family, the matrifocal family does not include adult male members. Second, unlike in the matrifocal family, where authority is vested in the senior-most woman, in the consanguineal family authority is vested in the brother of the senior-most woman. Thus a consanguineal family is not only mother-offspring centred group but it is also characterized by the brother-sister relationship. The brother-sister relationship is absent in a matrifocal family. A consanguineal family thus consists of a woman, her brothers,

and her offspring or a conjoint combination of lineal descendants of female. It is called *susu* among the Dobuans of Melanesia, *taravad* among the Nayars on the Malabar Coast of Kerala. It also exists among the Zuni Red Indians of New Mexico in United States of America.

The *stem family* is a kind of patrilineal extended family which includes an old couple, one of their sons, one of their son's wife and one of their son's children. It exists among the farming populations of Europe.

Check Your Progress

3. What are the different types of families constructed by Peter Murdock ?

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4. What is a stem family ?

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14.3 THE NUCLEAR FAMILY AMONG THE CHENCHUS

14.3.1 Habitat

The Chenchus inhabit the area covered by the Nallamalai Hills in Andhra Pradesh. Nuclear family is the most usual and typical family among the Chenchus.

14.3.2 Structure

The nuclear family among the Chenchus comes into existence when an individual marries a woman and establishes a household of his own according to rules of monogamy and neolocal rule of residence. Each individual lives out his or her formative years as a dependent in one's family of orientation, and then leaves this family to establish a family of procreation.

The nuclear family among the Chenchus, like the nuclear family in other societies, contain eight types of dyadic relations or person-to-person relations: husband-wife relation; father-son relation; mother-son relation; father-daughter relation; mother-daughter relation; brother-brother relation; brother-sister relation and sister-sister relation. The members of each interacting

pair are linked to one another through reciprocally reinforcing behaviour.

The Chenchu family is patrilineal. The Authority in the family is vested in the husband, hence paternal. Transmission of titles or ranks such as those relating to magician and priest is by means of patrilineal succession. Inheritance of property is through male line. However, there is neither primogeniture or inheritance by the eldest child nor ultimogeniture or inheritance by the youngest child. According to existing rules all sons are expected to share the family goods and material equipment equally amongst themselves. Once the children marry and set up their own nuclear families, their old parents live alone together. Now and then the married children will be visiting their old parents. As the parents become too old to maintain themselves they join one of their sons and live the rest of their life as dependents.

14.3.3 Organization and functions

The nuclear family is a residential unit. It occupies a common residence in the form of a small hut. Once a couple is joined, they settle down together as man and wife, and in due course get children. The parents and children live together until the latter are married and set up their independent house.

The nuclear family is a procreative unit. The couple have exclusive rights over each other sexually. The birth of offspring cements the marital tie between the pair. The couple serve as a unit of reproduction. The nuclear family acts as the minimum unit of procreation in the Chenchu society.

The nuclear family acts as an economic unit. Economic co-operation within the family is based on the sexual division of labour. The labour of each partner provides insurance to each other. The man goes for hunting small animals like rabbit, deer, rodents and birds. The woman collects roots, tubers, leaves, berries and fruits from the wilderness. Both the couple work together for collecting honey when the forest is in full bloom. During the flowering season of mohuva (Telugu=Vippa ; Latin=Bassia latifolia) for storage and consumption. Sometimes the woman may not find vegetable food, may require firewood and cannot leave because her children require care, the man may render his helping hand. As the children grow, children help their parents in several economic activities. Economic co-operation not only binds husband and wife, it also strengthens the various relationships between parents and children within the nuclear family. In terms of economic activities each nuclear family serves as microcosm of the Chenchu society.

The nuclear family serves as an enculturating unit. Both father and mother among the Chenchus are extravagant in respect to early nurturance of their children. They feed them, help them to walk for the first time, encourage them to talk, and contribute to their growth and personal development in a hundred different ways. The mother is a caretaker for the nursing infant. However, she gets a great deal of help from the father even during the nursing period. Now and then young children are pressed into service as caretakers for still younger children. Although girls may have more continuous duties of this sort, both boys and girls serve as surrogate parents before they are ten years. By the time children reach ten years they are put to work. The mother trains her daughter in housekeeping and food-gathering while the father trains the son in hunting and gathering activities. Between fourteen and sixteen years the

children become fully functioning adults in terms of economic activities. They learn from their parents several items of their culture such as myths, legends and religious beliefs and practices and acquire adequate knowledge for leading adult life.

The nuclear family among the Chenchus acts as a religious and recreational unit. The father acts as the family priest. He worships the family Gods, ancestral spirit and several other supernatural beings and entities. Under his directive, his children learn how to cope not only with the living and the real, but also with the nonliving and the unreal. As the head of the family he controls his family members according to the rules of the social living. The family provides recreation to its members. They sing and dance together and occasionally join the other families in the village for collective singing and dancing. The nuclear family among the Chenchus also serves as an instrument for taking care of the aged. The nuclear family experiences three important developmental phases: a period for newlyweds; child-rearing phase; and the final phase in which the children grow up, marry and set up their own independent homes, their family of procreation. When this happens the original family of orientation becomes an empty nest with the old couple alone together again. However, as the parents become too old to maintain themselves, they join one of their sons and lead a dependent life until they leave their mortal coils.

Check Your Progress

5. List out the functions of nuclear family among the Chenchus.

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14.4 THE EXTENDED FAMILY AMONG THE HINDUS

14.4.1 Distribution

The extended family among the Hindus is in the form of patrilineal extended family and fraternal joint family. It occurs in the rural areas as well as urban areas. Numerically speaking, it always stands as a minority in contrast with the vast majority of the nuclear families.

14.4.2 Structure

The *extended family* or joint family in India consists of a man, his wife and his children, his brothers, his brothers' wives and children, his sons' wives and sons' children besides the wives and children of his brothers' sons. It comes into existence when sons after their marriage do not usually separate themselves from their parents but continue to live on with them under the same roof, cooking from the same hearth and holding property in common.

The structure of extended family is dependant upon *patrilineal descent*, either *vertical*

extension indicating father-son extension or *horizontal extension* indicating brother-to-brother extension, *patrilocal residence*, joint ownership of property, patrilineal inheritance and succession and paternal authority.

The extended family includes several kinds of dyadic relations. In addition to the eight types of dyadic relations existing in a nuclear family we find such types of dyadic relations as those between uncles, between aunts, between uncles and aunts, between cousins, between grandchildren and between grandparents and grandchildren. The dyadic relations involve several sets of couples, several sets of children, several sets of siblings, several sets of in-laws; specific sets of grand-parents and grand-children.

14.4.3 Organization and functions

The extended family has a *common residence* either in the form of a single house or in the form of a number of houses.

The extended family organizes its work pattern according to the principles of *division of labour*. Every member in the family works according to his or her abilities without being taxed unduly.

The extended family secures economy of expenditure. The members put together all their earnings and meet family expenses out of these earnings. Non-earning members have as much share as the earning members. Since things are consumed in large quantities they are secured at economic prices. Within small means a large family can be maintained if it lives jointly.

The extended family organizes its work in such a way that it provides opportunities for *leisure* to its members. The female members divide the household work and complete it within a little time spending the rest of it on leisure.

The extended family provides *social insurance* to its members. It acts as a comfortable asylum to some of its members who have become orphans. It assures widows of their proper living. It takes care of its old, sick and incapacitated members.

The extended family enculturates its members to develop certain social virtues like sacrifice, affection, co-operation, spirit of selfless service, broadmindedness for their survival and ultimately for the survival of the group namely the extended family itself. The extended family trains its children to depend upon one another within the family and checks its young members from any undesirable tendency and fosters among all its members the virtue for exercising self-control.

The extended family avoids *fragmentation of holdings* and evils inherent therein rural setting or *avoids reduction in total income* from present enterprises in commercial-agricultural and urban settings. It thus helps in economic production.

The extended family revolves round *socialism*. It works like a corporation under the trusteeship of the seniormost of the ablest of its male members. Everyone in it earns according to his capacity but gets according to his needs. Thus it acts as a group based on socialism.

In terms of its organization and functioning the extended family is subject to certain

characteristic problems. The extended family is the home of elders and drones for its non-earning members do not want to work to earn for its livelihood. It also encourages conflict among its members at the time of the common property. Fragmentation of property or reduction in the capital and incomes is harmful from the point of view of economic progress. The extended family is ridden with constant quarrels among the female members and between the elder and younger members of the family. Furthermore, in an extended family the newly-weds are at a loss of privacy. Finally, an extended family is unfavourable for accumulation of capital because when one has to share one's income with large family, it is not possible to save much. Thus an extended family system has got both its organizational and functional merits and demerits.

Check Your Progress

6. What are the functions of extended family ?

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14.5 SUMMING UP

In this unit we have studied how the typologies of the families each based on a single criterion such as marriage, descent, residence, authority, succession or kinship structure can be constructed and typology of families built on the basis of multiple criteria. The typologies of families each based on a single criterion are not complete for two reasons. First, each single criterion employed to classify the families into distinct types takes into consideration only one aspect of the family either marriage or descent or authority or structure without simultaneously taking into consideration the various aspects of the family. Secondly, each criterion cannot be employed to classify the families existing in all types of human societies in all places and at all times. Therefore, multiple criteria are to be employed for evaluating a satisfactory typology of the families.

14.6 SUGGESTED BOOKS

- Piddington R. : An Introduction to Social Anthropology.
- Nanda S. : Cultural Anthropology.
- Hoebel : Man in the Primitive World.

14.7 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer each of the following in about 30 lines :

1. Describe the typologies of the families each utilizing a single criterion.

2. Define the term descent and classify the families on the basis of different types of descent.
3. Classify extended families on the basis of types of post-marital residence.
4. Give an account of the distribution of various types of families in different societies.
5. Describe the structure of nuclear family among the Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh.
6. Give a brief account of the structural and organizational features of Hindu joint family.

II. Answer each of the following in about 15 lines :

1. Give typology of the families based on the criteria of authority and succession.
2. What is a composite family ?
3. Name the typical forms of an extended family.
4. Is matrifocal family a consanguined family ?
5. Explain the term joint family.

BRAOU

Unit-15 : DEFINITION OF KINSHIP AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

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 - 15.5.3 Classification by Range of Application
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 - 15.8.6 Constitution of Kin and local Groups
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15.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with the definition of kinship and kinship terminology.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * define kinship and explain the meaning and importance of kinship,
- * explain who are primary, secondary and tertiary relatives,

- * describe the different ways of classifying the kinship terminologies,
- * show how various kinship systems of the world can be classified,
- * explain the various factors that are responsible for the creation of specific kinship terminologies in different societies.

15.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied about the social institutions marriage and family. In this unit we will study another important social institution, kinship. These three institutions are inter-related with one another.

15.2 DEFINITION AND MEANING OF KINSHIP

Kinship is defined as the connection or relationship between persons by blood or marriage. This definition can be explained with the help of an example: What is your relationship to a male person whom society recognized as responsible for your birth? You identify him as your relative or kin. To identify your kinship with him you call him 'father'. Similarly to identify his relationship to you, he calls you 'son'. Likewise a female individual whom society has recognized that she has borne you is your kin. You call her 'mother' and she calls you 'son'. Not only by birth but also by marriage you can establish kinship. Suppose you marry a girl, because society recognized you and the girl as mates, you call her 'wife' just as she calls you 'husband'.

All societies recognise cognatic kinship within certain limits. Who are cognates? *Cognates* are persons descended from the same ancestor or ancestress. Then cognates may be traced either in the male line or in the female line. If cognates are traced in male line, they are referred to as *agnates* and their relationship as *patrilineal kinship* or *agnatic kinship* or the kinship traced through males only. If cognates are traced in female line, they are referred to as *uterine kin* and their relationship as *matrilineal kinship* or the kinship traced through females only. Few societies follow matrilineal or uterine kinship.

15.3 DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF KINSHIP

For scientific understanding of the kinship systems, kinship ties are diagrammatically represented by means of conventional symbols and abbreviations (Schusky 1965).

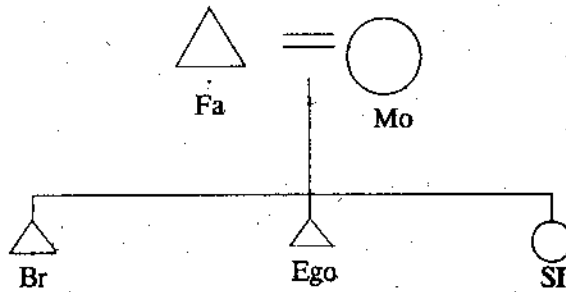
The most significant symbols used in the kinship diagrams are as follows :

△ Male	○ Female
= Affinal or marital tie	
- Consanguinea tie	
Line of descent	

The abbreviations used in the mapping of kinship are as follows :

Father	Fa	Brother	Br
Mother	Mo	Sister	Si
Husband	Hu	Son	So
Wife	Wi	Daughter	Da

Let us draw a typical nuclear family using the above symbols and abbreviations.



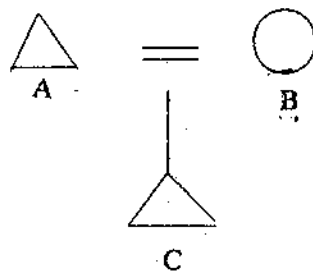
In all societies we find fundamental dichotomy of relatives at all levels into two categories: consanguineal relatives and affinal relatives. Consanguineal relatives are those between whom the connecting link is one of blood or common ancestor or common ancestress. For example, the links between brothers, between sisters, and between parents and children refer to consanguineal relationship. Blood relationship is thus an important factor in consanguineal relationship. However, strict blood relationship may not be there in all instances. Yet they may be considered as blood relatives. For example, a boy is adopted. Here between the boy and the persons who adopted him there may not be any blood relationship before adoption. After adoption the society recognises that there exists consanguineal relationship between them. Hence, social recognition is also an important factor to be considered on certain occasions.

Who are affinal relatives? *Affinal relatives* are those who are related through marriage. For example, wife, wife's father, brother etc., are affinal relatives.

15.4 DEGREE OF KINSHIP

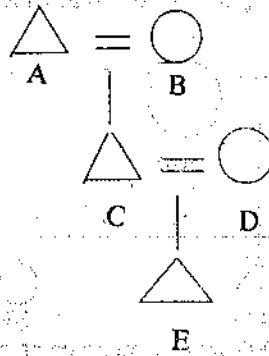
15.4.1 Primary kin

The degree of kinship refers to the extent to which one is directly or indirectly related to another by means of blood, marriage or blood as well as marriage. If a person is related to ego directly, then he is ego's primary kin. All relatives in a nuclear family are primary kin to one another. For example, as shown in the following diagram, A, B is his primary affinal kin and C is his primary consanguineal kin. For every person there will be seven primary kin.



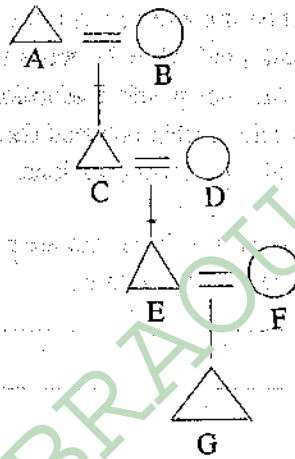
15.4.2 Secondary Kin

Ego's primary kin's primary relatives are ego's secondary kin. As shown in the following diagram for A, E is a secondary consanguineal kin and D is a secondary affinal kin. In all there will be 33 secondary relatives to an ego.



15.4.3 Tertiary Kin

Ego's secondary relatives' primary kin are his tertiary kin. As shown in the following diagram for A, F is a tertiary affinal kin and G is a tertiary consanguineal kin. In all, there will be 151 tertiary relatives to an ego.



Check your progress

1. What is Kinship ?

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2. What do you understand by the term degree of kinship ?

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15.5 CLASSIFICATION OF KIN TERMS

15.5.1 Classification by mode of use

The label, name or designation applied to a relative is called a *kinship term*. For instance, we designate our male genitor as 'father'. Therefore the designation, label or name - 'father' is a kinship term. Kinship terms can be classified in 3 different ways : by their mode of use, by their linguistic structure, and by their range of application.

Kinship terms can be used either in direct address or in indirect reference. A term of address is one used in speaking to a relative and a term of reference is one used to designate a relative in speaking about him to a third person. It is a word denoting a person who occupies a particular kinship status. For example, in Telugu we refer to our father's sister as our '*menatta*' but we address her as '*atta*'. But we refer to other relatives like brother and sister as '*anna*' and '*akka*' and we also address them by the same terms. Thus with regard to some relatives the terms of reference as well as address are similar but with regard to other relatives the terms of reference and address are different.

15.5.2 Classification by linguistic structure

According to their linguistic structure, kinship terms are distinguished into elementary, derivative and descriptive types.

An *elementary term* is an irreducible word. For example, the English 'father' cannot be analysed into component lexical elements with kinship meanings.

A *derivative term* is similar to the English words 'grand-father', 'sister-in-law', 'stepson'. It is a compounded form of an elementary term with some kinship meaning and a lexical element which does not have primarily a kinship meaning. For example, in the term 'grand-father', 'father' is an elementary kinship term but 'grand' is a lexical term without any kinship meaning. But when 'grand' and 'father' are combined, the resultant term gives a meaning that is different from that of 'father' or 'grand'.

A *descriptive term* is one like the Swedish word '*farbror*' (father's brother) which combines two or more elementary terms to denote a specific relative.

15.5.3 Classification by range of application

The range of application refers to the number of terms covered by each kinship term. Kinship terms are differentiated into denotative and classificatory types with regard to the range of application.

A *denotative term* is one which applies only to relatives in a single kinship category as defined by generation, sex and genealogical connection. It denotes only one category of kin. For example, in English kinship terminology 'father', 'mother', 'husband' and 'wife' are denotative terms.

A *classificatory term* is one that applies to persons of two or more kinship categories as defined by generation, sex and genealogical connection. For example, the following English kinship terms denote more than one category of relative : grandfather, cousin, uncle and aunt.

If a kinship terminology contains more denotative terms than classificatory terms, it is said to be a *narrow range one* and if it contains more classificatory terms than denotative terms it is said to be a *broad range one*.

Check your progress

3. What are the types of kinship terms according to linguistic structure ?

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15.6 ANALYSIS OF KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Criteria of Analysis

Pioneering researches of Kroeber (1909) and Lowie (1929) resulted in recognizing 9 criteria for the classification of relatives. These criteria are (1) generation, (2) sex, (3) affinity, (4) collaterality, (5) bifurcation, (6) polarity, (7) relative age, (8) speaker's sex and (9) decedence. These criteria have a logical basis for the differentiation of primary, secondary and tertiary kin. We will try to know how relatives are classified by using these criteria.

Criterion of generation

Following this criteria relatives belonging to different generations are differentiated. Most kinship systems give extensive recognition to the principle of generation. In those kinship systems where this criterion is ignored it results in classifying relatives belonging to two different generations under one classificatory term. The best examples for this are the Omaha Red Indian and the Crow Red Indian types of cousin terminologies.

In Omaha type of cousin terminology Fa Si's children are grouped with sororal nephews and nieces and Mo Br's children with maternal uncles and aunts.

In Crow type of cousin terminology Fa Si's children are called by the same terms as paternal uncle and aunt while Mo Br's children are classified with fraternal nephews and nieces.

Criterion of sex

This criterion is derived from the fundamental biological difference between sexes (male and female). Many kinship systems recognise the difference of sex in the use of kinship terms. It is ignored in the use of the term 'cousin'. Cousin can be a male or a female.

Criterion of affinity

This criterion arose from the universal social phenomena of marriage and incest taboos. Marital partners cannot be close consanguineal relatives. Hence, many societies make a terminological difference between consanguineal and affinal relatives. In those societies where preferential cross-cousin marriages are common, this criterion is ignored. Accordingly Fa Si Da equated with Wi and Fa Si with Wi Mo.

Criterion of collaterality

This criterion rests on the biological fact that among the consanguineal relatives of the same generation and sex some are closely related to the ego and some are not. A direct ancestor is more closely related to ego than sibling or a cousin. Majority of the societies ignore this criterion. Ignoring of this criterion and thereby lumping of the lineal and collateral relatives is known technically as *merging*. The relatives commonly merged are siblings and parallel cousins, wife and wife's sister, son and nephew, daughter and niece.

Criterion of bifurcation

This criterion applies to secondary and more remote relatives and it rests on the biological fact that they are linked to ego through either male or female connecting relative. In those societies where this distinction is recognized a person has to use separate kinship terms to one's Fa Fa and Mo Fa. This criterion is ignored in many societies.

Criterion of polarity

This criterion is based on the biological fact that it requires two persons to constitute a social relationship. Linguistic recognition of this criterion produces two terms for each of the relationship by which each participant can denote. If it is ignored both participants use the same kinship term to each other as we find in the use of the term 'cousin' in English system of kinship terminology.

Criterion of relative age

This criterion rests on the biological fact that the relatives of the same generation are rarely identical in age. One must be elder or younger than the other. In those societies where this criterion is recognized, we find separate terms for younger and elder siblings. For example, we use separate terms namely 'anna' and 'tammudu' for elder brother and younger brother respectively.

Criterion of speaker's sex

This criterion is recognized in some societies. Accordingly, son and daughter use different kinship terms for designating father and mother. For example, in Haida society, there are two terms for father, one used by the daughter.

Criterion of decedence

This criterion recognizes the condition of the life of the person (living or dead). This criterion is not operative in many societies. But a few Red Indian societies living around California have two kinship terms for relatives, one used during life time and the other after his death.

Check your progress

4. What are the criteria used for the classification of relatives ?

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15.7 CLASSIFICATION OF KINSHIP SYSTEM

15.7.1 Twofold classification of Morgan

After knowing how kinship terms can be analysed, we shall now try to understand how kinship systems of the world can be classified.

Morgan (1877) classified the kinship systems into classificatory and descriptive types. One drawback in his contribution is that he viewed the classificatory systems of kinship being associated with primitive societies and the descriptive system with that of the civilized type. This is proved to be not correct in course of time.

15.7.2 Fourfold classification of Lowie and Kirchoff

Lowie (1929) and Kirchoff (1932) have formulated a fourfold scheme of classification of kinship systems in terms of aunt terminology. These systems are called bifurcate collateral, bifurcate merging, lineal and generational types.

15.8 DETERMINANTS OF KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

We shall now examine the various factors that determine the kinship terminology. Six factors have been proposed as determinants of kinship terminology. They are : multiple historical influences, morphological differences in language, elementary psychological processes, universal sociological principles, customs of preferential marriages, and constitution of kin and local groups.

15.8.1 Multiple historical influences

Kroeber is the leading exponent to explain that multiple historical factors influence kinship terminology. Kroeber says that kinship terms are subject to modifications from within and

without. To understand how kinship terms came into use we should view them historically. He further says that kinship terminology can change as a consequence of historical events.

15.8.2 Morphological difference in language

Scholars supporting this view say that variations in kinship terminology are due to morphological differences in language. Gifford says that kinship systems are first of all linguistic phenomena and only secondarily social phenomena. Hence, kinship terms are words which conform to the morphological principles of a particular language. For example, the use of more descriptive terms in Africa is due to morphological features common to the languages of that area.

15.8.3 Elementary psychological processes

Kroeber says that terms of relationship reflect psychology. For example, if a kinsman whom ego denotes by term A has any primary relative whom ego denotes by the term B, then ego will also tend to use the terms B to any comparable relative of any other kinsman whom he calls A. The underlying principle here is psychology.

15.8.4 Universal sociological principles

Radcliffe-Brown, Sapir and others say that certain sociological principles influence a kinship terminology. For example, bifurcate merging type of kinship terminology may result from the operation of sociological principle of levirate.

15.8.5 Customs of preferential marriages

Rules of marriage may affect the kinship terminology. For example, Sapir suggests that preferential levirate and sororate marriages may produce or help to produce kinship terminology of the bifurcate merging type.

15.8.6 Constitution of kin and local groups

Murdock says that exogamous kin groups like lineage, clan, phratry and moiety tend to be associated with bifurcate merging type of kinship terminology.

From the above discussion we can say that many factors simultaneously determine kinship terminology.

Check your progress

5. What are the factors that determine the kinship terminology?

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15.9 SUMMING UP

Kinship is defined as the connection or relationship between persons by blood or marriage. Cognates are persons descended from the same ancestor or ancestress. If cognates are traced in the male line they are referred to as agnates and their relationship as patrilineal or agnatic kinship. If cognates are traced through female line they are referred to as uterine kin and their relationship as matrilineal kinship. Affinal relatives are those who are related through marriage. The degree of kinship refers to the extent to which one is directly or indirectly related to another by means of blood, marriage or blood as well as marriage. The label, name or designation applied to a relative is called a kinship term. According to their linguistic structure kinship terms are distinguished into elementary, derivative and descriptive types.

15.10 KEY WORDS

Collateral kin	: A relative related indirectly through a linking relative.
Ego	: The person who is used as reference point for identification of kinship relations and terms in the analysis of kinship.
Lineal Kin	: Persons related in a single line, as grandfather-father-son.
Merging	: The practice of using the same kinship terms for lineal and collateral relatives.
Sibling	: General term for brother or sister without specifying sex.

15.11 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Hoebel	: Man in the Primitive World.
Murdock	: The Structure of Kinship.

15.12 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each :

1. Define kinship and explain the terms of kinship.
2. Mention the various criteria used for analysing the kinship terms.
3. Specify the various determinants of kinship terminology.

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines each :

1. Specify the primary, secondary and tertiary kin.
2. How do you classify kin terms according to their linguistic structure ?
3. How can you classify kin terms by their mode of use ?
4. Specify the kinship terms which ignore the criterion of sex.
5. Explain how merging of certain categories of relatives occur in many societies.
6. Explain the criterion of polarity.

Unit-16 : KIN GROUPS : LINEAGE, CLAN, PHRATRY AND MOIETY

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16.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with kin groups-lineage, clan, phratry and moiety.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * explain how affinal and consanguineal relatives live together and form into a residential kin group on the basis of specific rules of residence,
- * explain how consanguineal relatives form into several varieties of consanguineal kinship groups on the basis of specific rules of descent,
- * describe the distribution, types and attributes of the unilineal descent groups namely lineage, clans, phratries and moieties,
- * show how people in different societies order their lives and relationship through the organization of lineages, clans, phratries and moieties.

16.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied about kinship and kinship terminology. We have studied the different ways of classifying the kinship terms, the criteria employed for analysing the kinship terminologies and the factors that are responsible for the creation of kinship terminologies in different societies. In this unit we will study about the different types of kin groups.

16.2 TYPES OF KIN GROUPS

16.2.1 Residential kin groups

A kin group is a group of kinsmen. Kin groups can be classified into two major categories: residential kin groups and consanguineal kin groups. A residential kin group consists of a group of relatives who reside together and form as a domestic unit. Usually a residential kin group occupies a physical structure which can be called a dwelling or a shelter. In some instance, a residential kin group may occupy several dwellings or shelter, usually adjacent. The dwelling or shelters may be huts, walled houses, buildings or other physical structures. The members of a residential kin group not only occupy one or more dwellings but also co-operate in domestic and subsistence tasks for the group to exist. That means, the members of a residential kin group cook, eat, sleep and work together, they share a common hearth. The basis of this co-operation is usually a division of labour characterized by age and sex. The residential kin groups are composed of married men and women and their offspring. Thus, in addition to economic co-operation, the residential kin groups usually perform three other functions: sexual gratification, reproduction and child care, and enculturation of children. Residential kin groups are technically known as the *families*, namely the nuclear family and its composite forms which include the extended families, polygynous families and polyandrous families.

16.2.2 Consanguineal kin groups

Consanguineal groups are also known as descent groups. The members of descent group are descendants from a common ancestor or ancestress. They are blood relatives or consanguineal relatives.

What are the differences between the residential kin groups and the consanguineal kin groups? The differences can be shown in the following table:

Residential kin group

- a) It is always characterised by common residence.
- b) It includes affinal as well as consanguineal relatives.
- c) It includes husband and wife who are affinal relatives and parents and offspring who are consanguineal relatives.
- d) Residential kin group is primarily characterised by the prevailing rule of residence.

Consanguineal kin group

- a) Never.
- b) It includes only consanguineal relatives.
- c) It includes parents and children and sisters who are all consanguineal relatives.
- d) Consanguineal kin group is primarily characterised by the prevailing rule of descent.

Check your progress

1. What are the major categories of kin groups ?

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16.2.3 Types of consanguineal kin groups

Consanguineal kin groups are *descent groups* because membership in these groups is determined by a *rule of descent*. Allocation to a descent group is technically known as *filiation*. *Filiation* may be through one's father, through one's mother or through either one's father or mother.

Descent groups or consanguineal groups based on different types of descent may be broadly classified into four major types: unilineal descent groups, ambilineal descent groups, double unilineal descent groups and mixed descent groups.

An unilineal descent group is a kinship group whose members believe themselves to have descended from a common ancestor through forebears of one sex only. Unilineal descent group may be patrilineal or matrilineal. A patrilineal descent group is a kinship group whose members believe themselves to have descended from a common male ancestor. A matrilineal descent group is a kinship group whose members believe that they have descended from a common female ancestor.

A patrilineal or matrilineal descent group may be a *lineage, clan, phratry, or moiety*. *Ego*, his siblings, his father, his father's father and more distant relatives in the male line comprise a patrilineal descent group. But *ego* and his siblings, *ego's* mother and her siblings, *ego's* mother's mother and her siblings, and more distant relatives in the female line belong to a matrilineal descent group. Out of the 345 societies studied by Murdock, 238 (over 60 per cent)

had patrilineal descent groups, 77 (about 22 percent) had matrilineal descent groups and the remaining 30 (about one percent) had other types of descent groups.

An *ambilineal descent group* is a kinship group whose members believe themselves to have descended from only one person in each generation. That means, you trace your ancestry through father in one generation but through mother in another generation. Or, you may trace your ancestry through father in one or two generations but through mother in next one or two generations. In each generation you have an option regarding with whom you can filiate yourself. You can filiate with your father or your mother. Therefore ambilineal descent group is a unit of relatives all of whom trace their descent through only one person in a given generation but who may have differing combinations of the sexes in their descent lines. Among the Samoans in each generation, a child is permitted to become a member of either his father's kin group or his mother's kin group. Such ambilineal descent groups among the Samoans are in the form of *ambilineages* and other groups which have no standardized anthropological term to designate them.

A double unilineal descent group which is also known as double descent group or bilineal kin group is a kin group whose members believe themselves to have descended from both the father's patrilineal group and the mother's matrilineal group. You combine patrilineal and matrilineal rules of descent and filiate yourself at the same time with father's kin group and mother's kin group. The Afikpo and Yako societies in Nigeria, the Dimsa of Assam and the Todas of Nilgiri hills in India, and Kariera and Aranda of Australia contain double descent groups. A double descent group may be a section or any other unnamed group. Societies with double descent groups are rare. About 5 percent of Murdock's sample of 945 societies contain double descent groups.

Kin groups based on different forms of mixed descent may be of several varieties. In *parallel descent groups* sons filiate themselves with their father's kin group and daughters filiate themselves with mother's kin group. Among the Apinaye of Brazil each descent group is a *lineage*. In *cross-sex descent groups* sons filiate themselves with mother's kin group. Among the Mundugumor the sex-linked groups are called *ropes*. In *number-linked descent groups*, odd-numbered children filiate themselves with their mother's kin group and even numbered children filiate themselves with their father's kin group. Such groups occur among the Buginese and Macassor of Celebes. They are in the form of lineages.

Societies with unilineal descent groups are far more in number than those with non-unilineal descent groups. We will focus more of our attention on the former than the latter.

Check your progress

2. What are the different types of descent groups ?

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16.3 LINEAGE

16.3.1 Definition

A unilineal group of kin who trace their descent from a known common ancestor or ancestress is a *lineage*.

According to the definition, a lineage is a unilineal descent group or a consanguineous group. Members of a lineage claim descent from a common known ancestor or ancestress. At the same time they can cite and demonstrate the actual consanguineal links between themselves and their known common ancestor or ancestress. That means a lineage is based on *demonstrated descent*.

16.3.2 Types

On the basis of the types of descent, lineages may be classified into several types; Patrilineages, matrilineages and ambilineages.

A unilineal group of kin who trace their descent from a known common male ancestor is a patrilineage. It is based on demonstrated patrilineal descent.

A unilineal descent of kin who trace their descent from a known common female ancestor is a matrilineage. It is based on demonstrated matrilineal descent.

A consanguineal kin group each of whose members can trace their descent from a known common ancestor or a known common ancestress in each generation is an ambilineage. It is also called *ramage* or *sept*.

16.3.3 Distribution

Patrilineages can be found among the food-gathering and hunting societies like those of Witoto Red Indians of Amazonia, Yanomamo Red Indians of Southern Venezuela and northern Brazil and the Miwok Red Indians of California, among the pastoral societies like those of Gilyak of Siberia, Bedouins of Cyrenaica, Nuer of Africa and among the agricultural societies like those of China and most of India.

Matrilineages also occur among the food-gathering and hunting societies like those of the Veddas of Ceylon, Ramkokamekra east central Brazil and the Kurtchin of northern Canada, among the horticultural societies like those of Tikopia of the South Pacific, Bemba and Yao of Africa and the Khasi and Garo of Meghalaya in India and among the agricultural societies like the Minangkabau of Indonesia and Nayars of Kerala in India.

Ambilineages occur in horticultural societies like those of Nukuros of Micronesia, Samoans of Polynesia and Iban of Sarawak, among the pastoral societies like those of Tibetans and agricultural-cum-industrial societies like those of Japan.

16.3.4 Attributes

(I) In the first place lineages have *names*. Usually lineages have labels, symbols, designations or names. However, in a few societies like those of our own lineages are not named.

(II) A second attribute of lineages is *exogamy*. Since the members of every lineage are blood relatives they have to choose spouses from every other lineage. Thus lineages in all societies regulate marriages through exogamy.

(III) A fourth attribute of lineages is *common religious obligations*. The lineages may have their own Gods, Priests, and peculiar ritual and ceremonial paraphernalia for dealing with the supernatural. Each lineage venerates its dead ancestors. Through ancestor veneration or ancestor worship every lineage respects its dead founders and organizes its living members.

(IV) A fifth attribute of lineages is corporate property-ownership. In a vast majority of the societies each lineage acts as a corporation because it owns property and controls the use and inheritance of property. In this sense each lineage functions as a corporation in many societies. However, in some of the societies the individual families within a lineage own property. In a small number of societies none of the lineage own property.

(V) A sixth attribute of lineage is *corporate enterprise*. A lineage may undertake corporate enterprise. Its members may co-operate for economic purpose such as hunting, fishing and gardening or ceremonial purposes, such as initiation rites, marriage ceremonies and death ceremonies. In some of the societies not lineage but other kinds of kinship groups may undertake corporate enterprise.

(VI) A seventh attribute of lineage is *social control*. A lineage may act as a unit of social control. It regulates the behavior of its members. It punishes those who violate the customs, traditions and laws of their society. Thus a lineage may enforce the rules of society among its members.

(VII) An eighth attribute of lineage is *mutual aid*. A lineage supports its members on important occasions in the life cycle. Those who get into trouble or have a legitimate need that cannot be handled otherwise may turn to other members of their lineage or the other may come to their aid voluntarily out of their kinship.

(VIII) A ninth attribute of lineage is *feuding*. In many societies a lineage acts as a feud group. Lineages within a single clan feud with each other, and then, at times unite to fight members of another clan. The Gusii of Kenya, the Tiv of Central Nigeria and the Nuer of Sudan in Africa may be cited as examples of lineage level feuding.

To summarise: the various attributes of lineages reveal how the members of a lineage acquire membership in a group and even get identification label in terms of the name of their lineage, regulate their marriages by means of lineage exogamy, organize activities at different levels within a lineage by means of lineage segmentation, use and inherit property by corporate character of their lineage, have ceremonial and religious concerns and express solidarity by the religious and enterprise aspect of lineage, adhere to rules of society, help themselves in times of peace and guard themselves in times of conflict or war by means of lineage solidarity. In other

words the attributes of lineages show how people in different human societies order their lives and relationship through organization.

Check your progress

3. What are the attributes of lineage ?

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16.4 CLAN

16.4.1 Definition

A unilineal group of kin who claim but cannot trace their descent from a remote common ancestor or ancestress is a *clan*.

The definition points out that clan is a unilineal descent group, that clan members have a remote ancestor and that the common ancestor or ancestors lived so many generations back that they have been forgotten and have become mythological, and that members who have belonged to the group through several generations are so numerous that the blood ties among many and the links back to the ancestor or ancestress are no longer known. The members of the group have only a tradition of belonging to the same group rather than being able to tell just how all members are related. In other words, clan members can only stipulate their descent but cannot demonstrate their descent. Hence clan is based on *stipulated descent*. Sometimes the ancestor of a clan is not a human at all, but an animal, plant or even an inanimate object. Whether human or not, the common ancestor symbolizes as the progenitor of the clan members. The clan members simply believe and claim that they are the descendants of that common ancestor.

What are the differences between a lineage and a clan? One difference is that a lineage is based on *demonstrated descent* but a clan is based on *stipulated descent*. Another difference is that a lineage is a part of the clan and two or more lineages together form into a clan. A third difference is that lineages are not always integral parts of clans just as clans are not always the composites of lineages. Some societies have clans without lineages, some societies have lineages without clans, and others have clans that are sub-divided into lineages.

16.4.2 Types

Based upon the various forms of unilineal descent clans may be classified into two broad types: patrilineal and matrilineal.

A kinship group whose members claim but cannot trace descent from a remote common male ancestor is a *patrilineal*. It is based on stipulated patrilineal descent

A kinship group whose members claim but cannot trace descent from a remote common female ancestor is a *matriclan*. It is based on stipulated matrilineal descent.

16.4.3 Distribution

Clans occur in societies of all levels of development and complexity and in all major geographical areas of the world. Among these societies a vast majority have patrilineal societies while a small proportion have matrilineal societies. The societies with patrilineal societies range from hunting-gathering societies such as Chippewa Red Indians of United States, pastoral societies such as Nuer of Sudan, and pastoral cum-agricultural societies like the Swazis of South Africa to advanced civilizations like that of traditional China and several parts of India. It may be said that patrilineal societies are almost a general characteristic of pastoral and agricultural societies.

Like the patrilineal societies, matrilineal societies also occur in societies of varying levels of complexity. They can be found among the fishing societies, like Kwakiuti, Tlingit and Haida Red Indians of British Columbia, among the horticultural societies like Navaho, Hopi, Zuni and Cherokee Red Indians of United States, Ashanti, Plateau Tonga, Bemba and Yao of Africa and Trobriand Islands of Malanesia and among the agricultural societies like the Nayar of Kerala in India.

16.4.4 Attributes

(I) One of the attributes of a clan is a *name*. Clans can be identified by the fact that they have names. Very often they are named after animals such as Bear, Wolf, Fox, Kangaroo, Tiger, Eagle, Hawk, Cow or Goat or after plants or other aspects of the environment.

(II) A second attribute of clan is *exogamy*. As clan members are brothers and sisters, they are required to be exogamous, that is marry outside their clan. In societies with clans, a husband belongs to one clan and a wife belongs to another clan.

(III) A third attribute of clan is *common religious obligations*. A clan will have its own religion. It will have its own ancestors and supernaturals. The members of every clan observe certain common taboos, and co-operate in religious ceremonies. Their religion will be rationalized by a body of mythology that will often explain the origin of their clan. Each clan, as among the Hopi Red Indians, may have its own sacred objects and places of worship. Every clan, as among the Chinese, may maintain its own ancestor halls for the memory and worship of clan ancestors. Each clan, as in the Muria Gonds of India, may have a specific clan area as its spiritual capital. Clan is often associated with totemism. The non-human ancestor of a clan such as plant, an animal or any natural phenomenon is called totem ancestor. The members of a clan believe that they are descendants of totem ancestor. The name of the clan is as that of the totem ancestor. The members of a clan do not harm, kill or eat an animal or plant that represents their totem ancestor. They respect their totem ancestor and conduct certain periodic rituals in its honour.

(IV) A clan is a *corporate group*. It acts like a corporation. It may own shrines, temples and sacred place (Muria Gonds of Madhya Pradesh, Murngin of Australia and Hopi Red Indians of United States), personal name, crests and songs (Haida of British Columbia), Canoes, houses and house sites (Tikopia of polynesia), Club houses (Tchambuli of New Guinea), economically valuable land (Fiji of Oceania, Ifaluk of Micronesia, Wageo of Melanesia and Menangkabau of Indonesia). A clan not only owns property but also regulates the distribution and controls the

inheritance of property among its members (Stephens).

(V) A fifth characteristic of a clan is *corporate enterprise*. In accordance with its corporate character a clan may act as a unit on several occasions. Members of clan show their solidarity by coming together on ceremonial occasions such as initiations, wedding and funerals, and ritual celebrations conducted in honour of their totem ancestors. The members of a clan co-operate in carrying on economic activities, in giving financial aid to a member who got into trouble, in offering socio-economic support to a sick member and in arranging various inter-clan feasts on several occasions. Through narration of myths regarding the origin of clans each clan reinforces its corporate character and identifies itself as a group set apart from others.

(VI) A sixth characteristic of clan is *government*. In some societies each clan has its own executive, its own code of laws and power to punish infractions of laws. That means each clan has a government of its own. In some societies (trobrianders of Melanesia, Ashantis and Dehomeans of Africa) the clans are ranked and the most superior clan is regarded as the royal clan and hereditary chief hails from this clan. In some societies (Aztecs of Mexico) the heads of different clans form into a council and this council controls ordinary political decisions, makes war and peace and decides disputes between clans and members of different clans.

(VII) A seventh attribute of clan is *mutual aid and hospitality*. Members of a clan have the obligation to extend hospitality and mutual aid to one another. For example, among the Ashanti in Ghana, Ifaluck in Micronesia, and Kurtachi in Solomon Islands, a traveller can stop in a strange village, find out who his clansmen are, and receive hospitality from them. Among several societies like the Kipsigis of Kenya, Kwoma of New Guinea, Lepcha of Sikkim and Wogeo of Melanesia, the members of a clan work as an association for aiding each other. Among the Chinese every clan takes care of its members who are poor and finance its promising members in the field of education.

(VIII) An eighth attribute of clan is *legal function*. A clan commonly represents its individual members in law suits and legal matters. It also becomes responsible for the illegal acts of its members. It accounts for the conduct of its members.

(IX) A ninth attribute of clan is *feuding*. A clan is not only a political unit but also a legal instrument and a military unit. Since all clanmates are brothers and sisters, every member is aided and protected in all hazards. A clan member believes that the blood of the clan is his own blood. Based on this belief one tries to protect another. If a person of one clan kills a member of another clan, all the members of the victim's clan unite and fight against all the members of the other clan.

To be brief, like the attributes of a lineage, the attributes of a clan also reveal how people in different societies order their lives and relationships through clan organization.

Check your progress

4. Define clan.

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5. What are the attributes of clan ?
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16.5 PHRATRY

16.5.1 Definition

A unilineal descent group composed of two or more clans is called a *phratry*.

The word phratry is an English term. The member clans may feel that they have particularly close ties with the other clan or clans of the phratry.

16.5.2 Distribution

Phratries may be found in a few societies of different levels of complexity. They occur among the horticultural societies like those of Hopi, Navaho and some other Red Indians of United States, hunters and shifting cultivators like the Muria Gonds of Madhya Pradesh, simple agriculturists like the Rabhas of Assam, the Ao Nagas of Nagaland and the Raj Gonds of Adilabad in Andhra Pradesh.

16.5.3 Types

Like lineages and clans, phratries also occur in the form of *patriphratries* and *matrighratries*. Patrilineal societies like the Muria, Ao Naga, Rabhas and Raj Gonds have patriphratries but matrilineal societies like Hopi, Navaho and some other Red Indians have Matrighratries.

How many phratries are there in a society? Among the patrilineal societies, Rabhas have two phratries, Muria have five, Raj Gonds have four but Ao Nagas have several phratries. Among the matrilineal societies, Hopi Red Indians have nine phratries and Crow Red Indians have six phratries.

16.5.4 Attributes

(i) A phratry may have a name or may not have a name. The phratries among the Hopi have no names but those among the Crow have names. The Raj Gonds of Adilabad have four phratries namely Yerwen Saga (Seven-brother phratry), Sarwen saga (six-brother phratry), Sewen saga (Five-brother phratry) and Nalwen saga (four-brother phratry).

(ii) A phratry may be or may not be exogamous. Among the Hopis and Murais phratries are exogamous but among the Crow Red Indians four of the nameless phratries are not exogamous. Among the Hopi, members of one clan do not marry members of the other clans within the phratry.

(iii) A phratry may have common religious obligation. Hopi phratry observe common religious rites.

(iv) A phratry may be an important political unit. Among the Aztecs of Mexico, phratries were important political units in the structure of empire.

(v) A phratry may be associated with totemism. Among the Murias the phratries are totemic. Those of Bakravans of Gond phratry do not eat goat's meat. Those of Kachhimvans or Tortoise phratry avoid eating the tortoise and worship it. Members of Sori or Tiger phratry refuse to kill a tiger. Members of Nagavans of Serpent phratry conduct cobra worship on special occasions.

(vi) A phratry has solidarity. The clans in each phratry retain their separate identities but each clan feels some sort of special affinity within the phratry. Thus the phratry acts as a solid group on many occasions.

Check your progress

6. What is phratry ?

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7. What are the attributes of phratry ?

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16.6 MOIETY

16.6.1 Definition

A kinship group which is one half of a dual division of a society is a moiety.

The word moiety is derived from the French word **moiety** meaning half. When a society is

divided into two groups so that every person is necessarily a member of one or the other, the dichotomy results in the formation of two halves or moieties.

16.6.2 Distribution

Moieties have a wider occurrence than phratries. They occur in societies like Murngin in Australia, Tlingit Red Indians in British Columbia, Winnebago Red Indians of United States, Bororo and Apinaye Red Indians of South America, the inhabitants of New Caledonia in Melanesia, the Ao Naga, Rengma Naga and Angami Naga of Nagaland the Gonds and Korkus of Madhya Pradesh, the Bondos of Orissa, the Andhs of Adilabad in Andhra Pradesh and the Todas of Nilgiri Hills in Tamilnadu.

16.6.3 Types

Moieties may be patrilineal like those in Andhs, Gonda, Korkus and Naga tribes or matrilineal like those in New Caledonians, Murngins and Red Indians.

16.6.4 Attributes

(i) A moiety may or may not have a name. The moieties of Todas are Tartarol and Teivoliol, those of Korkus are Raj Korkus and Pallarias, those of Bondos are Ontal (Cobra) and Killo (Tiger), and those of Tlingit Red Indians are Ravan and Wolf. In Australian societies moieties have no names.

(ii) A moiety is usually exogamous and rarely agamous or endogamous. Among the societies like Tlingit and Murngin the moieties are exogamous. However among the Seneca Red Indians the two moieties were originally exogamous but in recent centuries they have lost control over marriage and have become agamous. *Agamy* means that once the moieties were exogamous but now they have relaxed exogamy. On the other hand among the Todas the moieties are endogamous.

(iii) A moiety may be totemic. Among the Bondos of Orissa, the members of Ontal moiety do not kill a Cobra "for it is our brother". Similarly members of Killo never kill a tiger. Members of the moieties believe that they are the descendants of their respective totem ancestors namely Cobra and Tiger.

(iv) A moiety is associated with dual organization. Moiety is half a society. Hence wherever moieties occur we find only two moieties in a society. The organization that results between the two moieties is known as dual organization. Dual organization helps easy detection of kinship relations in a society. Suppose a society has matrilineal exogamous moieties by name Wolf and Eagle. If an individual belongs to Wolf, his siblings are also Wolves because all of them are members of their mother's moiety. But under the rule of exogamy one's father and father's siblings are Eagles. His father's sister's husband will be Wolf. Like this, it will be easier to deduce the kinship affiliations of a person in a society with dual organization.

In dual organization one moiety may be linked with another moiety by complementary roles in the form of exchange of specific services. Tlingit Red ndians have moieties called Ravan and Wolf. An individual never employs his own moiety member for service. A Ravan always gets a

Wolf to build a house for him, to pierce his children's ears, to initiate the youngsters and vice versa. In Choctaw Red Indians, one moiety performs the funeral obsequies of the other.

In dual organization one moiety may also be linked with another moiety by symbolic contrasts. Among the Winnebago Red Indians, one moiety symbolizes those above the earth and another those on the earth. Members of these moieties occupy right and left sides in a village. Among the Bororo one moiety is called Weak and another Strong. In Apinaye society the two moieties have symbolic contrasts Lower and Upper; one is associated with Sun and Red Paint and the other with Moon and Black paint. Such symbolic contrasts serve to emphasize the complementary roles played by the two moieties.

16.7 SUMMING UP

A kin group is a group of kinsmen. Kin groups can be classified into two major categories: residential kin groups and consanguineal kin groups. A residential kin group consists of a group of relatives who reside together and form as a domestic unit. consanguineal groups are also known as descent groups. The members of descent group are descendants from a common ancestor or ancestress. Descent groups based on different types of descent may be classified into four major types: unilineal descent groups, ambilineal descent groups, double descent groups and mixed descent groups.

16.8 KEY WORDS

- Corporate group : A group whose members share rights in land or other property.
- Demonstrated descent : The descent whereby people can trace their actual connections to their ancestors. Where descent is demonstrated precise linkages become important and people may even maintain written records or genealogies to keep track of their connections.
- Descent : A person's claim to membership in a social group consisting of his ancestors and persons descended from them.
- Stipulated descent : The descent whereby people predicate their connections to their ancestor. Where descent is stipulated, people do not make any concerted effort to specify the precise connections amongst themselves and their common ancestors.

16.9 SUGGESTED BOOKS

- Piddington R : An Introduction to Social Anthropology
- Nanda S : Cultural Anthropology
- Hoebel : Man in the Primitive World.

16.10 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer each of the following in about 30 lines :

1. Give a classification of consanguineal groups according to type of descent.
2. What is a lineage? Describe its various types and attributes.
3. What is a clan? Describe its various types and attributes.
4. What is a phratry? Describe its attributes.
5. What is a moiety? Explain its role in dual organization.

II. Answer each of the following in about 10 lines :

1. What are the main features of a residential kin group ?
2. Point out the differences between residential kin groups and consanguineal kin groups.
3. Examine the different varieties of mixed descent.

BRAOU

BLOCK VI

Tribal Economy

- Unit 17 : General Features of Tribal Economy.**
- Unit 18 : Forms of Tribal Economy.**
- Unit 19 : Reciprocity, Redistribution and Exchange.**

Unit-17 : GENERAL FEATURES OF TRIBAL ECONOMY

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17.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with the definition and characteristics of tribal economy.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * define and explain what is economic organization,
- * explain the various characteristics of tribal economy.

17.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit we have studied about the three important social institutions marriage, family and kinship. Now we will study about the tribal economy. In this unit we will study about the economic organization and the characteristics of tribal economy.

17.2 ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

17.2.1 Definition

Economic organization may be defined as the human behaviour by which goods are produced, allocated and distributed and used and consumed (Hoebel and Weaver).

17.2.2 Explanation

Human beings everywhere must receive nourishment, otherwise they become extinct. They must also have permanent safeguards against dangers coming from the environment, from animals or from other human beings. Therefore they must be provided several necessary bodily comforts such as shelter, warmth and a dry air. All these namely nourishment, shelter, warmth and comfort are basic needs because they are essential for the physical survival of humans. As a consequence humans exploit nature and wrest from it the food required for satisfying hunger, the clothing required for warmth and the shelter required for defence and comfort.

Apart from satisfying these basic needs, humans everywhere satisfy certain social needs, such as materials for rites of passage, religious performances and other aspects of community. Without satisfying these needs human beings carry on their individual and collective activities.

The effective satisfaction of the basic needs as well as the social needs dictate human beings to make efforts and organize work and relations. They make efforts and organize work to acquire food, to have defence and comfort and to procure materials for various purposes. As a result, humans interact with nature, and wrest food, clothing, shelter and other material goods according to certain rules created by themselves. Humans everywhere produce goods according to strict rules within a definite group and with observance of manners, rights and duties. Goods are produced by more or less complicated, collectively carried out activities such as gathering, hunting, fishing, stock raising, agriculture and so on. The goods then produced are distributed amongst themselves by means of co-operation and some other arrangement. In all this, humans are dependent on number of tools such as digging sticks, hunting equipment, fishing craft and tackle agricultural implements and a number of industrial machines. They are equally dependent on mutual understanding and organized group effort. The sum total of such human activities is the economic organization.

Economic organization involves three basic variables : the schedule of wants or demands of a society, the supply of goods and services available, and the culture of the society. That is to say, economic organization is planned action that involves the combination of various kinds of human services with one another and with non-human goods in such a way that they satisfy the material wants, needs or ends of human beings. In other words, economic organization is a design of human action by which goods are produced, distributed and consumed (Piddington). In brief, it is an arrangement that provides the material means of individual and collective life of every society.

Check your progress

1. Define economic organization.

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17.2.3 Basic anthropological approach

Anthropologists use two approaches to study the economic organization of different societies: Substantivism and formalism.

i) Substantivism holds that the concepts Western economic use (profit motive, savings, capital goods, etc.) cannot be applied to non-industrial tribal societies.

ii) Formalism holds that economic theory has to do with the ways people get the greatest personal satisfaction in saving things and in distributing scarce resources and therefore is applicable to all societies.

Both these anthropological approaches raise three fundamental questions :

i) How are the goods and services wanted or needed by human societies produced? Goods and services needed by human societies are produced by converting the raw materials into usable goods and by organising human activities and interactions. Economic resources namely technology, division of labour, land and capital are involved in the conversion of raw materials into usable goods and in the organization of human activities and interactions into acceptable services.

ii) How are the goods and services that are produced distributed or allocated among the members of human societies ? The goods and services produced may be allocated by means of different mechanisms and patterns of human interaction. The family itself may produce the goods and services and allocate them amongst its members. This is the case in some tribal societies. A family or some larger group may produce goods and services and allocate them by the mechanisms of barter and trade. In modern societies the mechanism of allocation of goods and services is exceedingly complex because nearly all the needs for daily living are obtained by trade and through market and many of them come from distant places and go through many hands before reaching the ultimate consumer.

iii) How are the goods and services that are produced and distributed in human societies eventually put to use and consumed, and what patterns of behaviour governs this process? In tribal societies in which the techniques of production and distribution are simple, the mechanism of consumption takes place within a small group but they exist whenever an individual or a family produces more of anything than it consumes. Such a type of consumption is called *primary*. In complex societies, in which the techniques of production and distribution are complicated and surpluses are in large quantities, the mechanism of consumption may be complicated. Such a type of consumption is called *secondary*.

All these three questions involve behavioural networks of food production, and the manufacture of artefacts, gift exchange, trade, sale and inheritance; utilization, hoarding and consumption; and ownership, possession, and rights of use-everything which is concerned with production and utilization of goods and services.

Check your progress

2. What are the approaches to study economic organization ?

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3. What is substantivism ?

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17.3 TYPES OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Economic organization in one form or another, is a functional pre-requisite to the survival and continuity of every human society. Whatever a society is called, be it a tribal society, a peasant society or an urban society, it consists of people who must eat to stay alive, acquire or produce material goods and specialist services to sustain physical and social life. Deprivation of acquisition or production of goods and services from any society ultimately make the society die and become extinct. Therefore, all societies have economic organization of some sort. The economic organization of some societies may be based on food-gathering, of some on hunting, of some on fishing, of some on stock-raising, of some on horticulture, of some on agriculture and of some on industry. There is variety in the economic organization of different societies but no society is devoid of economic organization.

Every type of economic organization makes use of economic resources, namely resources, (land), human co-operation (division of labour), technology (tools and knowledge) and capital (goods used to produce other goods) according to specific rules or rights and obligations. There are rules that govern the ownership. Hunters and gatherers determine who can hunt and gather and where. Horticulturists decide how farmland is to be acquired, worked and passed on. Pastoralists must determine who has rights to watering place and grazing lands as well as rights to access to land over which they move their herds. Agriculturists must determine title to land and access to water supplies for irrigation. Industrial societies have elaborate laws to regulate

buying, owning and selling of land and water resources. Like the rules governing land ownership, there are rules governing human co-operation in terms of division of labour or the allotment of work. The two universal criteria for the division of labour are sex and age. Co-operative work groups are found in all societies but they are not always voluntary. Craft specialization is present to some extent in every society. Apart from the rules governing land ownership and human co-operation, there are rules governing technology, who has to make tools, how one has to make tools, how the tools are to be used and utilized and so on are clearly delineated in every society. Further-more, technology is learnt and passed on from generation to generation for a society to be able to survive. Then all societies have rules governing specific devices and practices such as barter, trade, market or other transactions. Weapons among the hunters, water craft, traps and nets among the fishermen, tools of cultivation and storage facilities among the agriculturists and livestock among the pastoralists are the capital goods. There are different rules governing the extent to which the members of a society have access to capital goods. Thus different societies follow different rules, to determine the rights and claims of ownership, to allot work to individuals and groups, to use specific technology, and to produce, distribute and consume goods and services and thereby to establish a specific type of economic organization for fulfilling material wants for their own survival and continuity across generations.

Check Your Progress

4. What are the different types of economic organisations ?

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17.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF TRIBAL ECONOMY

17.4.1 Small scale

Tribal economy is *small in scale*. The factors that make the tribal societies have small scale economies are: utilization of local resources and transactions, a few staple items, a small number of goods and services.

- i) Most of the resources, goods and service transactions take place within a *small geographical area* and within a community of persons numbered in hundreds or thousands.
- ii) Generally speaking, one or two staple items comprise a large proportion of the total produce of a tribal society. Moreover these important staples are produced from the work of a tribal society itself.
- iii) A relatively small number of goods and services are produced and acquired by a tribal society.

17.4.2 Simple technology

Simple technology characterizes the tribal economy. A tribal society produces its tools. Either the user himself makes tools or acquires a tool for a fee from a craftsman or from a manufacturing group within the tribal society.

The implements used are very crude in nature. The hunters and gatherers like the Birhor use very ordinary jungle knife to procure forest materials. Rope-making is manually done. The hill-cultivators like the Malers and Ao Nagas use very ordinary type of axe for felling the trees for their shifting cultivation which requires hard labour but gives less returns. The plough of the agriculturist tribes like Munda, Oraon and Bhil is made of a single piece of wood and cannot plough deep. The artisan type of Lohars use ordinary bellows and hammer for their work.

Tribal societies direct their efforts to exploit nature just to fulfil their bare necessities. All their efforts involve a considerable amount of manual labour, difficulty and much loss of material with very little production. The tribal method of exploitation of nature is very crude. It is carried out without any outside efficient technological aids. The tribals are, therefore, generally very poor in spite of working very hard. An economic surplus is rare in a tribal society.

17.4.3 Production for consumption

Due to simple technology and absence of technological aids scientific knowledge regarding production of various goods, the tribal societies produce only to consume. Hardly anything is left for exchange or hoarding. In all tribal societies, food, clothing, shelter and articles of protection are the primary consumption goods.

17.4.4 No wide use of currency

Currency as a store and measurement of value and medium of exchange is not used widely in almost all tribal societies. Cowrie shells serve as a kind of money in the tribal societies located in the Pacific and in Africa. Dentalium shells serve as a medium of exchange among the Red Indians of California. Several Red Indians in the eastern parts of United States of America used wampum beads as a kind of money. Iron hoes have served as a medium of exchange in parts of Africa. Huge limestone wheels serve as a kind of primitive money among the Yap Islanders in Micronesia.

In a vast majority of the tribal societies, there is only barter and exchange. Such societies hardly carry out any exchange of economic goods with outside groups. A few tribal societies use institutions like banking and credit with non-tribal groups. The extent to which the tribals use such institutions depends upon the nature and frequency of contacts with non-tribals.

17.4.5 Absence of regular market

The regular market as an institution along with its conditions of perfect competition and monopoly is absent in tribal societies. What comes nearest to is the inter-group trade, silent trade, festival and seasonal meets, and weekly markets.

Virtually all tribal societies engage in inter-group trade. Every group has its unique goods or possesses natural resources from which to supply materials not available elsewhere. Salt-water shells find their way hundreds of miles inland in New Guinea and North America. Malanesian Islanders trade vegetables for fish with the coastal inhabitants. Sometimes custom rather than limitation of resources induces a good deal of trade. In New Mexico, Sia Red Indian women make excellent pottery. The Jemez Red Indians, less than ten miles away, made pots for many centuries although the same clays are available to Sia Red Indians as well as Jemez Red Indians. Jemez Red Indians exchanged corn for Sia Red Indian pots in the old days. The Hopi Red Indians craftsmen trade maize with the nearby Havasupai Red Indians for buckskins and paint, and maize for wood and wool with the surrounding Navajo Red Indians. But within the Hopi Red Indians some women are specialists in coiled basketry, some in wickerwork and some in painted pottery. Therefore there is lot of intergroup trade based on customary specialization in the Hopi Red Indians.

Silent trade or dumb barter is carried on between enemy tribal societies. For example, the Semang and the Sakai of Malay forests are enemies. However, they exchange their forest products. Neither group sees the other party during the transaction. The semang set their goods in a customary place and retire. When the Sakai find the offering, they replace it with whatever they wish to exchange. Later, Semangs come back to pick up the goods before retiring to their jungles. The Veddas of Ceylon leave pockets of meat on the door-steps of the doors of Cylonese blacksmith and in turn expect to find their arrow-points of equal value on the next day. For similar practices the Rajis of Uttar Pradesh are known as 'invisible traders'.

Many tribal societies have market days, weekly, seasonal or festival markets. In Africa, the tribal markets are under the magical protection of some great tribal chief. However, they do not have the characteristics of a true market. They are actually public meeting places. They are like fairs and festival days. The market day usually falls off into a beer drink. In North America, the tribal markets had strong trade networks. But they were devoid of competition and monopoly. In the tribal areas of India, weekly markets, festivals and seasonal meets known as shandy, piltia, hat and bazar are widely spread. These tribal markets bring together people from different ethnic groups for not only economic but also secular and religious activities. They are public meeting places and communication centres for dispersal of gossip, news and official pronouncements. In these markets the tribals barter their goods such as food grains, baskets, forest produce for non-tribal goods such as salt, clothes, cosmetics and soap. Thus regular market as an institution does not exist in all tribal societies. The so-called markets, trade centres and festival or seasonal meets are not real regular markets in all tribal societies.

17.4.6 Absence of profit motive

There is absence of profit motive in the economic organization of tribal societies because of two reasons: first the absence or very limited use of currency to fix the price of commodities and second, the connection of unity sentiments with economic activities. The role of an incentive is fulfilled by a sense of mutual obligations, sharing and solidarity. The tribal practice of gifts and ceremonial exchanges clearly reveals this fact.

17.4.7 Community basis

The chief aim of economic activities in a tribal society is to fulfil the community duties. The persons with whom they are economically involved are the same as those with whom one is involved through neighbourhood, religion, kinship and politics. In this sense, the economic activities are intertwined with non-economic activities in tribal societies.

In every tribal society, the community as a whole can be regarded as a co-operative unit. In this context, kinship plays a very active role. The tribal kinsmen co-operate at various stages of work. Whenever someone is short of raw material or is in need of some tools, kinsmen are the first to be approached. Therefore economic relations and kinship relations are linked with each other. The organization of most of the economic activities is co-operative and communal in tribal societies.

17.4.8 Absence of specialists

There are no specialists in different branches of economic organization in tribal societies. However, a division of labour based on factors, other than specialization, like age and sex, is widely prevalent and goes far back to the Neolithic times in about 20 to 25 thousand years ago. Therefore, division of labour based on specialization is mostly absent in tribal societies.

17.4.9 Notion of property

Some notion of property exists in tribal society. All tribal societies have the notion that the movable and immovable material goods that they possess are their property and this notion entails the existence of some rules of inheritance.

Individual as well as collective ownership are known to tribal societies. A person is allowed a right over the things produced by him or by his family. This right refers to individual ownership. There is, however, group or collective ownership over the ponds, the land, the forest, the lakes and the lagoons and the hunting grounds and the fishing areas.

Inheritance of rights of use to property follows fairly clean lines. In some tribal societies property passes to the eldest son, who then has the duty to support the other members of the family in exchange for their labour. This type of inheritance is called *primogeniture*. In some tribal societies the youngest son inherits a greater portion of the property. This type of inheritance is called *ultimogeniture*. Among some tribes of India, Asia and Africa, the elder sons are set up with herds or households in part by family resources used in bride-price. What is left over at father's death tends in cases of *ultimogeniture* to go to the youngest son on the grounds that he is the least likely to be well set up in life.

17.4.10 Relative stability and backwardness

The economic organization of tribal societies is backward in the sense that it can support fewer people per square metree of land by means of its indigenous productive system, and often at a comparatively lower standard of living than that of the non-tribal societies. The tribal technology is very simple. The tribal do not know anything about trade and commerce in their true sense. The cottage industries of tribals are based on crude tools and methods. The tribal

levels of living are lower than those of non-tribals. Hence the economy of tribal societies is very much backward.

Moreover, the tribals do not know the new changes and innovations in different fields of production because of two reasons. First, the techniques of production used by the tribals are simple and uniform. Second, the rate of innovation, internal or induced, is very low in tribal economies. Consequently, the economic organization of tribal societies is stabler and there is little of quick progress.

Check your progress

5. List out the characteristics of tribal economy.

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17.5 SUMMING UP

Economic organization may be defined as the human behaviour by which goods are produced, allocated and distributed and used and consumed. Economic organization involves three basic variables: the schedule of wants or demands of a society, the supply of goods and services available and the culture of the society. An anthropologist uses two approaches to study the economic organization of different societies: substantivism and formalism. Every type of economic organization makes use of economic resources, namely resources (land), human co-operation (division of labour), technology (tool and knowledge), and capital (goods used to produce other goods), according to specific rules or rights and obligations. Small scale, simple technology, production for consumption, no wide use of currency, absence of regular market, absence of profit motive, community basis, absence of specialists, notion of property and relative stability and backwardness are the characteristics of tribal economy.

17.6 KEY WORDS

Primogeniture	: It is a custom by which the first born son or daughter inherits the property of the parent.
Rites de passage	: Rites concerning the major crises of life such as birth, marriage and death.
Ultimogeniture	: It is the custom by which the youngest son or daughter inherits the property of the parent.

17.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Hoebel	: Man in the Primitive World.
Piddington R.	: An Introduction to Social Anthropology.

17.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each :

1. Define and explain what is economic organization.
2. Explain the basic approaches followed by anthropologists to study the economic organization of different societies.
3. Discuss how different types of economic organization make use of economic resources.
4. Briefly explain the different characteristics of tribal economy.
5. Explain the features of inter-group trade, silent trade and marketing existing in tribal societies.
6. Why tribal economies are relatively stable and backward ?

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each :

1. What is the meaning of economic organization ?
2. What should we mean by basic needs of human societies ?
3. What are the basic variables of economic organization ?
4. What should we mean by substantivism and formalism ?
5. What fundamental questions are raised by the two basic anthropological approaches meant for an understanding of tribal economies ?
6. Why should all societies have economic organization of one sort or another ?
7. What types of economic resources exist in different tribal societies ?

Unit-18 : FORMS OF TRIBAL ECONOMY

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- 18.2 Different Forms of Tribal Economy
- 18.3 Evolutionary Sequence of Tribal Economies
- 18.4 Food Gathering Economy
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- 18.5 Hunting-Fishing Economy
 - 18.5.1 Distribution
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 - 18.5.3 Characteristics
- 18.6 Pastoral Economy
 - 18.6.1 Distribution
 - 18.6.2 Examples
 - 18.6.3 Characteristics
- 18.7 Horticultural Economy
 - 18.7.1 Distribution
 - 18.7.2 Examples
 - 18.7.3 Characteristics
- 18.8 Agricultural Economy
 - 18.8.1 Distribution
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 - 18.8.3 Characteristics
- 18.9 Summing Up
- 18.10 Key Words
- 18.11 Suggested Books
- 18.12 Model Examination Questions

18.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to acquaint you with the different types of tribal economy.

By the end of this unit, you will be able to :

- * describe how tribal economies are classified into different types on the basis of subsistence technology.

- * explain the evolutionary sequence of tribal economies,
- * explain the similarities and differences between the various forms of tribal economy.

18.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied the definitions and characteristics of economic organization. In this unit we will study how tribal economies are classified into different forms and sub-forms on the basis of subsistence technology and their evolutionary development. We will also study the characteristics of each form of economy and the similarities and differences between the various forms of economy when describing the characteristics of each of tribal economy.

18.2 DIFFERENT FORMS OF TRIBAL ECONOMY

Using *subsistence technology* as a criterion, anthropologists classify the tribal economies into two broad types with their sub-types:

- (i) Food-collection economy
 - (a) Food-gathering economy
 - (b) Hunting-fishing economy
- (ii) Food-production economy
 - (a) Pastoral economy
 - (b) Horticultural economy
 - (c) Agricultural economy

Food-collection economy is defined as that economy based on all forms of subsistence technology in which food getting is dependent upon naturally occurring resources in the environment i.e. wild plants and animals. Food-collection economy includes two sub-types: food-gathering economy and hunting-fishing economy. Food-gathering economy is based on the subsistence technology of gathering edible fruits and vegetables that grow wild and hunting of the animals in wilderness. Those societies which are dependent upon food-gathering economy are known as hunters and gatherers, hunters and collectors, hunters-gatherers, foragers and pre-farming societies. Hunting-fishing economy is based on the subsistence technology of hunting as well as fishing. The tribal societies with hunting-fishing economy obtain fruits and vegetables by foraging. They supplement their diet by hunting. To call a society a hunting-fishing society, then, simply indicates that fishing and hunting are its most important subsistence activities.

Food-production economy is that economy which is based on the subsistence technology of domestication of plants and animals. It reveals how the tribal societies domesticate food sources and acquire control over certain natural processes such as animal breeding and plant seeding. Food-production economy includes three sub-types or economy: horticultural economy, pastoral economy and agricultural economy. Horticultural economy is based on the subsistence technology of cultivating the gardens by using hoe or digging stick. Pastoral economy is based on the subsistence technology of domesticating the animals such as cattle, buffaloes, camels, horses, reindeer and llamas. Agricultural economy is based on subsistence technology of cultivation by using plough. It is also called an economy based on plough cultivation.

18.3 EVOLUTIONARY SEQUENCE OF TRIBAL ECONOMIES

Food gathering is the oldest mode of human existence. Human societies were food-gatherers throughout most of their history. Obviously, for the several hundred thousand years of Palaeolithic, not until the Neolithic some eight to ten thousand years ago did any human society develop food-production. As gatherers, humans have evolved, dispersed over much of the inhabited world, and laid the broad foundations for human culture.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the earliest humans depended primarily on vegetable foods, supplementing this diet with eggs, insects, and such small game as might be captured without weapons. This is because the people of early times had no weapons for hunting other than stones, clubs, crude hand axes, sticks and spears with wooden points. Early humans lived almost wholly by collecting wild vegetable foods and to some extent by hunting. Thus food-gathering economy based on the subsistence strategy of collecting wild plants and killing wild animals for food has been a major activity. Almost 10,000 years ago humans were all food-gatherers.

The transition from food-gathering to food production brought a major change in the relationship between humans and their natural resources. Beginning about 10,000 years ago certain people, in widely separated geographical locations in Old World and New World, made the revolutionary changeover to food production; that is, they began to cultivate and then domesticate plants and animals. For the first time, humans were able to augment the productivity of their environment and to gain some degree of control over their food supply. Domestication of food sources in the form of horticulture, animal husbandry and agriculture crept into several places in Old World and New World through the forests, unheralded and probably spurned by many of the inhabitants who, for a long time, preferred their accustomed way of life dependent upon game, supplemented in some places by fish. Even when agriculture was accepted by many human societies, it seems to have been done so gradually, with the focus of interest remaining on the gradually less productive pursuit of hunting and gathering. Today, most people in the world depend for their food upon some combination of domesticated plants and animals.

The above account gives the evolutionary sequence of various economies. Food-collection combined with gathering and hunting is the oldest type of human subsistence and economy. In the early times it was the universal activity through which human beings in all parts of the globe were seeking the satisfaction of their nutritive wants. From this economic level, human societies evolved and developed the other economies. In this economic development from the early food-collection stages, however, the course followed by different human societies was by no means uniform. Some societies evolved into the stage of horticulturists, but some other societies evolved into the stage of pastoralism and then evolved into the stage of agriculture. However, some societies evolved into the stage of pastoralism, then into the stages of horticulture and agriculture. With this exception regarding which stage that each human society had experienced before it finally reached the stage of agriculture, all human societies had first food-collecting economy, then acquired food-producing economy. Today there are many tribes on the agricultural level who get part of their subsistence by food-collection from natural sources. They keep a few domestic animals, and have some artisan skill in one line or the other. Even food-collectors keep some animals. Contemporary tribal societies have also evolved their economies. Centuries later, they may reach higher levels of economy. However, the present levels of tribal economies have their remarkable characteristics.

Check your progress

1. What is food collection economy ?

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2. What are the sub types of food production economy ?

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18.4 FOOD-GATHERING ECONOMY

18.4.1 Distribution

Today, the tribal societies with food-gathering economy include only 250,000 people in a world population of about 3.5 billions. Thus the food-gatherers form about 0.003 per cent of world population and live in the world's marginal areas namely frozen arctic tundras, deserts and dense tropical forests. Food-gatherers have generally been exposed to more technologically 'advanced' societies.

18.4.2 Examples

1. In Africa, the pygmies and the Pygmoid tribes, the Bachwa along the equator, some of the Bushmen tribes are food-gatherers.
2. In Asia we find food-gathering tribal societies widely scattered over India, Malaya and the adjoining Islands. In India food-gathering tribes are found mainly in the South and in Andaman Islands. The Paliyan, the Iruka, the Panyan, the Yanadi, the Kurumba and the Chenchu in South India and the Onge, Jarawa and Sentinelese in Andaman Islands are food-gatherers. The semang and Sakai of Malaya and the Ainu of Japan, the Veddas of Ceylon, and the Pygmies of Phillipines are food-gatherers.
3. In Australia, the south-eastern tribes such as the Kariera, the Kulin and the Murngin and western tribe of Ngatatjara living on the edge of the Gibson Desert and the central tribe of Arunta are food-gatherers.
4. In South America, the Ona of Tierra Del Fuego, the Siriono of Bolivia and many other tribes are food-gatherers.

5. In North America, food-gathering tribes can be found in North Central California and in the Algonquin, North-Eastern and Central Parts of United States and polar regions of Canada. The Shoshone, the Miwok, the Ojibwa, the Washo and the Winnebago Red Indians of United States and the Central Eskimo of Canada are the food-gathering tribes in North America.

18.4.3 Characteristics

- i) Food-gathering economy is characterized by *nomadism* and *semi-nomadism* because activities in search of food and water in different parts of the forest, desert or tundra often necessitate several wandering or seasonal moves.
- ii) Food-gathering economy has the characteristic of supporting the *lowest population density*. The population of food-gathering tribes is sparse. In the most cases the total population of the entire tribe does not exceed a few thousands.
- iii) Food-gathering economy is characterized by *small size self-sufficient local groups*. The local group is a self-sufficient economic unit. It is invariably a small nomadic band or some semi-nomadic settlement in which 25 to 30 individuals are clustered.
- iv) Food-gathering economy is characterized by *simple economic resources* namely technology, division of labour, land ownership and capital.
 - a) Food-gathering economy is characterized by *simplest technology*. The tools and instruments used for collecting the plants and for killing the animals are often few. Digging stick and collection basket are used for collecting food from the forest. Special baskets may be used for collecting honey. Several types of containers such as bags, nets and baskets are also used for collecting seeds, nuts or fruits.

For the purpose of hunting, the use of bow and arrows and spears is fairly common. Several variations can be noticed in the shape and size of the bows and types of arrows used by tribal hunters. Some form or the other of the axe too is found being used by them. In some tribes of Africa, United States and Canada, the use of spear-thrower and missiles is also in evidence. In Australia a throwing stick known as *boomerang* is used in hunting. Boomerang is of two types: the returnable one which hits the target and returns to the tribal hunter and the non-returnable one which hits the target and stops there itself without returning to the tribal hunter. Several tribal hunting societies in America use war clubs. In almost all hunting societies, hunting is done with the help of traps, death pits and snares. The commonest methods of hunting are those of beat and chase. Decoys too are employed by some of the tribal societies.

Generally speaking, the technology of food-gathering tribes varies according to local resources. Even then it is simple and it is learned and passed on to succeeding generations for a tribe to be able to survive.

- b) *Division of labour runs on simple lines*. Full-time craft specialization is absent. In fact there is no individual, group or regional specialization. The main division of labour is between the sexes. In many societies men engage themselves in hunting. Women often

go in parties to do most of the gathering which often means digging for roots and tubers with digging sticks. In several societies even men go in parties for collecting wild fruits, flowers and tubers. Individual and collective hunting is also practised. When hunting parties are organized, they call for considerable resourcefulness, concerted action and some specialization for successfully bagging sufficient game to satisfy the needs of the group.

- c) *Land Ownership* is practised according to specific rules: Hunters and gatherers determine who can hunt and gather and where. Collecting areas and hunting zones of the different local groups within a tribal society are marked out by convention. They are the property of the group, and not of any particular individual. Among the Bushmen of the Kalahari, for example, camps are located near waterholes. The traditional area exploited by a local group is measured by one day's round trip walk (about 12 miles from the camp) in all directions. Thus each camp has a core area of about 6 miles surrounding each waterhole.
- d) Capital in food-gathering societies is very *limited*. The capital of hunters and gatherers consists of few and simple tools because of the need for nomadic or semi-nomadic life. Hunters and gatherers share tools in exchange for the products of their use.
- v) Food-gathering economy is often characterized by *plenty of food* and rarely characterized by *food shortage*. The tribes that engage in food-gathering collect wild produce which is a major part of their diet. Wild fruits, roots, tubers, leaves, plants, herbs, mushrooms and honey are all eagerly sought by them. Ostrich eggs, turtle eggs and lizards are also collected. Several varieties of animals are hunted. Most of the tribes have their special techniques and processes for preserving wild foods and meat derived from game for short intervals.
- vi) Food-gathering economy is characterized by *absence of surplus and trade*. One remarkable feature of food-gathering economy is that the tribes have no surplus or rarely have little surplus left with them after satisfying their needs, which they could use for barter, exchange or trade. The food-gathering tribes have what could be called a '*forest to mouth*' existence. A few societies like the Veddas of Ceylon practice silent trade, dumb barter or covert exchange. These societies do not have surpluses, rather they part with some portions of their actual food requirements for exchanging them for arrow points. Thus neither surpluses nor any reserves and trade are present among the tribes with food-gathering economy.
- vii) Food gathering economy favours *informal political leadership*. The general tone of the socio-political organization of the tribes dependent on food-gathering economy is almost always democratic. Even if they have any Chiefs they are practically nothing more than elders and have neither a halo of princely grandeur around them nor any ruling authority.

Check your progress

3. Give the names of tribes which have food gathering economy ?

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4. List out the characteristics of food gathering economy.

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18.5 HUNTING-FISHING ECONOMY

18.5.1 Distribution

Historically, hunting-fishing economy is probably the second oldest type of economy. It emerged about 11,000 years ago. The actual practice of fishing was, of course, even older and more widespread and had provided a supplementary source of subsistence in hunting societies, at least 35,000 years ago. However, hunting-fishing as the main source of livelihood came into existence only 11,000 years ago.

Hunting-fishing economy is limited to only those tribal societies which are located near sea coast, lake areas and riverine environments. For these societies, fish, rather than land animals, are the objects of the chase. They hunt fish with the help of arrows, harpoons and spears, trap fish and sometimes capture fish after stupefying them. They do kill some land animals for food, hence they are also hunters. For this reason they are called hunters as well as fishers. Tribal societies depending on hunting and fishing are simply specialized hunting and gathering societies, but adapted to aquatic environments rather than terrestrial environments. They stand midway between hunting and gathering and horticultural societies.

At present hunting-fishing economy can be found distributed in the North-Western part of North America namely Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, Alaska and the arctic regions of Canada. They also occur in isolated parts in northern Asia, among the Pacific Islands in Polynesia and Micronesia, in scattered parts of Africa and South America.

18.5.2 Examples

- i) The tribes living in the North-pacific Coast of North America extending from northern California to Western Alaska are depending upon hunting-fishing economy. Some of the tribes of this region are the Blackfoot, Bellacoola, Haida, Kwakiuti, Nootka and Tlingit Red Indians, the Braffinland Eskimos and Alaskan Eskimos. The copper Eskimo of northern Canada are also hunters and fishers.

- ii) In lowland South America there are some Red Indian tribes living close to rivers and obtaining much of their protein from available fish resources, although most also hunt. The Alaculuf, the Chono and the Yahgan or Yaghan Red Indians living on the coastline of Chile are also hunters and fishers.
- iii) In Africa the tribes living in Dahomey, Ivory Coast and several scattered places along the west coast are dependent upon hunting-fishing economy.
- iv) The inhabitants of the Pacific Islands in Polynesia and Micronesia grow a range of crops and raise pigs, yet they depend on fish as their protein source, particularly on the smaller coral atolls, where large lagoons surrounded by reefs provide a major breeding ground for edible fish. The reefs also protect the lagoons from the high seas, and fishing within them is safe.

18.5.3 Characteristics

- i) Hunting-fishing economy is characterized by *sedentary life*. Although hunting and gathering tribes are forced to lead a nomadic or semi-nomadic existence, fishing societies often live in permanent settlements because fishing usually provides a more plentiful and stable food supply than hunting and gathering.
- ii) Hunting-fishing economy has the characteristic of *supporting higher population density*. Population densities in fishing societies are high. This reflects the facts that much edible energy can be secured fairly close to the shoreline villages.
- iii) Hunting-fishing economy is characterized by *large self-sufficient local groups*. As the fishing economies usually have a potential for supporting larger, more sedentary populations, the local groups are usually the sedentary villages facing the sea. Among the North-West Coast Indians each local group or village contains 1500 to 2000 people.
- iv) Hunting-fishing economy is characterized by *elaborate economic resources* namely technology, division of labour, land ownership and capital.
 - a) Hunting-fishing technology is almost always characterized by an elaborate technology. The Eskimos have canoes, kayaks, igloos, dogsleds, harpoons, spear throwers and some nets for hunting as well as fishing. The Red Indians living in North America use canoes, harpoons, spears, nets, hooks and traps. The fishing societies in other parts of the world use canoes, harpoons, spears, nets, hooks, traps, arrows and intoxicating material.
 - b) Division of labour is based on age, sex and specialization. Often the fishing activities are performed by men. Sometimes men may also go for hunting wild animals. Women often go for gathering vegetable products, turtle eggs, crabs and some marine animals washed ashore. Men and women work together in processing, curing, and storing the fish. Some men specialize part of the time, spending the rest of their days in fishing and hunting. Some specialize in wood-working, canoe-building and basket-making. All manufacturing is carried out by handicraft, without the aid of machines.

- v) Hunting-fishing economy is often characterized by *plenty of food and protein*. A variety of smaller fish including candle fish, herring and smelt spawned along the shores, mussels, clams, sea urchins, crabs and other offshore forms, seal, porpoise, sea otter and other deep water marine animals make up a large part of the diet of the fishing societies.
- vi) Hunting-fishing economy is characterized by *surplus production and trade*. Fish are easily stored when dried or smoked. Especially when other techniques, like gathering some vegetable produce from the forests, hunting the land animals and raising some crops, are followed for additional subsistence, intensive exploitation of the sea, the river, the lake or any other large body of water readily produces a surplus beyond what a given worker or his family can consume. This surplus becomes available for trade. All fishing societies are more or less involved in trade activities in which their surplus fish are sold for each or exchange for other products.
- vii) Hunting-fishing economy favours *formal political leadership*. All fishing societies have formal political leaders. This is in sharp contrast with the informal political leadership existing among the hunting and gathering societies. More pronounced formal political leadership exists in the fishing societies of the North-West Coast of North America. In these societies the fishing economy presents three distinct features of socio-political organization. First, the organization of the work-parties is not democratic; it is under a leader. Second, the distribution is not equal; the leader gets a major share and the chief gets tributes. Third, these politico-economic inequalities have built up a hierarchy of formal leaders for maintaining the village and tribal solidarity.

Check your progress

5. List out the places where hunting fishing tribes are present.

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6. List out the characteristics of Hunting fishing economy.

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7. What implements are used for hunting and fishing by Red Indians ?

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are seasonally nomadic moving with their herds over large territories searching for better grazing grounds. They move over fixed routes, living mostly in tents as in Central Asia, Arctic Europe, Mongolia, Siberia and Tibetan.

- ii) Pastoral economy has the characteristic of *supporting a low population density*.
- iii) Pastoral economy is characterized by *small size communities*. On the average they are a bit smaller than fishing communities and much smaller than horticultural communities. The explanation for the small size of pastoral communities is primarily environmental. Given the limited resources of their territories, large and dense settlements are impossible.
- iv) Pastoral economy includes *moderate economic resources*.
 - a) Technology includes several tools, utensils and containers besides numerous techniques of stock-raising. Plates, buckets, milking gourds, milking stools, bags, sacks, pouches of skins, saddles, the rounded vessels made of skin and leather and calabashes. Wooden and metal bells, leather straps, horn decorative substances and leather belts meant for cattle are also used. Branding irons, castration equipment, and a variety of knives for trimming the tails and ears, for shearing the wool and for cutting the meat are also used.
 - b) Land ownership is governed by specific rules to determine who have rights to watering places and grazing lands, as well as by specific rights of access to land over which they move their herds.
 - c) Division of labour is based on age, sex and specialization. The basic economic activity in the pastoral societies is man's work. Men herd the animals, milk them, sometimes tap blood from them and do numerous other activities. Women attend to the preparation of curds, butter, cheese, and yogurt. There is little specialization also. Some men may specialize in branding the animals, some in trimming the horns and tails, some in offering armed protection to their caravans and some in welfare activities.
- v) Pastoral economy is characterized by *plenty of food and frequent food shortages*. Pastoralists are often partially dependent on the plant foods grown by their agricultural neighbours. The Tibetans, for example, plant no crops but they purchase barley, dried fruit, and tea from settled people. Hunting is an important secondary source of food. Collection of wild produce is done by women. However, some pastoralists, like those in several parts of Africa, grow plant foods of their own, although they generally subordinate cultivation activities to the work and mobility demands of their animals. Besides they supplement pastoral activity with hunting and gathering.
- vi) Pastoral economy is characterized by *some surplus and trade*. In the form of meat and dairy products, wool, hides, ropes, some woollen blankets, bags, carpets, rugs and ropes, pastoral economy yields only a limited surplus of food supply. To pay for the goods they require such as cereals, millets, weapons, riding gear, containers and clothing from the wider society, the pastoralists put on the market a modest surplus of cheese, live animals, hair, wool, skins and meat. Especially to be noted is the interdependence between pastoral people and agricultural groups. That is trade is usually necessary for pastoral groups. In fact, a large

proportion of their food may actually come from trade with agricultural groups. But as said above, because of their dependence upon agriculturists who are themselves often short of food, the pastoralists are also subject to frequent food shortages.

- vii) Pastoral economy favours part-time and full-time political leadership. Raiding and warfare are frequent activities and this stimulates the growth of political authority. But within the tribe all adult male members participate in decision making. Special agencies for the administration of law are rare in the pastoral societies.

Chek Your Progress

- 8. List out the names of tribes whih have pastoral economy.

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18.7 HORTICULTURAL ECONOMY

18.7.1 Distribution

Ten thousand years ago, inhabitants of the Middle East discovered that plants grow from seeds and applied this new insight to humanity's perennial problem of obtaining food. In fact, this discovery was made by women, not men. Women harvested wild grasses, brought the cereals home, stored in storage pits and took the grain from the storage pits to prepare it for eating. Once in a while some grain was probably left in a storage pit long enough for it to sprout, and occasionally a few shoots must have survived long enough to become recognizable as young plants of the parent species. Motivated by curiosity or necessity, women transplanted a few of these young shoots and discovered that grains planted in this way would yield many times their number. Thus women laid the foundation for a significantly new kind of societies, one that could produce its own food, or the major part of it, and no longer be dependent on hunting and gathering. This same foundation later served as the basis for agricultural economy.

Tribal societies following horticultural economy are now distributed in four parts of the world: the islands of the Pacific, southern Asia, Africa below the Sahara, and the New World. Their number runs to several millions of individuals.

18.7.2 Examples

- i) The Hopi and the Zuni Red Indians in North America, the Apinaye, the Tarahumara, the Camayura, the Yanamano and the Jivaro Red Indians in South America are following horticultural economy.

- ii) The Azande, the Bemba, the Kipsigis, the Chagga, the Ganda, the Gusii, the Hehe, the Tiv, the Tallensi, the Yoruba, the Yako, the Nyakyusa, the Kpelle and several other tribal societies in Africa are dependent upon horticultural economy.
- iii) The Subanum and Ifugao in Philippines, the Maria Gond, Rengma Naga, Ao Naga, Abor and many other tribes in India besides several tribal societies in various parts of Indonesia, Burma and Malaya are dependent on horticultural economy.
- iv) The Kurtachi, the Kiwai, the Wogeo, the Arapesh, the Trobrianders and many other tribes of Pacific Islands practise horticultural economy.

18.7.3 Characteristics

- i) Horticultural economy is characterized by *more sedentarism*. Compared with modern hunting and gathering societies, their settlements are much more permanent or sedentary in nature; most groups move only very few years, when forced to by the exhaustion of the soil.
- ii) Horticultural economy has the characteristic of *supporting of low to moderate population density*. Horticulture practices yield more food from a given area than is generally available to hunting and gathering people. Consequently horticulture is able to support larger, more densely populated communities.
- iii) Horticultural economy is characterized by *small to moderate size self-sufficient local groups*. Self-sufficient economic units are usually villages of scores or hundreds of persons, rarely if ever is a village as large as 2000 people.
- iv) Horticultural economy is characterized by *simple to moderate economic resources*:
 - a) Technology includes simple hand tools and simple methods of farming. Small amounts of land are worked at one time, mostly with hand tools namely digging stick, hoe or spade.
 - b) Division of labour is based on age, sex and some specialization. Women's contribution to subsistence activities is greater than that of men in horticultural societies.
 - c) Horticultural economy is characterized by *plenty of food and infrequent food shortages*. Horticulture yields maize, finger millet, pearl millet, and manioc in Africa, maize, banana, peanut, corn, sweet potato, potato and manioc in America, yam, banana, coconut, breadfruit, taro and sugarcane in Oceania, rice millets and some root crops in Asia. All these food items provide plenty of food and they are supplemented by meat and fish. Among horticulturists food shortages are very rare because of the dependable yields of the crops.
 - d) Horticultural economy favours some *part-time political leadership*. Some persons may be part-time craftsmen or part-time political officials; and certain members of a kin group such as village headmen, lineage heads, tribal chiefs, shamans and priests may have more status than other individuals in the society.

Check your progress

9. List out the names of tribes which have horticultural economy.

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18.8 AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

18.8.1 Distribution

Almost eight thousand years ago, there were many important advances in farming. Scores of new plants were brought under cultivation. A large number of new animals were domesticated. The principles of irrigation, fertilizing and weeding were discovered. But none had the impact of the plough. In fact, agriculture is called plough cultivation as against horticulture which is called digging stick cultivation or hoe cultivation. Cultivation with animal drawn plough now exists in North Africa, Europe and Asia including Indonesia.

18.8.2 Examples

Some of the tribal societies which practise agriculture are the Baiga, the Bhil, the Bhuiya, the Ho, the Lepcha, the Oraon, the Patam and the Santals in India, the Dusun of Indonesia, the Tanala of Madagascar, the Kachin of Burma and the sixteenth century Aztecs of Meso-America.

18.8.3 Characteristics

- i) Agricultural economy is characterized by *sedentarism*. In contrast to horticultural tribal societies, those with agricultural economy have the most sedentary communities because they have attachment to lands used for continuous cultivation for generations.
- ii) Agricultural economy has the characteristic of *supporting the highest population density*. Agricultural societies reveal some of the greatest densities so far encountered, some times 1000 per square mile.
- iii) Agricultural economy is characterized by *permanent rural and urban communities*. It supports large village, towns and cities. Towns and cities grow up from agricultural settlements spurred by higher crop yields and increased population. The Aztec city namely Tenochtitlan had a population of 300,000 in 1519 when Cortez first saw it. Its economic foundation was agriculture.
- iv) Agricultural economy is characterized by *complex economic resources*.

- a) Technology includes complex agricultural equipment and several methods of cultivation. The equipment consists of animal drawn ploughs, harness, levellers, knives, spades, sickles and others. Agricultural operations include preparation of the soil, sowing, caring for the crops and harvesting. Irrigation and weeding comprise essential parts of caring the crops.
- b) Division of labour based on age, sex and a high degree specialization exists in all tribal societies dependent on agricultural economy. Women in agricultural societies contribute less to subsistence than do women in horticultural societies. Co-operative work groups are found everywhere, but they are not always voluntary. Craft specialization is present to a high degree in all tribal societies dependent on agriculture. The patterns of work involved in the production of agricultural goods follow the seasons.
- c) Land ownership includes a set of complex rules relating to allocation of land resources. In many societies individual ownership of land is rare and all individuals have complete rights of access to land. Ownership by lineage, clan or even a phratry is common in all such societies. In a few tribal societies individuals have titles to land and access to water supplies for irrigation and rights to sell the land.
- d) Capital includes money, draught animals, ploughs, levellers, spades, manures and other artefacts and materials. As the tools and other productive goods are more complex and difficult to make individual ownership in them becomes more absolute. Rights to ownership are more rigorously applied.
- v) Agricultural economy is characterized by *frequent food shortages and very important trade*. Agricultural societies cultivate rice, millet, pulses, peanuts, root and tuberous crops. They rely on their own cultivation for a considerable part of their food supplies but supplement their farming with produce purchased in the market.

Agricultural societies are also more likely to face food shortages, even though agriculture is generally more productive than horticulture. The reason is that agriculture, which is practised mainly in non-tropical areas where rainfall can be unreliable, is more vulnerable to severe drought which can hurt, and even destroy, the entire food supply. Further agriculturists are more likely to face food shortages because they are often selling a part of their produce for purchasing other food requirements. If the market demand drops, they may not have enough cash to buy all the other food they need.

- vi) Agricultural economy is characterized by *presence of wide individual differences in wealth*. Agricultural success provides for economic inequalities. Individual differences in wealth exist in terms of land, in terms of number of animals and in terms of money.
- vii) Agricultural economy favours the existence of *many full-time political officials*. Because economies and politics are always tightly intertwined in agrarian tribal societies, those who dominate the economic system also dominate the political system. Wealth tends to follow power.

Check your progress

10. List out some Indian tribes which practice agriculture.

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18.9 SUMMING UP

Using subsistence technology as a criterion, anthropologists classified the tribal economies into two broad types: food collection economy and food production economy - food collection economy includes two sub types: food gathering economy and hunting-fishing economy. Food production economy includes three sub types of economy: horticultural economy, pastoral economy and agricultural economy. Food gathering is the oldest mode of human existence. Human societies were food gatherers throughout most of their history. The transition from food gathering to food production brought a major change in the relationship between human and their natural resources.

18.10 KEY WORDS

New World	: Western Hemisphere; namely the western part of the terrestrial globe, including North and South America, their islands and the surrounding waters.
Old World	: Eastern Hemisphere namely the eastern part of the terrestrial globe, including Asia, Africa, Australia and Europe.
Waterhole	: A source of drinking water, as a spring in desert, a depression in the surface of the ground, containing water, and a hole in the frozen surface of a body of water.

18.11 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Hoebal	: Man in the Primitive World
Piddington R.	: An Introduction to Social Anthropology.
Keesing	: Cultural Anthropology.

18.12 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each :

1. In which forms does the tribal economy exist in different parts of the globe ?
2. Briefly explain the evolutionary sequence of tribal economies.
3. Explain the characteristics of food-gathering economy of tribal societies.
4. Describe the characteristics of hunting-fishing economy of tribal societies.
5. What are the characteristics of the pastoral economy of different tribal societies ?
6. Describe the characteristics of horticultural economy of different tribal societies.
7. What are the characteristics of the agricultural economy of tribal societies ?

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines each :

1. Give a classification of tribal economies in terms of subsistence technology.
2. Describe how the oldest mode of tribal economy has come into existence.
3. Describe how human societies evolved and developed various types of economies from food-gathering economy.
4. What is the distribution of the tribal societies following food-gathering economy ?
5. Give some examples of tribes with food-gathering economy ?
6. Why food shortage occur among the hunters and gatherers ?

Unit-19 : RECIPROCITY, REDISTRIBUTION AND EXCHANGE

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- 19.0 Aims and Objectives
- 19.1 Introduction
- 19.2 Meaning of Distribution of Systems of Exchange
- 19.3 Main kinds of Exchange Systems
- 19.4 Reciprocity-based System of Exchange
 - 19.4.1 Generalized Reciprocity
 - 19.4.2 Balanced Reciprocity
 - 19.4.3 Negative Reciprocity
- 19.5 Redistribution-based System of Exchange
 - 19.5.1 Administration-directed Redistribution
 - 19.5.2 Potlatch-based Redistribution
- 19.6 Market based System of Exchange
 - 19.6.1 Market Exchange as Money Exchange
 - 19.6.2 General Purpose Money
 - 19.6.3 Money based System of Exchange
- 19.7 Summing Up
- 19.8 Key Words
- 19.9 Suggested Books
- 19.10 Model Examination Questions

19.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this unit is to acquaint you with distribution or system of exchange in different tribal societies.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * explain the ways in which goods and services are distributed or exchanged in different tribal societies,
- * explain the reciprocity system of distribution and its three variant forms,
- * explain the distribution system and its forms existing in tribal societies,
- * explain the exchange system that involves money in tribal societies.

19.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied about the classification of tribal economies into different forms and sub-forms on the basis of subsistence technology and how these forms show a sequence of evolutionary development and also the similarities and differences between the various forms

of economy. In this unit we will study about the ways in which goods and services are distributed or exchanged in different tribal societies.

19.2 DISTRIBUTION : SYSTEMS OF EXCHANGE

The allocation or exchange of goods and services within a local group or between different local groups is known as *distribution or system of exchange*. In studying an economy, one is interested in the manner in which goods and services are transferred from one party or group to another. The exchange and movement of goods and services can either be within the local group or between different local groups within the society.

19.3 MAIN KINDS OF EXCHANGE SYSTEMS

Karl Polanyi an economic historian, identified three different modes of allocation or principles of exchange; reciprocity, redistribution and market exchange.

i) Reciprocity is the exchange of goods and services between units of the same kind, such as individuals, households, kinship groups, or local groups. It is the mutual give and take among persons or among groups of equal status. Reciprocity often takes the form of gift exchange since the distribution of goods of material value is not usually the purpose of reciprocity. The main reason for exchanges of this type is the maintenance of the obligations which exist between the individuals or groups.

ii) Redistribution is a kind of exchange in which goods collected or contributed from members of a group flow to some central point from which they are redistributed to the society. Redistribution thus involves a centre where goods come together and from which they are distributed

iii) Market exchange is the exchange of goods and services according to the law of supply and demand. The predominant feature of market exchange is that goods and services are bought and sold at a money price determined by the impersonal forces of supply and demand. Unlike reciprocity and redistribution, in which the social and political roles of those who exchange are important, a market exchange is impersonal and occurs no matter what the social position of the participants. Market exchange is thus the most purely economic mode of exchange. In this, the participants are interested only in maximizing material gains. In a society containing markets, social or political goals are less important than economic goals. Organization around strictly economic purposes and activities is a dominant character of the social life of a group with market exchange.

Every economy is characterized by at least one of these systems of exchange. Many economies are based on two or all three of these system of exchange.

Check your progress

1. What is distribution ?

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2. What are the different types of distribution system ?
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19.4 RECIPROCITY-BASED SYSTEM OF EXCHANGE

As said before reciprocity refers to giving and taking without the use of money. It ranges from pure gift giving to equalized barter and self-interested cheating. In other words, reciprocity may take three forms: generalized reciprocity, balanced reciprocity and negative reciprocity.

19.4.1 Generalized reciprocity

Generalized reciprocity is exchange in which neither the value nor what is given is calculated nor the time of repayment specified. Such transactions do not involve economic or their self-interest. That means generalized reciprocity is gift-giving without any immediate return or conscious thought of return.

i) In our own society we are familiar with generalized reciprocity as it exists between parents and children. Parents are constantly giving things and providing services to their children 'out of love' or at least out of a sense of responsibility. Parents do not keep an account of the amount spent on the child and then expect the child to repay the amount. What parents generally expect is perhaps gratitude, love, respect and the child's happiness.

ii) In hunting and gathering societies like the Semai of Malayan forests, the Bushman of Kalahari desert and some Eskimo tribes, general reciprocity involves exchange of several food items. In all these societies one person maintains good social relationships with another and gains respect or prestige by sharing food, as occasion arises. When the Bushmen of Kalahari desert kill a large animal, the first distribution is to the hunters and to the owner of the arrow that killed the animal, but the second distribution is along kinship lines. The hunter gives meat, first to his wife's parents, then to his own parents, his wife, his children, his brothers and sisters, his wife's brothers and sisters and to other friends and relatives who are present. Visitors will also receive some. Each receiver of meat gives again, and such waves of sharing continue. In the later waves of sharing the act definitely has the quality of giving, and the person who has received meat must reciprocate at a future time. From the killing and distribution of the meat of one animal, all receive meat, and closely knit network of social bonds is maintained.

19.4.2 Balanced reciprocity

Balanced reciprocity is direct exchange in which goods and services of commensurate worth are traded within a finite period. That means, one individual or group in the exchange gives the other individual or group a gift; the gift must be repaid by a gift of comparable value, probably within a period of one year. Therefore balanced reciprocity is more explicit and short-term in its expectations of return than generalized reciprocity. In fact, it involves a straight-forward immediate or limited-time trade. The exchange is motivated by desire or need for certain objectives.

i) Trade in its various forms is one kind of balanced reciprocity. The Bushmen, for instance, trade with the Tswan Bantu: gemsbok hide for a pile of tobacco, five strings of beads made from ostrich eggshells for a spear, three small skins for a good-sized knife.

ii) *Silent trade or dumb barter* is also an example of balanced reciprocity. It is a specialized form of barter in which no verbal communication takes place. In California, for example, the Tubatulabal Red Indians leave pinon nuts and tobacco to be traded at a designated spot and withdraw. The other Red Indian tribes then come, examine the goods, and leave white clam shell discs in their places. The Semang of Malay leave their surplus jungle products at an agreed-upon place near a village and return later to take salt, beads or a metal tool left by the peasants. The Vedas of Ceylon have pockets of meat on the door-steps of the doors of Ceylonese blacksmiths and in turn expect to find there arrow-points of equal value on the next day. The reasons for silent trade are: lack of common language, controlling of hostility and keeping of peace relations and problems of status.

iii) Trade may also take the form of elaborate ceremonial exchange signifying balanced reciprocity. The Trobriand islanders and other islanders of South-Western Melanesia have an elaborate scheme for trading food and other items with the people of neighboring islands. This scheme is called *kula*. It is a trading system that involves the exchange of scarce goods, competition for prestige, and the all-important ceremonial exchange of highly valued necklaces and arm shells. Such trade is essential because some of the islands are small and rocky and cannot produce enough food to sustain their inhabitants. Instead their people specialize in building canoes, making pottery, and other crafts. Hence they have food shortages but surplus artefacts. Other islands produce far more yams, taro and pigs than they need. Hence they have food surpluses but shortage of artefacts. Thus both food surpluses and special artefacts will be available in each community. But the strange thing is that no island has both the raw materials and the skills to produce all the commodities to be consumed. Then one island depends on trade to get its required items from the other islands.

19.4.3 Negative reciprocity

Negative reciprocity is a form of exchange in which the giver tries to get something out of nothing or to get the better of the exchange. The parties involved usually are opposed, live at some distance and are not closely related. Negative reciprocity is conducted for the purpose of material advantage, and is based on the desire to get something for nothing (gambling, theft, cheating) or to get better of a bargain (barter or haggling).

i) Even trade indicates negative reciprocity. Tribal societies are more likely to distinguish between the insider whom it is morally wrong to cheat, and the outsider, from whom every advantage may be gained. Among the Navajo Red Indians, for example, the rules vary with the situation: to deceive when trading with foreign tribes is a morally accepted practice. Even witchcraft techniques are considered acceptable in trading with members of foreign tribes.

ii) Thefts and raids are also examples of negative reciprocity. Among pastoral tribes, negative reciprocity is the form of theft of livestock is an important way in which animals change hands. For the Plains Indian, who hunted buffalo on horesback, horse raids were an important aspect of their economy, The Kazak, the Kirghiz, the Kalmuk, the Nuer, the Dinka and several other pastoral tribes raid their nieghbours and run away with cattle or from their neighbours.

Thus, most hunting, gathering, horticultural and pastoral tribal societies depend upon some form of reciprocity for the distribution of their goods and services. Whether the reciprocity is generalized, reciprocal or negative depends largely upon the kinship distance between persons. Generalized reciprocity is the rule for family members an close kinsmen. Balanced reciprocity is generally practised among equals who are not closely related. Negative reciprocity is practised against strangers and enemies.

Check your progress

3. What is reciprocity ?

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4. What are the different types of reciprocity ?

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19.5 REDISTRIBUTION-BASED SYSTEM OF EXCHANGE

19.5.1 Administration-directed redistribution

Administration-directed redistribution is the systematic movement of goods and services toward an administrative centre and their reallocation by the authorities. Redistribution may be voluntary on the part of the members of a society or it may be involuntary in that the administrative centre uses agents to force the members to contribute goods and services to the

authorities. The goods may be used to support the need, to reward followers, to support armies, or simply to ensure the comfort of the authorities. The redistributive centre can vary from the head of a band to the ruler of a large kingdom. Redistribution is the accumulation of goods by a particular person, or in particular place for the purpose of subsequent distribution. Even though redistribution is found in all societies, it becomes an important mechanism of distribution only in societies with a relatively complex systems of political organization and a substantial economic surplus.

i) In all societies, there is some voluntary redistribution, at least within the family. Members of the family pool their labour or products or income for their common good. But beyond the family there is little or no redistribution in many societies. Particularly in hunter-gatherer societies which generally lack specialized political officials, the major mechanism of distribution is reciprocity, not redistribution. Therefore redistribution exists in a majority of the hunting-fishing societies, in some horticultural societies and almost all pastoral and agricultural societies which contain political machinery of one kind or the other to coordinate centralized collection and distribution.

ii) The Buin economy in Melanesia illustrates the involuntary type of redistribution in which the redistribution centre is the chief or head of the community and the goods are redistributed equally between himself and all the members of the community. In the Buin of Melanesia, the chief is housed, dressed and fed exactly like his subjects. Although the chief owns most of the pigs, everyone shares equally in the consumption of the wealth.

iii) The Trobriand economy illustrates the involuntary type of redistribution in which the redistribution centre is the chief or head of a number of villages and the food items are distributed through tremendous feasts unqually between himself and the members of the villages of his area.

Thus, the head of a redistribution system, a chief or a king, has three main incentives to redistribute the income flow to tribal or public coffers: to maintain his generosity, to assure those who support him an adequate standard of living and to establish alliances outside of his territory.

19.5.2 Potlatch-based redistribution

Potlatch ceremony among the North-West Coast Indians is also a form of redistribution. It involves ritual display of privileges and title and distribution of goods among the guests for the purpose of validating and enhancing the host's privileges and prestige. Potlatch ceremony appears in four forms: funeral potlatch, house building potlatch, face-saving potlatch and vengeance potlatch.

Funeral potlatch takes place when a chief dies. When a chief dies, an heir to his office must succeed. This heir also inherits the house of the deceased chief. To validate his claim to the office and house of the chief, the heir gives a funeral potlatch. For this potlatch he invites the members of the opposite moiety, entertains them to the feast. The guests carve and erect a totem pole to the dead chief. Then the heir distributes property to the guests.

House-building potlatch is more important, elaborate and spectacular. For about ten years a man and his wife work hard to accumulate the required property. One year before the potlatch

ceremony the wife lends furs or blankets from the common store to various members of her clan. Her clan members return them at the time of potlatch with hundred percent interest. At the time of potlatch, the guests assemble in the new house and they are seated according to their rank. If the recipients gain in material, the hosts acquire social and political prestige. The host gets a dwelling and becomes thereby the house chief. The hostess gains social status for her children and for her clan. Both the host and the hostess thus gain political and social rank.

Thus in funeral potlatch and house-building potlatches distribution of goods take place. But in face-saving and vengeance potlatches much property is destroyed. However, all forms of potlatch serve as mechanisms for the distribution of wealth and prevention of hoarding of goods.

Check your progress

5. What is potlatch ?

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6. What are the different forms of potlatch ?

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19.6 MARKET-BASED SYSTEM OF EXCHANGE

19.6.1 Market exchange as money exchange

Market exchange is also known as money exchange of commercial exchange. It occurs when food-gathering economy becomes so sufficient that supplies a food beyond the subsistence needs of the producers are regularly produced. Monetary exchange appears to be a more satisfactory means of distributing regular, large supplies of disposable food and other items than either feasts (usually generalized reciprocity) or barter (balanced reciprocity). With an increased food supply, more people are realized from subsistence activities to specialize in various tasks such as crafts, religion and warfare. Thus, monetary or commercial exchange involving money emerges when an economy develops to the point where supplies of food regularly exceed the needs of those engaged in food production, where the population has become fairly dense and includes many persons who are strangers to one another, and where there are many crafts and labour specialists who need what others have to offer.

19.6.2 General-purpose money

Market exchange is associated with money or general-purpose money. Money is divisible, portable and durable. Money performs the basic functions of serving as a medium of exchange, a standard of value, and a store of wealth. It is a medium of exchange for buying and selling. It is a store of wealth by which one can discharge obligations such as taxes, fines, and debts. It also provides a standard of value: a way of comparing the value of different kinds of goods and services. Money is considered general-purpose money if it serves all those basic functions. If it serves only one or two functions it is called limited-purpose money or special-purpose money. General-purpose money exists among only a few tribal societies but special-purpose money exists in many tribal societies.

General-purpose money consists of money for which all goods and services can be exchanged on the spot or through a balanced reciprocity. Limited-purpose or special-purpose money consists of money for which only some goods and services can be exchanged on the spot or through a balanced reciprocity. For example, the Ekagi society of New Guinea has general-purpose money in the form of cowrie shells of angular shape, uneven surface, and yellowish colouring. It is divisible into denominations, portable and durable. It is used to buy and sell food, domesticated animals, growing crops, land, garden labour, surgical services, magical curing, pig breeding and so on. It is also used in discharging obligations, as in damage settlements and payments of fines. Finally, it serves as the standard of value for Ekagi goods and services. On the contrary, the shell money among some Melanesians consists of lengths of shells strung together in units each roughly as long as the distance covered by a man's outstretched arms. This shell money can be exchanged only for pigs but not for any other goods. That is, shell money cannot be exchanged for all the goods or services that a person might need. Hence it serves as a limited-purpose or special-purpose money.

19.6.3 Money-based systems of exchange

George Dalton suggested that general-purpose and special-purpose money can be distinguished in terms of the kind of tribal distribution system in which the money is used. According to him there are three systems: marketless systems, systems with peripheral markets only, and systems with money dominated markets.

i) in *marketless societies* reciprocity and some redistribution are the major forms of redistribution. Special-purpose-money such as goats, cattle, spears, shells, dogs teeth and stone rings may sometimes be used, but only for limited or special purposes such as funeral or marriage gifts.

ii) *Peripheral market societies* generally follow the practice of marketless societies. Trobriand Islanders and Rossel Islanders, for example, have peripheral markets. These markets are called peripheral because they account for only a small part of society's output of goods and because land and labour are never traded there. The peripheral markets have established market places which are really places where actual goods are exchanged for items people cannot produce themselves. Each peripheral market is local, specific and contained. It is a gathering place where people renew friendships, see relatives, gossip and keep up with the world.

iii) *Market societies are money-dominated.* Markets include land and labour among the goods and services which can be bought or sold. The market principle involves the system of establishing prices by the powers of supply and demand no matter where the transactions are made. Markets in industrial societies have little to do with market places or peripheral markets. Buying and selling often can go on without the people being on the same continent together. Markets here are involved with a market principle and not a market place. Tribal societies have no markets. They have only peripheral markets or places.

Check your progress

7. What are the basic functions of money ?

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19.7 SUMMING UP

The allocation or exchange of goods and services within a local group or between different local groups is known as distribution or a system of exchange. Reciprocity, Redistribution, and Market exchange are the three different modes of allocation or principles of exchange. Reciprocity refers to giving and taking without the use of money. Redistribution is the accumulation of goods by a particular person or in a particular place for the purpose of subsequent distribution. Market exchange is also known as money exchange or commercial exchange.

19.8 KEY WORDS

- Kula ring : The cycle of ceremonial exchange of shell arm-bands and necklaces in Melanesia.
- Potlatch : A North-West Coast Red Indian ceremony involving ritual display of privileges and titles and distribution of goods among the guests for the purpose of validating and enhancing the host's privileges and prestige.

19.9 SUGGESTED BOOKS

- Hoebel - Man in the Primitive World
- Herskovits M.J - Cultural Anthropology
- Kroeber - Anthropology
- Lenski - Human Societies.

19.10 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer each of the following in about 30 lines :

1. Describe the various forms of distribution system in tribal societies.
2. Describe generalized reciprocity system of exchange with the help of some examples.
3. Describe balanced reciprocity system of exchange with the aid of some examples.
4. Examine negative reciprocity system of exchange with the help of suitable examples.
5. Describe redistribution system of exchange and cite its variant forms.
6. What is the exact nature of administration-directed redistribution system of exchange ?
7. Discuss the redistribution system of exchange existing in the African chiefdoms and monarchies.

II. Answer each of the following in about 15 lines :

1. What should we mean by a system of exchange ?
2. What is reciprocity ?
3. Explain the term redistribution.
4. What is market exchange ?
5. What is the meaning of generalized reciprocity ?
6. What is balanced reciprocity ?
7. What is negative reciprocity ?
8. What is dumb barter ?

BRAOU

BLOCK VII

Political Organization

Unit 20 : General features of Tribal Polity - The Nature of Headship.

Unit 21 : Forms of Tribal Political Organisations.

Unit 22 : Tribal law and Justice.

BRAOU

Unit-20: GENERAL FEATURES OF TRIBAL POLITY & THE NATURE OF HEADSHIP

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 - 20.3.3 Leadership Aspect
 - 20.3.4 Customary Aspect or Legal Aspect
 - 20.3.5 Conflict Aspect
- 20.4 Summing Up
- 20.5 Key Words
- 20.6 Suggested Books
- 20.7 Model Examination Questions

20.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with the concept of tribal polity.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- * describe what is polity and what is a polity and what is a tribal polity,
- * explain the different features of tribal polity,
- * describe the nature of leadership in different political communities of tribes.

20.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units we have studied about the economic organization of tribal societies and the ways in which goods and services are distributed or exchanged in different tribal societies. Now we will study about political organization. In this unit we will study about tribal polity and different aspects of tribal polity.

20.2 TRIBAL POLITY

20.2.1 What is polity?

The Greek word 'polis' provides the common root for three distinct notions in English language: polity, policy, and politics. The word 'polity' refers to political unit, political body or political community.

A polity or a political community is a group of people whose membership is defined in terms of occupancy of a common territory and whose function is under the direction of a political leader.

A polity has five important aspects. First, it has a spatial or territorial aspect. It may be small or large both in terms of populations and in terms of the amount of territory occupied. Second, it has an organizational aspect in terms of its component units. Third, it has leadership aspect in terms of the types of its leaders. Fourth it has a legal or customary aspect. It has a system of custom or law by which decisions made by leaders are enforced. Fifth, it has inter-polity aspect in terms of the relationships between one polity and another polity.

The term 'policy' or public policy refers to any guideline that can lead directly to action. The term public refers to the people that a policy will affect. The people that a policy will affect are the members of a polity or political community. That means, each polity or political community has a policy. Policy or public policy thus refers to the guidelines that lead to action that affects the polity or political community.

The term "politics" or political process refers to the events and actions that lead to the formulation and enforcement of public policy. It refers to the ongoing manoeuvring (such as pushing, wheedling, cajoling, arguing, threatening, punishing, and rewarding) and by which the formulated policy is followed by the polity. Political process has three significant qualities. First, it is public rather than private. Second, it is goal-oriented because it is concerned with ends (What is it We want?) and means (how do we go about getting?). Third, it allocates and focuses power. It assigns authority either in decision-making or in directing activities.

The term political organization or political system is that part of the culture which functions to make and carry out public policy and to direct the activities of the members of the society towards the goals of polity. Every society has a political organization. It makes public policies or decisions for the group, puts the decisions or policies into action, directs the activities of the members of the society towards the goals of polity. The goals of polity are maintenance of order and reduction or disorder in a society. The different kinds of political organization can be found at different levels of social complexity: band societies, tribal societies, chiefdoms and States.

Check your progress

1. What is polity?

20.2.2 What is a tribal polity?

The polity of a tribal society is a tribal polity. A tribal polity may be territorially based unit such as a band, a village, a clan, a lineage, a fraternity, a club, or a tribe. It is a community organized into a territorial unit under the direction of a political leader.

Each tribal polity is a political body for making and carrying out public policy in accordance with a political process governed by cultural categories and rules and for achieving the goal of maintaining social order and reducing social disorder. The Kung Bushmen live in small bands. Each band is a polity or political community. The band initiates and pursues decision-making with regard to several matters. Suppose it has initiated and pursued some action for deciding to move to a particular camp-site, then will be acted on. This policy affects the public or the whole band. The events and actions that lead to formulation and enforcement of public policy reveal the political process. It involves the events and actions of decision-making not only for the formulation of public policy but also for the application and enforcement of public policy. The goals of the band are to regulate behaviour of the members of the band and to regulate its own behaviour towards other bands. Each band, thus, is a political community. It has a spatial aspect because it is a territorial unit. It has an organizational aspect because it is an ordered arrangement of several members under the direction of a leader. It has a customary aspect because it has certain customary practices by which it makes some decisions for formulating some policies for its own sake, puts the policies into action, and appraises current circumstances and the results of previous actions as the basis for future decisions. This political process has to do with relationships among the individuals or regulation of behaviour within the band. Finally each band has inter-polity aspect because it regulates relations between itself and another band.

The whole tribe of Kung Bushmen does not comprise a political community rather each band within the Kung Bushmen serves as a political community. There may be many other tribal societies which do not contain bands but villages. Each village may serve as a political community. In some tribes each lineage, each clan, each fraternity or each club may serve as a political community. In some tribal societies, the whole tribe may serve as a political community. In that case the political community may have several constituent units at the village level, district level and province level. Each village may serve as a small political unit, several villages may be organized into a bigger political unit and the bigger political units may be organized into larger political units and finally into a chiefdom at the level of the tribes. That means, among the Kung Bushmen, the polities are bands but among the other tribes, the polities are villages and other bodies. Among the Kung Bushmen the polities belong to only one type i.e., band. On the contrary, several types of units such as villages, districts and provinces may simultaneously exist in the political community of a tribe. There may be other tribes where we do not find these polities. We may find polities at the level of village, at the level of lineage, at the level of clan and at the level of chiefdom. The tribal polity is, thus, varied and it has several hierarchical levels. If each band, each village, each lineage, each clan, each fraternity of each club is the only type of political community in a tribal, then there is only one level to the political organization or political system of a tribal society. If the constituent units of a political community are several local groups such as lineage and clan there are hierarchical levels to the tribal political system. If local groups such as lineages and clans are organized into districts with district leaders, there are three hierarchical levels to the tribal political system. If districts are organized into provinces with district and province leaders, a tribal political system with four hierarchical levels exists. It is possible to find tribal systems with more than four hierarchical levels.

Check your progress

2. What is tribal polity?

20.3 ASPECTS OF TRIBAL POLITY

20.3.1 Territorial aspect

The tribal polity may be a distinguishable territorial entity. It is a political body operating within the frame-work of a clearly marked territory. The smallest unit of a tribal polity is the household. The next largest is the camp (among nomadic hunters and gatherers) or the village (among sedentary people). The next largest is the band comprising a number of camps (among the nomads) or the district comprising several villages (among sedentary people). Then there is the tribe or nation, the largest group with a common language and culture.

In some tribes such as Kung Bushmen, each band works as a political community. In tribes like some of those in Australia and Africa a village serves as an autonomous political community. In tribes like the Bantu of Africa, the camp or the village is the smallest unit of the political community. The next largest unit is the district, which comprises several camps or villages. The largest body is the chiefdom.

Tribes may unite on a more or less permanent basis with other tribes to form a confederacy. Tribes unite into a confederacy for mutual defense or aggression but each tribe in a confederacy remains as a self-governing political community. Several Red Indian tribes like the Iroquois, Seneca, Omaha, Crow and others formed into a confederacy.

Thus the territorial of a political community forms a system consisting of a hierarchical levels. Although some political communities are composed of only one local group (band or village), most are composed of numerous kinship and other types of groups. Sometimes these groups are organized into territorial units within the political community. These territorial units of a political community may be districts and provinces.

20.3.2 Organizational aspect

Tribal polities have organizational structure in terms of their component units and leaders which head these units.

i) Tribal polities are organized in terms of local groups, kinship groups, and fraternities. The local groups are bands or villages. As discussed above the hierarchical levels included within a political community reveal the territorial organization of a political community.

ii) Tribal polities generally rest more heavily on kinship. Lineages, clans, phratries, and moieties may each form into a political community and have its own leaders to regulate and guide its affairs and represent itself vis-a-vis others.

In some tribes lineages alone may form into self-governing political communities. In some tribes, clans may form into autonomous political communities. Such tribes may not have any other types of political communities. There may be tribes in which lineages, clans, phratries and moieties may form the several levels of councils that act within the political community at the level of the tribe.

In some tribes the lineages are local groups each forming a village. Then several lineages forming into a number of villages comprise a clan. All the villages thus holding the members of a clan may form into a district. The districts may be organized into provinces, each containing a phratry and several provinces may be organized into a nation or tribe. The tribe or nation thus forms a political community with lineage village, clan districts and phratry provinces serving as its sub-units.

In some tribes the lineages may contain the members distributed in two or three villages. Likewise the clan may contain their members dispersed among several villages. In such cases neither lineages, nor clans form into territorial units. Either each lineage or clan may serve as independent political communities, or they may serve as sub-units of the political community at the level of the tribe.

There is one hierarchical level if the political community is composed of one type of kinship groups (lineages) as its constituent units, two levels if it is composed of two kinship groups (lineages and clans) as its constituent units, three levels if it is composed of three kinship groups (lineages, clans and phratries) as its constituent units and four levels if it is composed of four kinship groups (lineages, clans, phratries and moieties) as its constituent units. These levels form a system in that the leaders at each level, except for the head of the political community, are subordinate to a leader at a higher level. Thus tribal political communities differ one from the other in terms of the number of hierarchical levels composing their political systems.

iii) Tribal polities are also organized in terms of tribal councils. The tribal councils are composed of members who are heads of the secret fraternities or military fraternities. For example, the heads of the secret religious fraternities form the tribal council in a number of pueblo Red Indians. The military fraternities of the plains Indians performed major political functions, as do many of the secret societies of Africa and Melanesia. The age-sets of other parts of Africa do likewise. In India, castes still operate as political units, although the modern constitution of India proscribes them.

20.3.3 Leadership aspect

The political communities of tribal societies have different types of leaders. The leaders of the political communities may be hereditary, may be elected or may be the strongest individuals.

According to Leopold Pospisil the leaders of political communities may also vary according to the degree of formality and degree of power. They may be headmen, chiefs, and kings.

i) Headmen have informal authority and limited power. An informal authority is that individual who has no ceremonial importance and little public emphasis. His rights, duties, and procedures are not defined by law or custom. He may be almost indistinguishable from other adult males in the society. He may dress no differently, his demeanour may be the same, and he may not be referred to by any special name. He is so limited in power that he has no other function except announcing group decisions.

ii) Chiefs have formal authority and limited power. By formal authority is meant an individual who has his role, rights, duties and activities, defined by either custom and law or custom or law. However, like headmen, chiefs have limited power.

iii) Kings have formal authority but absolute power. They have formal authority because their rights, duties and procedures are defined by law or custom. They have absolute power because their power is not limited by someone else. The subordination of their followers is emphasized by custom or law. They may have such great power that they can arbitrarily put individuals to death.

According to Meyer Fortes and Evans-Pritchard the political communities headed by leaders (kings) with absolute power are known as states, and the political communities headed by leaders (chiefs and headmen) with limited power are considered to be stateless.

The terms king, chief and headman can be used not only to classify the leaders of political communities, but also to classify the leaders of sub-units within political communities. The leaders of

subsidiary local groups, districts, and provinces have less formality and power than the leader of the political community.

Many different combinations of leaders can occur the combinations depending upon the number of hierarchical levels within each political community. Some of the combinations are as follows:

- i) King - Chiefs-Sub-Chiefs-headmen
- ii) King - chiefs headmen
- iii) King - chiefs
- iv) Chief - sub-chiefs - headmen
- v) Chief - headmen

20.3.4 Customary or legal aspect

In every political community, there are conflicts between individual members of the same or different local groups, kinship groups, fraternities, age-sets or clubs which create ruptures in intra political community relationships. These conflicts between individuals are referred to as trouble cases.

In many political communities the political leader has the power to intercede and adjudicate disputes. Sometimes this is done by a leader of a sub-unit within the political community or by a special official whose function is to adjudicate trouble cases.

The leaders of some political communities have so little power that they cannot intercede and settle disputes. In these political communities, ruptures in intra-political community relationships persist. If the rupture is serious the political community may fragment and form two political communities. Kings have the powers to intercede and adjudicate disputes. Chiefs and headmen have limited power. However, their power is sufficient to settle disputes. Thus any type of political leader may be able to resolve conflicts between individuals.

Tribal political communities may have only customs or they may have laws. If trouble cases are resolved by political leaders, a situation exists in which law can develop. According to Hoebel law exists only when there is official authority, privileged force and regularity. An authority must be an official. He should not be a forceful individual who usurps the privilege of setting trouble cases. Regularity requires that there be multiple cases involving the same decision. Penal sanctions must actually be applied at times for there to be evidence or privileged force. All these three elements must be present in the settlement of some disputes for law to exist in a political community.

20.3.5 Conflict aspect

Conflict includes feuding, internal war or civil war, and external war or warfare. Feuding is a type of armed combat within a political community. Feuding mainly occurs because of homicide as in the case of Nuer. The kin of the deceased take revenge through killing the offender or a close relative of his. Such armed combats are usually initiated by a small group of men, relatives of the deceased who lie in ambush and attack the unsuspecting victim who is often alone and has little chance to escape.

Political communities handle their homicide cases in three different ways. First, feuding does not occur if there is a formal judicial procedure for punishing the offender or if homicides are always settled through compensation. The trouble cases arising out of homicides are legally adjudicated if the political leader or an authority imposes a restitution or penal sanction upon the party responsible for the homicides.

Second, feuding with compensation occurs if the relatives of the deceased sometimes accept compensation in lieu of blood revenge. Third, feuding without compensation occurs if the relatives of the deceased are expected to take revenge through killing of the offender or any close relative of his.

Warfare is armed combat between political communities conducted by military organizations. If the political communities (such as two bands) belong to same tribe, the armed combat is classified as internal war. But if the political communities of two tribes are involved in armed combat, the armed conflict is called external war. Two types of external war can be distinguished: a political community of one tribe can either attach (offensive external war) or be attacked by (defensive external war) a political community of another tribe. Political communities headed by chiefs and headmen go to war for economic, social and defensive reasons.

Check your progress

3. What are the different aspects of tribal polity?

20.4 SUMMING UP

A polity is a group of people whose membership is defined in terms of occupancy of a common territory and whose function is under the direction of a political leader. Polity has five important aspects - spatial or territorial aspect, organizational aspect, leadership aspect, legal or customary aspect and inter-polity aspect. The polity of a tribal society is a tribal polity. A tribal polity may be territorially based unit such as a band, a village, a clan, a lineage, a fraternity, a club or a tribe.

20.5 KEY WORDS

- Armed combat : Fighting with Weapons is called armed combat.
- Leader : Any one who is able to influence the members of a group to act together is a leader.
- Penal sanction : A punishment inflicted upon an individual who is responsible for violating a rule of conduct.
- Restitutive sanction : A requirement that one individual (the defendant) must make payment to the other individual (the plaintiff) in a dispute.

20.6 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Kroeber	:	Anthropology
Herskovits	:	Cultural Anthropology.
Lenski.G	:	Human Societies.

20.7 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.

1. Explain the terms polity, policy, political organization.
2. What is a tribal polity? Explain its hierarchical levels in different tribal polities.
3. Mention the distinctive features of the territorial aspect of tribal polity.
4. Clearly describe the organizational structure of tribal polities.
5. Describe the various types of leaders according to the degree of formality and degree of power.

II. Answer the following in about 10 lines each.

1. What are the different aspects of a polity?
2. Explain the term policy.
3. Explain the term political process.
4. Explain the term polities.
5. Explain the term political organization.
6. What are the sub-units of tribal polities.
7. Describe the hierarchical levels of tribal polities.
8. What type of authority and power do the chief possess.
9. Which types of political communities are called states and stateless.
10. What are the three criteria for Hoebel for the existence of law.

Unit - 21 : FORMS OF TRIBAL POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

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 - 21.4.1 Cheifdom
 - 21.4.2 State
- 21.5 Variation and Functions of Political Organization
- 21.6 Summing Up
- 21.7 Key Words
- 21.8 Suggested Books
- 21.9 Model Examination Questions

21.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main focus of this unit is on forms of tribal political organization.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- * explain the different types of political organizations,
- * describe the sub-types of each type of political organization with the help of suitable examples,
- * explain the evolutionary trends from the simple band type of political organization to complex state type of political organization,
- * describe the functions of political organization of tribal societies in general.

21.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit we have described tribal polity and examined the territorial organization, leadership, customary or legal and conflict aspects of the tribal polities. We have also studied the nature of headship in different political communities of tribes. In this unit we will study the classification of political organizations and the functions of political organization of tribal societies.

21.2 TYPES OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

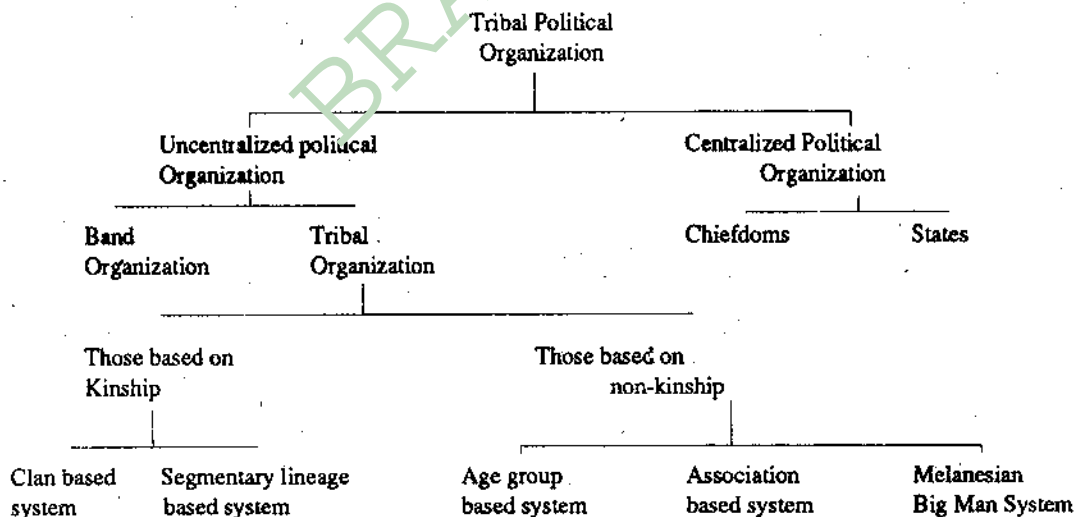
Basic Types

Anthropologists have been investigating the political systems of tribal societies since the beginning of the present century. The earliest important breakthrough for a systematic study of different political systems of tribal societies came in 1940 with the publication of African Political systems, edited by Meyer Fortes and Edward Evans-Pritchard (1940). Meyer Fortes and Evans-Pritchard distinguished three basic types of political system: the band, the stateless society and the state. Researches since 1950s have shown that there are two basic types of political organization among the tribal societies : uncentralized and centralized. The sub-types of these basic types are clearly defined since 1960s.

The uncentralized political organization is a multi-centric authority system where the centralized political organization is an uni-centric authority system. In uncentralized political organization there will be no centralized authority applicable to the tribal society as a whole. On the contrary in a centralized political organization, there will be a centralized authority applicable to the whole tribal society. The uncentralized political organization is also called stateless political organization or acephalous political organization while the centralized political organization is also called non-acephalous political organization.

Sub - Types

The uncentralized and centralized political systems can be classified into several sub - types as shown in the following chart.



Of the uncentralized political organization, band organization is the least complicated form. In this type of political organization each band within a tribe serves as a political community. As against band organization, there is tribal organization in which separate bands, lineage, clans, age-sets, secret societies or clubs form as sub - units. Usually tribes having this type of political organization are herders and cultivators. However, such tribes are slightly more complex than the tribes with band organization. As their political orders are arranged around lineages and clans, they are classified into those which are based on kinship groups such as lineages and clans and into those which are based on non - kinship groups such

as age - sets, secret societies, military and dancing clubs. Each tribe consists of one small autonomous unit (lineages, clans, secret societies or clubs) which then form alliances with one another for various purposes. The alliances are usually of an informal and temporary nature. Apart from the uncentralized, multi - centre, stateless, acephalous political organizations, there are centralized, uni - centre or non - acephalous political organizations which are based on states and chiefdoms.

21.3 UNCENTRALIZED POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

21.3.1 Band organization

Band organization is the least complicated form. In band organization, the kinship relations and the political structure are the same. Bands are small autonomous groups usually found among the hunter - gatherers and other nomadic tribes. Each band is an exogamous kin group. It contains nuclear families and occupies a common territory. Its population density is very low. All adult members of the group make decisions by consensus. Rank, specialization of labour and formal political organizations are absent. The leaders are usually elders who have demonstrated expertise in a number of important areas, besides having good sense, skill and luck. Wrong - doers are judged and regulated by public opinion or gossip.

The Eskimo political system is an example of band organization. It serves, therefore, to demonstrate the almost total lack of specialized roles consistent with such simple political structures. The Eskimos live in small bands of about a hundred members who are nearly always related by blood or marriage. The political structure of the Eskimo band contains only two significant roles: *the shaman and the headman*. The shaman is primarily a religious leader, but he also punishes those who violate religious taboos, even to the point of ordering exile, which for an Eskimo nearly tantamount to the death sentence. The headman makes decisions relating to hunting, settlement, and work, but his authority does not extend into matters concerning social order. When problems of social order do occur, the headman has obvious influence but no legitimate authority to force action or behaviour. Social disagreements are usually solved by fist fights, song duels, and either forms of contest which the rest of the band watches in order to enforce the contest roles. For example, if two men have been quarrelling over a woman, they might finally engage in a butting duel to settle the claim. In cases of extreme quarrels, family feuds sometimes erupt. Those guilty of repeated crimes (violence, murder, theft) that threaten the whole band are given over to an executioner who acts on behalf of the band at its request.

21.3.2 Tribal Political Organization

21.3.2 (a) Clan based political organization.

Clan - based political organization is one form of tribal organization. Numerous tribal societies have clan - based political organizations. In many tribal societies each clan serves as the seat of political authority. In some tribal societies, clan elders form a council that acts within the tribe to settle disputes or acts for the tribe in dealings with outsiders.

Among the Winnebago Red Indians of Wisconsin, there are twelve clans, each with specific political functions. The tribal chief comes from the Thunderbird clan. An important function of Thunderbird clan is the preservation of peace in the tribe. The warrior clan, as its name implies, provides war leadership. The Beat clan supplies the village policemen and the hunt policemen. The Buffalo clan provides the camp crier and aide - de - camp for the chief. The Wolf, water - spirit and Elk clans have lesser political tasks.

21.3.2 (b) Lineage - based political organization

Lineage - based political organization is another form of tribal organization. It is similar to the clan - based political organization but less extensive and relatively rare. The horticultural Tiv of Nigeria and the pastoral Nuer of Sudan are typical examples of lineage - based political organization.

Among the Nuer and Tiv, lineages are subdivided into smaller segments. Such segments are called segmentary lineages. The Nuer, for example, is split into a number of lineages. The lineage is thus a maximal lineage. Each maximal lineage is divided into many major lineages; each major lineage is divided into several minor lineages; and each minor lineage is divided into many minimal lineages. The minimal lineage contains three to five generations and is the basic permanent descent group that functions in day-to-day activities. Members of a minimal lineage live in the same village and regard each other as the closest relatives. The minimal lineages are politically independent, and there is no formal or central leadership above this level.

Among the Nuer feuds are of common occurrence. Feud is actual hostility between minimal segments. Blood feud refers to hostile interaction of the kin on both sides in a situation of homicide. If it is homicide between primary lineages, it results in a state of internal war rather than a state of feud. Nuer are more prone to fighting. The causes for fighting are : a dispute about a cow, a cow or goat eats a man's millet and the owner strikes it; adultery, watering rights in the dry season and pasturage rights.

From the very childhood, children are encouraged by their elders to settle all disputes by fighting. The course of events that takes place in cases of blood feuds is as follows. After a killing, the killer seeks sanctuary in the home of the Leopard skin chief. The Chief makes one of two vertical incisions on his arm with a spear and purifies him or cleans him from the blood. This rite is called 'bir'. Nuer tradition is that a person should not be attacked when he is taking shelter in the Chief's house. After a few days the emotions will be cooled down. The Chief then goes to the home of the slayer's family and gets the family to promise to pay certain number of cattle (about 40 to 50 cattle) to the dead person's family. He then goes to the family of the victim and tries to get them to accept this compensation. Compensation of blood, wealth to the deadman is paid either in one instalment or in a number of instalments to the deceased. Even when persons die on both sides, compensation has to be paid to the families concerned.

Homicide does not concern only the man who has committed it, it involves the kinsmen. Even after the payment of compensation, the hostility continues to burn in the hearts. Feuds create hostility between lineages. What happens when a man kills, depends on the relationship and structural positions. Through feuds whole lineages are lost in a state of hostility towards another leading to frequent quarrels. Hostility between minimal lineages involve the minor, the major and the maximal lineages of which they form a part.

In the case of other kinds of disputes such as that over ownership of cattle, the Leopard Skin chief and perhaps other respected elders in the community may attempt to get the two sides to make a settlement through public discussion. There is no means of enforcing their suggestion, however. although go-betweens have little or no authority to enforce their decisions, they express the general interest of society in ending tension, punishing wrongs, and restoring social stability. Go-betweens, with the power of public opinion behind them, are usually effective. But if a settlement cannot be agreed upon, a feud will begin, undertaken by the aggrieved party.

In a strict sense Nuer do not have law. There are only conventional compensations for damage, adultery, loss of limb, death etc.,. Judicial and executive functions are not invested in any persons or councils among the Nuer. One way of settling disputes is to use Leopard Skin Chief as a mediator. What

we find among the Nuer is that a sort of moral obligation to settle disputes by conventional methods and not in the sense of legal procedure or legal institutions. Nuer knows the right and wrong and always admits the cause. Feuds are settled by the Leopard Skin Chief. He plays a minor role in the settlement of disputes other than homicide. Though his functions are political, he is not having any political authority. Leopard skin chief is considered more as a sacred person. It is not his duty to decide the merits or demerits of a homicide. He is simply a mediator and above all a person who is to be respected. He is simply a mediator and above all a person who is to be respected. He is a mediator with no coercive power, an example of legitimacy without force.

The lack of governmental organs, absence of legal institutions, developed leadership but organised political life is remarkable among the Nuer. Their political system is closely related with kinship ties and kinship distance.

21.3.2 (c) Age-grade based Political organization

Age-grade based political organization is a third form of tribal organization. It commonly occurs in some of the tribal societies of Africa, United States and Oceania. Each age-grade is an organized group of people with membership on the basis of age. People of the same age belong to one age-grade. Each age-grade cuts across kinship and territorial lines because people of the same age in different villages belong to the same age-grade. Each tribe may be divided into two or more age-grades and each grade may be associated with specific political functions.

The Kipsigis of East Africa serve as an example of age-grade based political organization. The kipsigis males are divided into two age-grades: *Warriors and Senior elders*. The warriors defend the country and enrich the tribe by begetting many children and capturing many cattle that belonged to other tribes. When the Warriors reach the age-grade, they pass into the age-grade of Senior elders. The Senior elders have to fight in defensive battles, have to serve as chiefs of staff organizing the army, have to preside in the council of elders to resolve disputes and have to preside at initiation ceremonies. Thus age-grades cut across kinship and territorial lines and serve different political functions among the Kipsigis of East Africa.

21.3.2 (d) Association-based Political organization

Common-interest associations such as secret societies or tribal fraternities and military clubs can also form the bases for political organization of tribal societies.

The Cheyenne Warrior clubs serve as examples of association based political organization. The Cheyenne lived in bands of varying sizes. Each Cheyenne band contained a military or warrior club. The military or warrior clubs existing in all bands had identical names and identical functions. The clubs thus served to integrate the whole tribe for military and political purposes. The Cheyenne were particularly successful in peacefully resolving conflict within the tribe and in controlling individual behaviour when this was necessary for the common good. Their relatively formal mechanisms of political control came into play during the summer season, when Cheyenne bands came together for great communal buffalo hunts and tribal ceremonies. Order was necessary to prevent disputes and strict discipline was required on the buffalo hunt. An individual hunter could ruin the hunt for others by alarming and scattering the buffalo. These tribal gatherings and communal hunts were policed by members of military or warrior clubs. The clubs not only punished offenders, but also tried to rehabilitate the guilty parties by bringing them back into the tribe. The function of the police was not revenge, but getting the deviant persons to conform to the tribal law in the interest of the welfare of the tribes. Individuals were punished by a variety of methods. Sometimes their teepees were ripped to shreds or the ears of their horses were cut off, a mark

of shame, offenders might also be whipped. If they resisted, they might be killed on the spot. If however, the person accepted the punishment and appeared to have learned a lesson, he was accepted back into the group and his belongings often replaced. But the Cheyenne military or warrior clubs operated only during the hunt period. At other times, more informal sanctions and leadership operated at the band level.

21.3.2. (e) Melanesian Big Man-based Political Organization

The Melanesian bigman is another form of tribal organization. Throughout Melanesia, the Big man leader combines a small amount of interest in his tribe's welfare with a great deal of self-interested cunning calculation for his own personal gain. His authority is personal. He has no office. He is not elected to anything. His status is based on acts what he has done that raise him above most of the other members of his tribe and attract to him a band of loyal followers.

The Big man leader can be illustrated by the kapauku of West New Guinea. The Big Man in the Kapauka is called *tonowi* a 'rich man'. He is a self-made leader who gains power through personal achievements rather than from holding office. He begins his career as the leader of a small, localized kin group. Through a series of public actions, such as generous loans, the Big Man attracts followers within the community. He skilfully builds up his capital and increases the number of his wives. Since women take care of pigs, he can increase the size of his pig herds. He distributes his wealth in ways that build his reputation as a rich man by sponsoring feasts, paying subsidies to military allies, purchasing high ranks in secret societies, and paying bride-wealth for young men seeking wives. By giving generously he places many other people under obligation to him. Big Man commands obedience from their followers through this personal relationship of gratitude and obligation.

Among the Kapuku, the activities of Big Man provide leadership above the local levels, but this intergration is fragile. It depends not on the creation of permanent office, but on the personality and constant striving of an individual. Big Men rise and fall. With their deaths, their faction may dissolve, or other ambitious men may undermine their power. Most important, however, the Big Man must spur his local group on to ever greater production if he is to hold his own against other Big Man in tribe. To maintain prestige, he must give his competitors more than they can give him. This means the Big Man must begin to withhold gifts to the followers who are producing for him. The discontent this brings may lead to the defection of the followers or even the murder of the Big Man. He cannot pass on his status to others. Each individual must begin a new to amass the wealth and forge the internal and external social relationships on which the status of Big Man depends.

Check your progress

1. List out the names of tribes which have clan based political organization.

2. List out the names of tribes which have age grade based political organization.

3. List out the sub-forms of tribal organization.

21.4 CENTRALISED POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

21.4.1 Chiefdoms

Chiefdom is one form of centralized political organization. Two main characteristics distinguished chiefdoms from tribal type of uncentralized political systems. The first difference is that unlike a tribal political organization in which all parts or sub-units are structurally and functionally similar, a chiefdom is made up of parts or sub-units that are structurally and functionally different from one another. Chiefdoms exist in ranked societies. A ranking society means that some lineages, and the individuals in them, have higher or lower social status than others. As seen in Polynesia and Northwest Coast of America, rulers, nobles, and commoners may be distinguished from one another by genealogical closeness to the chiefdom, each of which has its own chief or council.

The second difference between a tribal type of political organization and chiefdom is that a chiefdom has centralized leadership. The chief sometimes inherits his office. This is in contrast with the individualistic and self-made leaders like the Melanesia Big Man in the tribal type of political organization. In contrast to band leaders, the chief is generally a true authority figure, and his office unites the community in affairs and at all times. There is also a recognized hierarchy of major and minor authorities who control major and minor sub-divisions (often lineages) of the chiefdom. On the economic level, a chief controls the productive activities of his people. Chiefdoms are usually characterized by a redistributive system of exchange, which gives the chief control over goods and sometimes labour of his people. Although the chief must give away all that he receives for distribution, he can amass some wealth and pass it on to his heirs. Land, cattle and luxury goods can be collected and become part of his power base.

The chiefdom with its centralized authority prevents the outbreak of violence between segments of the society, at the same time gives the society a great degree of military power via-a-vis other societies than the tribal political organizations are able to muster. Societies with chiefdoms may or may not be politically unified under one chief. Most societies with chiefdoms are composed of more than one multi-community political unit, each headed by a chief, or less commonly, by a council.

Compared with societies having tribal political organization, societies with chiefdoms generally are more densely populated, and their communities are more permanent, partly as a consequence of their generally higher economic productivity. Chiefdoms are found mainly in pastoral societies, or those in which intensive agriculture is practised, though they also existed among the hunting and fishing societies of the North West Coast of America.

The Chiefdom of Luapula can be used to illustrate a chiefdom. The Luapula live along the international boundary formed by the Luapula River between Zambia and Zaire. The total population of Luapula is about 63,000.

The Luapula are ruled by a paramount chief, a number of territorial sub-chiefs, and village headmen. Each chief under the paramount chief controls the allocation of land to villages and has political control over the inhabitants of his territory. The boundaries of a chief's territory define the area within which a resident is allowed to cultivate without asking special permission from another Luapula chief. The boundaries are not significant however for carrying out other activities such as fishing, hunting, and cutting wood. Within the chief's territory there is little conflict over matters related to land. Villages, lineages, or any other kind of kin group, have no special rights over stretches of cultivable land. Individuals do not have to adhere to a kinship group before they can find land to cultivate. They need only be registered with a chief.

The Luapula village consists of a matrilineage and others. The village headman belongs to the matrilineage. The matrilineage is the permanent body of people living in the centre of the village. All other inhabitants of the village comprise a large part of the village. They are not permanent members of the village because they can move from one to another, from year to year.

The Luapula village is part of a centralized political system headed by a paramount chief. The village headman is responsible, in political matters, to the chiefs above him in the political hierarchy. The members of a village owe most of their allegiances to the chief rather than to the headman of the village in which they live. Because of the political structure, people can move from one village to another and still remain under the same chief.

Among the Luapula there are two means by which an individual can become a village headman. The first is to succeed a former headman upon his death. A new headman is selected by the kin group from among the junior members of the matrilineage. This person can be of any age when he becomes headman. The most important element in validating his position is being recognized as the new headman by the chief. Without the approval of the chief, no one can become headman, even though he has been chosen by his matrilineage. A headman chosen by his matrilineage and approved by the chief is faced with the task of pleasing both his matrilineage and the other individuals living in the village. Once in office the headman is usually secure in his position until his death, unless he retires and names his successor.

21.4.2 State

A state is an autonomous political unit, encompassing many communities within its territory and having a centralized government with the power to collect taxes, draft men for work or war, and decree and enforce laws. Societies with states, then, have a complex, centralized political structure, with a wide range of permanent institutions having legislative, executive, and judicial functions, and inevitably a large bureaucracy. Central to this concept of state is the concept of legitimate force to implement policy both internally and externally. In state societies, the government tries to maintain a monopoly on the use of physical force. This monopoly of physical force exists in the form of police force, a militia, a standing

Army. Of course, the rulers of the state do not maintain by force alone. The people must believe, at least to some extent, that those in power have a legitimate right to govern. If the people think otherwise about their rulers, history suggests that those in power may eventually lose their ability to maintain control.

Societies having states are characterized by class stratification and hence by restricted access to basic economic resources. State societies are generally supported by a system of intensive agriculture. The high productivity of this system presumably allows for the emergence of cities, a high degree of economic and other kinds of specialization, commercial exchange (distribution of goods and services involving the use of money), and extensive foreign trade. Thus a state is a hierarchical, centralized form of political organization in which there are clearly defined social classes, territory, and elite, the monopoly of force and a bureaucracy.

States and chiefdoms differ in two important ways. First, states are not formally organized on the basis of kinship or descent. Their populations are divided into socio-economic classes or strata. They typically draw at least a broad distinction between upper and lower strata namely elites and common people. Kinship ties do not extend from the elite to the common people. Generally, there is a tendency toward endogamy of each stratum. Most common people marry other common people, members of the elites marry members of other elites. Second, although many states have redistributive systems, generosity is underplayed in the state compared with the chiefdom. On the contrary in the chiefdoms social ranking is based on kinship. It is difficult to draw a line dividing elites and common people. In contrast to redistribution in the state, much of what the chiefdom receives does flow back to the population at large. The major difference between chiefdom and state then, is between a kin-based society in which generosity is still associated with prestige and a stratified society in which the needs of the elite take precedence over those of the common people.

A typical example of political organization through state can be found in the traditional organisation of the Hehe of Tanganyika of Africa. The legends of the tribe record that until the middle of the last century the Hehe people consisted of a number of small tribes. These small tribes were linked together by two able men from whom the present line of the chief is descended. In addition to the chiefs, there were sub-chief and local headmen.

The powers of the Hehe chief were judicial, legislative, administrative, economic and military. But in spite of his powers the Hehe chief was not an autocrat. He was assisted by a traditional council, whose members were chosen by himself. Normally the council as a whole used to reach decision and the chief opposed his council members in very exceptional circumstances.

Within limits the chief could change the law. Such instances normally related to matters relating to military, taxation and emergency measures against famine.

The chief was a rich man. His wealth came from several sources. He had large herds of cattle which were improved from time to time by raiding the herds of the neighbouring tribes. Many of the captured cattle were distributed by the chief to the warriors who had taken part in raids with the chief keeping considerable portion for himself. Besides each headman was responsible for a communally cultivated garden. The produce of which went to the chief, who could also extract a levy on the harvest of community. The chief had a monopoly on the ivory trade. All tusks were brought to him. He used to pay them in the form of guns, ammunition and clothes which he obtained from traders. It was through the ivory trade, the chief used to get huge profits. The wealth of the chief was a source of advantage not only to the chief but also to the community at large. This accumulation of cattle, grain and wealth was used as an emergency store during famines feeding the warriors during war and for rewarding men who have performed useful services.

The chief's authority was not only supported by an economic basis but also by magico-religious beliefs and practices. The chief acquired a number of medicines, the object was to produce magical results to protect warriors going into battle, to drive away enemies and to protect the chief and his family against danger. His authority was also supported by the system of ancestor worship. Among the Hehe each family invoked its own ancestors and the only tribal Gods were the souls of the dead rulers. These were to be invoked only by the chief on whom the people were dependent for prayers in connection with the war, droughts and other matters of public concern. The sub-chiefs and headmen could invoke their own ancestors for rain but only with chief's permission.

The Hehe sub-chiefs, of whom there were about thirty, held a somewhat similar, subordinate position. There was no hierarchy among the sub-chiefs. The headmen exercised similar functions on a small scale and in addition had control over land. The headman's court served a useful function in dealing with matters such as marital and family disputes, theft, adultery, and so on.

Check your progress

4. What are the differences between tribal type of political organization and chiefdom?

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5. What are the ways in which states and chiefdoms differ?

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21.5 VARIATION AND FUNCTION OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Variation

The classification of types of political organization into band organization, tribal organization, organization of chiefdom, and state organization implies an evolutionary trend from simpler to complex form, and from small-scale local autonomy to large-scale regional unification. It also implies a trend from a few temporary and informal political leaders to large numbers of permanent, specialized political officials and from the absence of political power to a monopoly of public force by a central authority.

Societies with band level organization are hunters and gatherers. They have very low population density. They live in small bands. They are egalitarian i.e., they have no social differentiation. They have informal leader. They lack specialisation of political officials. Their major form of economic exchange is reciprocity.

Societies with tribal organization are shifting cultivators as well as herders or simply herders. Their characteristics are : medium population density, large communities, ranking system, redistribution type of exchange and some specialization of political officials.

Societies with states are intensive agriculturists and herders. Their characteristics are : high population density, cities and towns, stratification in terms of class and caste, market exchange system, many specialized political officials.

Functions

The functions of all types of political organizations are :

- i) to define the behavioural norms for acceptable conduct
- ii) to allocate force and authority
- iii) to settle disputes
- iv) to redefine norms for conduct
- v) to organise production and redistribution
- vi) to organise group efforts for public works such as tribal hunting, digging and repairing of irrigational ditches, building roads and temples etc.,
- vii) to organise rituals and ceremonials of the society
- viii) to organise and maintain markets and trading networks
- ix) to defend its territory and organise warfare.

21.6 SUMMING UP

Meyer Fortes and Evans Pritchard distinguished three basic types of political systems : the band, the stateless society and the state. Researches since 1950 have shown that there are two basic types of political organizations among the tribal societies; Uncentralized and Centralized. Band organization and tribal organization are the two sub-types of uncategorized political organization, chiefdoms and states are the centralized political organization. Societies with band level organization are hunters and gatherers, societies with tribal organization are shifting cultivators as well as herders, societies with chiefdoms are agriculturists and herders and societies with states are intensive agriculturists and herders. All types of political organizations have same important functions to perform.

21.7 KEY WORDS

- Egalitarian society : A type of society in which no individual or group has more privileged access to resources, power or prestige than any other.
- Initiation ceremony : A ceremony that marks the passage from childhood to adult status.

21.8 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Kroeber	:	Anthropology
Hoebel	:	Anthropology
Kissinger	:	Anthropology

21.9 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each.**
1. Describe the basic types of political organization ?
 2. With the help of a chart explain the sub-types of different types of political organizations?
 3. Describe the functioning of band organization with the aid of an example ?
 4. What is tribal organization ? Explain it with the help of a few examples ?
 5. Describe the role of Big Man type leader in tribal political organization ?
 6. Define and describe a chiefdom as a centralized political system ?
 7. Define and describe a state system as a centralized political system ?
 8. Discuss the variation in the forms of political organization of tribal societies ?
- II. Answer the following about 10 lines each.**
1. What are the characteristics of centralized political systems ?
 2. What is a band organization ?
 3. What is a tribal organization ?
 4. What are the main features of chiefdoms?
 5. What are the significant features of states ?
 6. What is 'balanced opposition' (complementary opposition) ?
 7. Explain the age-grade-based political organization of the kipsigis ?
 8. Describe the political functions of the Cheyenne warrior clubs ?

Unit - 22 TRIBAL LAW AND JUSTICE

Contents

- 22.0 Aims and Objectives
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 - 22.2.1 Law and Custom
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 - 22.3.2 Differences between the Primitive law and Modern Law.
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22.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main focus of this unit is to acquaint you with tribal law and justice.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * define law and explain how Law is same as custom in many primitive societies,
- * explain the origin and nature of primitive law,
- * explain the differences between primitive and modern law,
- * explain the practice of Law of justice with the help of two case studies (Wogeo and Ifugao)

22.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied about the types of political organizations and their sub-types and the functions of political organization of tribal societies in general. In this unit we will study about tribal law, and justice.

22.2 DEFINITION AND MEANING OF LAW

Law can be defined as a social norm whose violation beyond permissible limits evokes a formal procedural response initiated by an individual or group that possesses the socially recognized privilege - right determining guilt and of imposing sanctions upon the wrong doer. However, there is considerable amount of controversy regarding the definition of the primitive law because we do not find legal institutions in many of such societies. Radcliffe-Brown states that some simple societies have no law although they have customs which are supported by sanctions". On the other hand in tribal societies we

find normative rules designed for protecting human life and property, the prohibition of incest, the condemnation of adultery and other sexual offenses and the rules designed to inhibit greed and inordinate ambition. Such rules are also found in modern societies. They are enforced through sanctions. The deviants from these rules fear of death, physical ruin, and expulsion from community inflicted either by the society or through the supernatural agencies.

Hobhouse and Wilson have not postulated legal institutions as necessary to take the existence of law. Malinowski states that the fundamental sanction of law is to curb certain natural propensities to hem in and control human instincts and to impose a non-spontaneous compulsory behaviour". That is to say, firstly legal sanctions operate when violent human emotions tend to burst through the limits of the customary behaviour and secondly there is integral relation and similarity between psychological motives leading to legal offences and those upon which the effectiveness of the legal sanctions depends.

22.2.1 Law and custom

Law, especially primitive law cannot be considered apart from the totality of the customary rules governing human behaviour.

Law is not merely part of a vague continuum of custom. Let us compare the following statements: "it is custom to meal at midday" and "it is the custom to kill a man convicted by witchcraft". Different human motives are involved in maintaining the effectiveness of the two customs. The former is observed largely as a matter of convenience because no one particularly wants to deviate from it. In the second case, violent anti-social passions are involved, accordingly most stringent penalty is imposed by the society. This gives us a clue to a possible distinction between law and custom. It may be held that law only enters where selfish anti-social and disruptive tendencies are likely to violate customary usage. Drastic measures are taken to prevent this.

We normally find a coordinated system of specific rules which define correct behaviour in social situations and which are supported by various types of sanctions. Sanctions are essentially mechanisms of validation of forms of human behaviour which make custom effective.

What do we mean by the legal aspect of the institution in human societies? In the context of the civilized, we should define law in terms of murder, theft, bigamy and libel or in terms of such offences as selling groceries after fixed hours, parking cars in wrong places, etc.,. Offences such as theft, adultery, incest occur with monotonous regularity in primitive societies also. Therefore all societies have rules which direct human behaviour and control human impulses. Mostly they are obliged because it is usually easier and profitable to conform. There are certain rules which repress human passions such as greed, fear, hate, jealousy, vanity and sexual desire. But the nature of human impulses is such that they are to sweep every thing before them and to render quite useless the usual forces of social restraint. In such cases, the society meets by an appeal to or harnessing of those very forces which tend towards disruption.

Radcliffe-brown wrote that some simple societies have no law although they have customs. Evans-Pritchard writes that within the Nuer tribe there is law (settlement of disputes, payment of compensation etc). But if a Nuer is injured by another tribal, there is no arbitration, it is justified only through retaliation.

Every society has rules that it calls laws, others call them as customs. Both laws and customs expect a man to believe in a particular way. Some people use a safer word to denote them under customary laws

22.2.2 Law and Social Control

Law is the subject which can be treated in more than one context. The functional significance of law is to control the most violent, passionate and disruptive propensities of the individual by the frustration, actual or potential, of the same or similar propensities in the interests of the social order. The Legal function of law extends to the correction of minor offences, to the settlement of disputes and to the regulation of administrative procedure. However, the primary function of law is defined as something vital to the existence of every human society. It is certainly an aspect of government because government is expected to maintain law and order, Just because it deals with the rules of conduct, it also belongs to a wider field what social scientists call as social control.

Radcliffe-Brown wrote that law is "social control through the systematic application of the force of the politically organised society". He feels that "fundamental rules of all societies are the same. They safeguard life and limb, rights in wives and rights in property". Gluckman says that societies without courts have 'rules a law' but not legal rules. He calls such societies as a-legal. Radcliffe-Brown calls them as "jural;". The term is derived from the Latin word 'jus' meaning a right.

Check your progress

1. Define law.

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2. What is custom ?

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22.3 ORIGINS AND NATURE OF PRIMITIVE LAW

Law among most of the peoples is not the result of deliberate planning. It has spontaneous growth. When an individual has developed typical behaviour it is on idiosyncrasy. When some people share it, a fashion comes into existence. When junior generation is effected i.e., when it is passed down to the next generation, it results in a custom or usage. When does custom transform into law ? Hoebel and Lowie says that when somebody communally takes steps to deal with a breach of custom, it results into law,

emerges as a result of slow and spontaneous process of growth through customs and usages. In primitive societies, we do not normally find legislation as we find in civilized societies. What we find is that there is only a customary law. Hartland says that law in a primitive or tribal society is the totality of the customs. Whenever laws come into existence, the whole society is responsible for it but not a selected people like legislature.

22.3.1 Characteristics of Primitive law

- (i) Primitive law is conceived largely in terms of kinship rather than in territorial terms i.e., socio-political organization is based more on kinship ties.
- (ii) Primitive law coincides more closely with ethical notions, hence, the public opinion of the people in question i.e., public opinion in primitive societies originate from the moral and ethical notions of the concerned. There is no exception for it and no protection against it. Hence, in primitive societies public opinion is more powerful.
- (iii) It fails to discriminate public, and private wrongs in the crimes as in the texts of our jurisprudence.
- (iv) Primitive law is predominantly a criminal law (law relating to criminal offenses). The scope for civil law (law relating to ordinary private matters) in primitive jurisprudence is limited.
- (v) Everybody in primitive society is its representative and policeman.
- (vi) As laws coincide with ethical norms, no breach of norm would often amount to sin. Sin is feared as it is believed to bring supernatural punishment.
- (vii) In primitive societies intension and provocation in determining legal actions are irrelevant because of supernatural punishment.
- (viii) The main characteristic feature of the primitive law is the kinship tie and collective responsibility of kin. When there is no state, each kin group has to depend and protect its members. Without collective responsibility it is difficult to defend people.
- (ix) Evidence in giving justice in primitive societies is of two ways :
 - (a) The accused is asked to go through ordeals like putting hand in boiling water or oil etc., If the accused escapes without any injury he is considered not guilty.
 - (b) Oath is administered in the name of the God.
- (x) Punishment in primitive societies is normally eye for eye, murder for murder, leg for leg etc.,

Why law is obliged in primitive societies ? Law is obeyed in primitive societies because of the equation of the laws with ethical norms which makes the breach of the laws a sin.

22.3.2 Differences between Primitive Law and Modern Law

The following are the important differences between the primitive law and the modern law.

The following are the salient features of the primitive law :

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|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. The growth of law is slow, gradual and spontaneous with the usages, custom, sanctions and force. We do not find legislation in primitive societies. | 1. Modern law is a result of deliberate planning and legislation. |
| 2. Primitive law is predominantly a criminal law. | 2. Modern law includes criminal Law, civil law and their several branches. |
| 3. Primitive law is based more on Kinship bonds than on territorial ties. | 3. Modern law is based on territorial ties. |
| 4. Primitive law is based on ethical norm and public opinion. | 4. Modern law does not necessarily depend on ethical norms and public opinion. |
| 5. Primitive law does not distinguish between crimes and torts in public and private wrongs. | 5. Modern law differentiates between public and private wrongs. |
| 6. Sin and supernatural punishment are associated with primitive law. | 6. Modern law does not give importance to sin and supernatural punishment. |
| 7. Intention is not recognised in primitive law. | 7. Modern law recognises whether a particular act was committed with an intention or not. |
| 8. As primitive law is based on kinship bonds, collective responsibility is associated with it. | 8. In modern law, state looks after law and therefore there is no scope for collective responsibility. |
| 9. In primitive law there are no grades of punishment. | 9. In modern law there are grades of punishment. |
| 10. Under punishment in primitive law imprisonment is not found except in a few societies. | 10. Under punishment in modern law imprisonment is frequent. |
| 11. Primitive law is not associated with legislative, judiciary and executive processes. | 11. Modern law is associated with legislative, judiciary and executive processes. |
| 12. In primitive law there is no police force and law courts. | 12. In modern law we find police force, courts and lawyers. |

Check your progress

3. Listout the salient features of primitive law ?

22.4 LAW AND JUSTICE AMONG THE WOGEO AND IFUGAO

22.4.1 Law and Justice among the Wogeo

The way in which the people of the New Guinea deal with certain offences provides a useful insight into the working of the law in a tribal society which does not possess legal institutions. To illustrate this we shall examine two types of offences; adultery and theft.

Adultery is fairly common in Wogeo but is described as wrong by all natives. The reasons for adultery is of course primarily the desire of the persons concerned for sexual variety. It almost produces a violent emotional reaction on the part of the wronged husband. This is likely to cause difficulties. So, adultery in Wogeo presents a legal problem. How is this problem solved? The reaction of the community varies according to whether the adultery has taken place with a woman of another district, with a woman of another village of the same district, and with the wife and fellow clansmen or of a headman.

If adultery is with a woman of another district, it is lightly regarded but condemned because it may lead to trouble in view of the rivalry between districts.

Adultery with a woman of another village within the same district is tackled in another way. The wronged husband feels angry because his rights have been interfered with and his pride hurt. His anger is directed primarily against the adulterer. The woman usually escapes with a beating unless she has been frequently unfaithful in which case she may be divorced. On discovering the offence, the husband beats a drum in the village and publicly abuses the adulterer. He may perform this at the latter's village and may also attempt black magic against him. The adulterer is embarrassed and ashamed especially if he is insulted in public. He feels a fool for having been found out.

Adultery within the clan is a much more serious matter. It is generally condemned in the strongest terms. Adultery with the wife of a headman is regarded as particularly reprehensible and young men are warned about the serious consequences. Normally the adulterer in such cases loses his life. If the headman indulges in adultery, he loses respect of his community. Theft is condemned but it normally does not occur. Strong public indignation is felt only when the theft has been committed within the village.

22.4.2 Law and justice among the Ifugao

The Ifugao live in the north-central area of Luzon in the Philippine Islands. The major crimes among the Ifugao are murder, sorcery, adultery and theft. Punishment is in terms of fines or execution. The amount of time depends partly on the type of crime committed and partly whether the culprit involved is rich, poor or average in terms of wealth.

If a person conceives or plans a crime, whether or not he actually participated, he is considered as directly responsible for the crime and the person is most likely to be punished. Suppose a man planned a murder, and enlisted the aid of others in carrying it out, he consults a shaman to divinate whether the venture would be successful. If the shaman says that the venture becomes a success he may go ahead with his plan. Even if he does not participate in the actual murder, he still bears primary responsibility for any murder that his helpers have committed during the venture. The decision of a man to purposefully murder another is made after a serious discussion of the matter with family members who should share the guilt.

The most common crime among the Ifugao is sorcery to be used against someone and the most dangerous form of sorcery is the soul stealing.

Adultery is one of the important crimes among the Ifugao. All cases of adultery are treated with fines but if a couple are caught in the act of adultery, the adulterer could be killed.

Under certain circumstances, when an individual consistently denies that he is not guilty or when others doubt his guilt, he might be challenged by the accuser to an ordeal. If the accused withstood the ordeal with no ill effects, in turn accuses the challenger with a fine.

If a person has not paid fine for a crimes such as adultery or murder after a reasonable length of time, he is likely to be killed.

22.5 SUMMING UP

Radcliffe Brown states that some simple societies have no law although they have customs which are supported by sanctions. In tribal societies we find normative rules designed for protecting human life and property, the prohibition of incest, the condemnation of adultery and other sexual offences and the rules designed to inhibit greed and inordinate ambition. All societies have rules which direct human behaviour and control human impulses. Mostly they are obliged because it is usually easier and profitable to conform. Both laws and customs expect a man to behave in a particular way

22.6 KEY WORDS

- Jural rules : Expectations that are culturally viewed as indispensable parts of a status. Violation of these expectations lead to the violator's being treated as a 'bad' member of the status category or as having lost the right to be considered occupant of the status.
- Oath : A formal declaration calling upon the supernatural to witness to the truth or sincerity of what is to be said.
- Ordeal : A means of determining guilt or innocence by having an accused party submit to trials or tests believed to be under supernatural control.

22.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

- Hoebel : Man in the Primitive World.
- Kroeber : Anthropology
- Herskovits : Cultural Anthropology
- Piddington R. : Introduction to Social Anthropology.

22.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer each of the following in about 30 lines.

1. Define law and explain its meaning ?
2. Discuss the possible origins of primitive law ?
3. Explain the relationship between law and social control ?
4. Discuss the nature of primitive law ?
5. What are the differences between primitive law and modern law ?
6. Describe the practice of law and justice among the Wogea of New Guinea ?
7. Describe the practice of law and justice among the Ifugao of North Central Luzon in Philippines ?

II. Answer each of the following in about 10 lines.

1. What is law ?
2. What is the relationship between law and custom in primitive society ?
3. What do we mean by legal aspect of primitive societies ?
4. What types of evidence exist in primitive societies ?
5. How different types of adultery are dealt with the Wogea ?
6. How a murder is punished in the Ifugao society ?

BLOCK VIII

Religious Organization

- Unit 23 : Definition, forms and functions of Religion.**
- Unit 24 : Definition, forms and functions of Magic.**
- Unit 25 : Relationship between Religion, Magic and Science.**

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Unit-23 : DEFINITION, FORMS AND FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

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- 23.0 Aims and Objectives
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- 23.5 Evolution, Forms and Organization of Religion
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 - 23.6.4 Social Integration
 - 23.6.5 Cultural Integration
- 23.7 Summing Up
- 23.8 Key Words
- 23.9 Suggested Books
- 23.10 Model Examination Questions

23.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main focus of this unit is on the definition, forms and functions of Religion.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- * discuss the early and modern definitions of religion and show how these definitions of religion have shifted their emphasis from the supernatural to the recognition that religion is a cultural system,
- * describe the various types of beliefs and rituals as constituent parts of religion,
- * describe the theories regarding the origin of religion,
- * describe the evolution, forms and organization of different religions of the world,
- * explain the important functions of religion.

23.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units we have studied about political organizations of tribal societies, classification of political organizations of tribal societies into types and sub-types, the functions of political organizations of tribal societies in general and tribal law and justice. Now, we will study about religions organization. In this unit we will study the constituent parts of religion, origin of religion, evolution, forms, organization and functions of religions.

23.2 DEFINITION OF RELIGION

23.2.1 Early definitions

Religion was first defined by Sri Edward Burnett Tylor over a hundred years ago as the "belief in spiritual beings" (Tylor 1871: Vol-2). This definition is criticised in two ways. First, it does not include the ritual aspects of religion. Second, it does not say whose beliefs in spiritual beings are referred to: an individual's private beliefs, the beliefs of a particular small community or the spread of beliefs of a worldwide ecclesiastical system.

Almost seventy years ago, the French sociologist Emile Durkheim defined a religion as follows: "A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden - beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them" (Durkheim 1915).

Emile Durkheim emphasized three aspects of religion: the social context, the sacred aspect and the moral basis.

Religion, according to Durkheim exists in a social context. That means, religious beliefs are an expression of the way a society orders its life way. Religion expresses beliefs of a society about the universe. It makes a society understand the universe in a particular way, put things in order and relate what is unknown to what is known. By means of myths a religion not only explains things that cannot be otherwise understood, but also explains why the world is the way

it is and why it should remain that way. Through its myths, a religion justifies the social order that people create and in which they believe.

Religion, according to Durkheim, consists of sacred phenomena only. Each society distinguishes between two levels of reality: the sacred or the extraordinary supernatural world, and the profane or the ordinary everyday natural world. Religious beliefs embody only the sacred.

Religion, according to Durkheim, has a moral basis, because it imposes a moral pressure upon people to act in accordance with what is believed to be right or proper. Religion offers a guide to behaviour among people, including a system of rules they must follow. Further more, because the religious beliefs are so deeply ingrained in the individual through his cultural training, religion offers a pattern of social control. When an individual violates a religious rule governing his behaviour he feels guilty, whether or not he is actually caught and punished. At the same time when he follows the rules he feels good about it and his beliefs are reinforced. Thus religion has a moral basis.

Check your progress

1. How did Durkheim define Religion?

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23.2.2 Modern definitions

Early definitions of religion were framed in terms of supernatural phenomena. Some of the recent definitions of religion also highlight this aspect. Anthony F.C. Wallace defines religion as "the beliefs and practices concerned with supernatural beings, powers and forces". This definition is actually an improvement over that offered by Tylor as far back as in 1871. Tylor defined religion as 'belief in supernatural beings'. This definition has two main deficiencies. First, it does not include practices. Mere beliefs constitute theology. Both beliefs and practices concerning supernatural comprise religion. Second, it does not include supernatural powers and forces. In fact, beliefs and practices related to supernatural beings, supernatural powers and supernatural forces together comprise religion. Therefore Wallace's definition of religion serves as an improvement over that of Tylor.

Modern definitions of religion have now begun to shift their emphasis from the supernatural to the recognition that religion is a cultural system. Clifford Geertz's definition of religion reflects this new emphasis. According to Geertz, "A religion is a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and longlasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic". This definition emphasizes four aspects:

- (i) Religion is a body of things such as ideas, objects, norms, myths and rituals.
- (ii) These things signify something with deep meaning or symbols for the people involved.
- (iii) This body of things or symbols constitutes an ordered system of knowledge about the nature of the world, about the way the world is organized ideally and about the rules people have to follow and behave to bring about ideally organized world.
- (iv) Religion also presents this body of knowledge in such a context of reality, reverence and mystery that people want to believe it, to use it as a guide for behaviour and actually do. Geertz's definition not only emphasizes the importance of symbols but it also keeps to explain why people find their religion believable. A thorough study of every religious system must emphasize not only the beliefs that the people hold but also how these beliefs are symbolically expressed. Such a study requires an extensive understanding of the culture because religion is a part of culture.

23.2.3 Universal definition: impossible

The early and modern definitions of religion are not complete unto themselves because they are not suitable to explain the religion of all human societies. The form of religious belief and ritual varies considerably from society to society, making a universal definition of religion impossible for the anthropologists to devise.

- (i) All definitions of religion agree that religion is a universal aspect of human society. That is to say that all societies of the world have beliefs and behaviour that can be classified as religions.
- (ii) Most definitions of religion include a number of the following elements:
 - (a) Religion involves some belief in the supernatural;
 - (b) Religion provides an explanation of life that people use to cope with the ultimate problems of life, such as death and evil;
 - (c) Religion is an expression of what the members of a particular society consider to be sacred; and
 - (d) Religion provides a moral code.
- (iii) Almost all definitions of religion disagree over ideas and practices that might be included within a definition of religion but which are not normally thought of as religious beliefs and behaviour. Thus these definitions of religion disagree over:
 - (a) What is supernatural and what is natural?
 - (b) What is sacred and what is profane?
 - (c) What is religion and what is magic? and
 - (d) What are the origins and what are the patterns of evolution of religion?

Despite their agreement over certain elements and disagreement over certain other elements of religion, all the definitions of religion have a common consensus over what shall be the constituents

of religion. They say that religion is a kind of human behaviour. Religious behaviour may be verbal or non-verbal. The non-verbal aspects of religious behaviour can involve religious rites, religious personnel, and specific religious acts and activities. The verbal aspects of religious behaviour can include beliefs, mythology, ethical standards, conceptions of the supernatural and religious ideology. Thus all the definitions of religion emphasize that religion is a kind of human behaviour, that the constituents of religion are beliefs and rituals concerned with supernatural elements and that religion is a part of the culture of every human society.

Check your progress

2. What are the elements of religion?

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23.3 CONSTITUENTS OF RELIGION

23.3.1 Beliefs

Religious beliefs are of several types. They are in the form of animistic beliefs, animatistic beliefs, naturistic beliefs, totemic beliefs, and theistic beliefs.

(i) According to animistic beliefs, not only living creatures, but also inanimate objects have life, soul and personality. These supernatural persons are spirits, ghosts or gods. Such beings are believed to behave like people: they are conscious, they have will, and they feel the same emotions as human beings do. Such spirits may reside in trees, stones or animals. Souls residing in human bodies are believed to be able to leave the body at will, temporarily during sleep, or permanently as in death. Spirits or souls that leave the body at death turn into ghosts, who come in a variety of forms and relate in various ways to the living. Such animistic beliefs are existing in numerous societies.

(ii) According to animistic belief, there is an impersonal mysterious supernatural power or potency. The Melanesians and the Polynesians call it *mana*. It pervades the world but can also dwell in persons, places, animals, plants and sometimes in animate objects. Animatistic beliefs exist in several parts of the world.

The Melanesian *mana* is like our own notion of luck. Melanesians explain the success of individuals in their society by their possession of quantities of *mana*. Individuals can acquire *mana* in different ways. *Mana* is the key to success. People have *mana*. Objects containing *mana* can change people's luck. A charm or trophy that belongs to a successful hunter is believed to convey his *mana* to the next individual who possess it. A woman may place a rock in her garden and find the yields suddenly improved dramatically. The explanation is believed to be *mana*, the sacred force contained in the rock.

Polynesians too have belief in **mana**. There are differences between Polynesian and Melanesian **mana**. Melanesians believe that **mana** is acquired by Polynesians. Polynesians believe that **mana** is inherited. Melanesians believe that individuals have approximately equal access to **mana**; one can acquire it by chance or by working harder at getting it than **mana** is attached to political office. Melanesians believe that **mana** is the key to success but Polynesians believe that **mana** is the key to success and it can also be dangerous. Polynesians believe that **mana** is like electricity in that it can flow from one person or thing to another. Rulers and other members of the nobility are believed to have greater concentration of **mana** than ordinary people. In fact, so charged with **mana** are members of the royal family that contact with them is dangerous to commoners. Polynesians believe that the **mana** of the king flows out of his person everywhere he walks; it can infect the ground, making it dangerous for ordinary mortals to walk in his foot-steps. It can flow from his person to the containers and utensils he uses in eating. Bodily contact between king and commoner is dangerous to the commoner because **mana** can have an effect like electrical shock. **Mana** is related to the notion of taboo. Because of the **mana** residing there, the king's person is considered taboo. Similarly contact between royalty and commoners is considered taboo. The belief in **mana** exists in a slightly different form in the tribes of North America, Africa and Japan.

(iii) According to naturistic beliefs, objects of nature such as sun, thunder, trees, rocks, mountains, rivers and several others, have some power inherent in them and therefore they must be loved, revered and worshipped.

(iv) According to totemic beliefs, a totem which is a plant or animal is an ancestor of a group or has some kind of intimate relationship with a group and hence it must be loved, revered and worshipped.

(v) The animistic, animistic, naturistic and totemic beliefs are concerned with supernatural spirits, supernatural powers and potencies and supernatural forces, but the theistic beliefs are concerned with gods. The distinction between a spirit and a god is mostly one of scale. A god is a supernatural being of great importance and power but a spirit is a lesser being. The theistic beliefs can be classified into two categories: the polytheistic beliefs and the monotheistic beliefs. Polytheistic beliefs revolve round many gods. The societies with such beliefs believe in more than one god. That means, they believe in superior gods, ancestral spirits and non-human spirits. Besides they may or may not believe in a high god. Some societies believe that a high god is a supernatural being who created the universe and is the ultimate governor of the universe. Some other societies believe that the high god may have created other supernatural beings who in turn produced universe. Superior gods are supernatural beings each with a specific personality and with a specific work to do. Thus there is division of labour amongst the superior gods. The ancestral spirits are supernatural beings who are spirits of the dead and who play some role in the affairs of their living relatives. In addition to high god, superior gods, and ancestral spirits there are non-human spirits. Non-human spirits are supernatural beings who control particular individuals or plans. They often dwell in lakes, rivers, prominent rocks and mountains. All the four types of supernatural beings are commonly found in the societies with polytheistic beliefs. Societies with monotheistic beliefs are concerned with only one god. Therefore, if a high god is present, but superior gods are not, the belief system becomes monotheistic. On the other hand, if superior gods are present with or without a high god being present, the beliefs system becomes polytheistic.

Check your progress

3. What are the different types of beliefs concerned with supernatural spirits?

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4. What is Mana?

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23.3.2 Rituals

Closely linked to the beliefs are the rituals. People with some beliefs do certain rituals. A patterned act that involves the manipulation of religious symbols is a religious ritual. Religious symbols may be verbal such as the names for gods and spirits, certain words, phrases or songs which are believed to contain some supernatural powers. Religious symbols may be non-verbal or material objects such as masks, statues, paintings, costumes, body decoration or natural objects.

(i) Religious rituals may be of several types: rites of passage marking the transition of an individual from one social status to another, rites of intensification directed toward the welfare of the group or society, individual rituals such as the vision quest, shamanistic rituals that involve curing, divination and reading fortunes among others, and eccleslatical rituals such as the rituals performed by the clergy for the individuals, groups or the whole society.

(ii) Most religious rituals use a combination of the following practices to contact and control supernatural spirits: prayer, offerings and sacrifices, manipulation of objects, telling or acting out of myths, altering the physiological state of the individual (as in trance and ecstatic experiences or through drugs), music, dance and drama.

(a) Prayer is any conversation held with spirits and gods. Prayer can involve a request or a pleading. It can be in the form of a bargain or consist of merely praising the deity. Prayer may be in the form of a vow. People make a vow in which they promise to carry out a certain kind of behaviour such as going on a pilgrimage or building a temple if the gods will grant a particular wish. Other forms of prayer may exist in the form of lie, command, insult or ridicule as found among the North West Coast Indians.

(b) Making offerings and sacrifices to supernatural beings is also a widespread beliefs and a widespread religious practice. The offerings may consist of the first fruits of harvest such as grain, fish or game. There may be food in the form of meal to the gods. In some societies

animals or humans may be sacrificed as offerings to the gods. The Nuer and Pokoti of Africa sacrifice sheep, goats and cattle. Several tribes in Central India sacrifice pigs to their gods and goddesses. The Aztecs of Mexico, the Maya of Yucatan, the Khonds of Ganjam hills in Orissa and many tribes in Chota Nagpur had the practice of sacrificing human beings to their gods and goddesses.

(c) **Manipulation of objects** include presentation of specific materials in definite proportions to the gods, drawing of specific designs, fuming, burning of incense, making of images and others.

(d) **Telling or acting out of Myths** is also one of the ritual practices. Myths are sacred narratives which tell how the world came to be created through the agency of semidivine heroes. They are powerful media to communicate the religious ideas. They are not mere explanatory stories of the cosmos but rather have a sacred power in themselves which is evoked by telling the myths or acting them out ritually. They are recited now and then. They are also acted out in dance, drama and physical movements. In Hinduism, for example, one of the most popular representations of communication with God is the love between the divine Krishna in the form of a cowherd and the Gopis in the form of milkmaids, who are devoted to Him. In the dramatic enactment of the stories of Krishna, and in the singing of songs to Him, the Hindu religion offers a path to communion with God that can be understood by ordinary people.

(e) **Altering the physiological state** of the individual as in trance, possession, vision, hallucination and divination. Music, dance and drama are sometimes part of religious ritual practices.

(iii) The religious practices are performed by the religious practitioners. Religious practitioners are intermediaries between men and supernatural beings. In some societies ordinary persons may be able to deal directly with some or all of the supernatural beings. In other societies there are specialists who serve as intermediaries for individuals, local groups or political communities. These specialists perform certain tasks for both men and supernatural beings. On the one hand, they communicate the wishes of the people to the gods, and on the other hand they interpret the wishes of the gods to the people. They employ different techniques in performing these functions. Divination may be used to foretell future events; ceremonies, rituals, and offerings may be made to please the supernatural beings; prayer may be used to cajole gods and spirits; and magic may be practised to manipulate and coerce them. Because these functions are important to both the beings who are part of the supernatural world and to the humans who live on earth, religious practitioners are usually important members of the local group. In small political communities they may even be headmen. In larger political communities they may exercise mere influence than the political leader.

Two types of religious practitioners exist: shamans and priests. Both are specialists, the former part-time and the latter full-time. The word shaman is from the Tungus of Siberia.

(a) A **shaman** is a religious practitioner who devotes part of his time to serving as an intermediary between a supernatural and individuals. He often works alone, since he applies his ability primarily as an individual rather than as a representative of a group. This type of person is also known as **medicine man** and **witch doctor**. He learns to be a shaman from an elder shaman. He may gain his abilities from direct contact with supernatural beings. Generally a shaman has spirit-helper, spirit-familiar or guardian spirit who visits him while he is in a state of trance,

vision, dream or some such visitation. Both male and female shamans are found. Shamans are employed to determine the cause of an illness and to cure it. Divination may be used to seek the cause, and magic may be used to cure it. One of the most common healing techniques is sucking from the body the intrusive object or substance believed to have caused the sickness. Since people do not distinguish between illness of natural origin and those of supernatural origin, shamans frequently serve as medicine-men for all types of illnesses. Shamans may also specialize in weather control, locating game animals, and so forth.

(b) The priest is a ceremonialist who operates as a representative of the group and under its approval. He is normally supported by the community, devotes nearly all of his time to serving as an intermediary, usually for his group. He is often a member of the religious organization, which has provided him with special training. Years of training may be necessary before full-fledged membership in the priesthood is granted. Priests are found most commonly in larger societies with fairly elaborate cultures, and organized religious cults having theological doctrines and standardized ceremonies. In small-scale societies with less elaborated cultures, priestly functions are usually performed as needed by a shaman, a headman, a family head, or any other person regarded as qualified. In some societies there may be recognized priests who have no special religious function other than conducting of ritual needed. For example the Leopard Skin Chief among the Nuer is a priest. He conducts sacrifices and other rituals in connection with the avoidance and settlement of blood feuds, to taking of oaths, and cleansing from the sin of incest. In larger societies with elaborate cultures, the priest serves as an interpreter for the gods. If the gods are satisfied that their wishes are being carried out, they will assist men in their daily activities. Sometimes the priest attempts to persuade important supernatural beings to help. Prayers, offerings and sacrifices are the means which he uses.

Check your progress

5. What is prayer?

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6. Who is a Shaman?

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23.4 ORIGINS OF RELIGION

23.4.1 Animism

Edward Burnett Tylor asserted that the foundation of all religion is animism (latin, anima=soul) or belief in soul. Animism emerged when our ancestors were intrigued with death, dreaming, and trance. In dreams and trances people experience a form of suspended animation, yet on waking, they recall events, people, animals, places and things from their dream or trance.

(i) Speculation among early humans about the events associated with dreams and trances led them to the notion that two entities inhabited the body: one active during the day (a body soul) and the other active during sleep and trance (free soul). When the soul permanently left the body, the whole personality, the human body died. Death was thus believed as a result of the departure of soul. Thus animism or the first form of religion came into existence.

23.4.2 Animatism

For Robert Ranulph Marett animatism was the most rudimentary form of religion. According to him animatism refers to the concept of supernatural as a domain of raw, impersonal power that influences human but can be controlled under certain conditions. It is same as the belief in mana.

Marett said that animatism was even earlier than animism. It was only later in human evolution that people added souls and other spiritual beings to their theologies.

23.4.3 Naturism

According to Max Muller the earliest form of religion is nature worship. Early humans, says Max Muller, had an attitude of awe or love and reverence towards objects of nature. This attitude was born as a result of 'diseased' mind which invested lifeless things with life and all the power that is associated with life. This error in mind was born out of defective language. Such linguistic errors as the sun arises and sets, or thunder sends rain, or that trees bear flowers and fruits gave rise to belief in some power inherent in natural phenomena such as sun, thunder, trees, animals, mountains, lakes, rivers, oceans and others.

23.4.4 Totemism

Emile Durkheim argued that since the Australian aborigines are most primitive than religion namely totemism must be the most elementary form of religion. Australian aborigines live in small bands. Each band has a totem such as an animal, plant or some geographical feature. Since each band is associated with a totem and believes that its ancestores have descended from that totem, it has become a totemic group. Each band neither kill nor eat its totem. When people worship their totem, a sacred emblem that symbolizes their common social identity, they are actually worshipping society. Totemism thus reflects the emblem of the collective representation of the social mind and the worship of society itself. It is the earliest form of religion.

23.4.5 Functionalism

According to Bronislaw Malinowski religion has come into existence to serve as an instrument for purging fear and other emotional strains from human mind. Malinowski says that individuals may face certain crisis situations involving hate, greed, anger, love and other emotional states. These situations create stresses and strains in human beings. If such situations are allowed to continue for a long time, human beings cannot be normal individuals. To overcome such situations humans conduct certain rituals. That means religion serves the function to purge the human mind of its stresses and strains. In other words religion has the function of purging the human beings from anxiety and tension and securing mental and physical stability. Thus religion serves the psychological function of allaying fear and anxiety of every individual human being.

Radcliffe-Brown takes a different stand. Brown says anxiety may arise because a rite exists. For an individual raised within the cultural tradition of a particular society, performance of the rite does relieve anxiety: often, it is the socially approved means of doing so. As examples, Radcliffe-Brown discussed certain ritual acts he observed in the Andaman Islanders. The Andaman Islanders prohibit expectant parents from eating certain foods. They also taboo the use by others of the personal names of the expectant father and mother. The individual may be anxious about carrying out culturally required ritual actions in the culturally appropriate way. Since all individuals follow the rituals to overcome anxiety and maintain solidarity and a stable orderly society religion comes into existence. In other words, religion has come into being because it has to serve the psychological function of allaying the anxiety of individuals and the social function of maintaining a stable orderly society.

Check your progress

7. What is totemism?

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23.5 EVOLUTION, FORMS AND ORGANIZATION OF RELIGION

23.5.1 Tylor's Theory

Edward Burnett Tylor argued that out of animism came higher religious forms. Nature worship stemmed from animism. Trees, rivers, animals, lakes, rivers, streams, mountains and other natural phenomena were all seen as having souls and were worshipped. From nature worship arose polytheism. In polytheism included different gods who were believed to control different aspects of nature such as rain, thunder, earth, sea, sun and moon. Monotheism is the late development in the evolution of religion. It could arise in various ways. One god might be elevated to dominance over the others. In a society having a king and aristocracy, it might be assumed that the supernatural realm had the same political organization as the known earthly

world. A supreme deity, supported by an aristocracy of lesser gods, might then be assumed to rule the universe.

According to Tylor animism and nature worship exist in primitive societies. Polytheism exists in near-civilized and civilized societies. Monotheism exists in highly developed civilized societies.

23.5.2 Marett's theory

For Robert Ranulph Marett, **animatism** was the earliest form of religion. Animism arose out of animatism. From animism came polytheism and later monotheism. His theory is similar to that of Tylor except with regard to the beginning stage of religion.

23.5.3 White's theory

Leslie Alvin White argued that either **zoomorphism** (gods representing animals and plants) or nature worship (worship of natural phenomena such as sun, moon and stars) was the most elementary form of religion characteristic of food-gatherers and hunters. Later, **anthropomorphism** (gods who looked like super-men super women who control certain natural phenomena such as thunder and lightning, soil fertility, or earth itself) appeared when humans gained control over their environment through food production. Polytheism and monotheism appeared as societies became nation states.

Primitive religion includes spiritual entities namely mythical people and animals. Worship and sacrifice are completely absent in primitive religions. People perform rituals in which they act out events associated with the mythical beings whose identities they assume. Religious roles are unspecialized. They are fused with other roles. There is no formal religious organization. In primitive religions the supernatural is in the real world. The Eskimo, the Kung Bushmen and many other tribal societies have primitive religion.

23.5.4 Forms and organisation of religion

The evolutionary typologies presented by different anthropologists reveal the various types or forms of world religions. Tylor classifies religions into four forms: animism, nature worship, polytheism and montheism. Marett classifies religions into five forms: animatism, nature worship, polytheism, and monotheism. Durkheim says totemism is the most elementary form of religion, while Max Muller says that naturism is the earliest form of religion. White classifies religions into five forms namely zoomorphism, nature worship, anthropomorphism, polytheism and monotheism. Swanson suggests a fourfold classification of religions forms such as animism, ancestral worship, polytheism and monotheism. Bellah classifies world religions into five forms namely primitive, archaic, historic, early modern and modern religions. On the other hand, Wallace classifies world religions into four forms viz., shamanic religion, communal religion, olympian religion and monotheism.

There is no society which has only animism, animatism, totemism or naturism. In fact, several societies have a combination of these different forms of religion. Therefore, according to Wallace, they can be said to have shamanic form of religion. The other societies may be classified into those with communal religion, into those with olympian religion and into these

with monotheism. Thus the world religions may be classified into four distinct forms as suggested by Wallace.

All the four distinct forms of world religions show four distinct types of organization based on the degree of specialization of religious personnel. The shamanic religion is organized in terms of individual and shamanic cults. This type of religious organization is characteristic of food gatherers. The communal religion is organized in terms of individual, shamanic and communal cults. This type of religious organization is characteristic of food producers. The Olympian religion is organized in terms of individual, shamanic, communal and ecclesiastical cults. This type of religious organization is characteristic of complex societies. The monotheistic religion is organized in terms of the individual, shamanic, communal and ecclesiastic but believes in one supreme being. This type of religious organization is characteristic of complex and highly stratified societies.

23.6 FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

23.6.1 Explanation

One of the major functions of religion is explanation. Religion provides explanation of individual life and group life, continuity of existence beyond death, and origin and continuity of this universe. People all over the world have wondered how things got started, why people die rather than live forever, why people suffer from disease and other troubles, and so on. Primitive, non-scientific cultures lack means of getting at natural explanations. Such societies are left with supernaturalistic explanations. A spring dries up because the spirit who lives there is displeased at not being supplied with the desired offerings. The earth quakes because the gods are displeased with people's behaviour. Mountains were formed as blobs of mud dropped from the feet of the creator as he plodded across the landscape. The severe pain in a man's chest is from a splinter of bone magically sent into his body by an enemy magician. Great is the diversity of specific explanations produced by peoples inventive minds. Many of them are embodied in the universally found sacred stories known as myths.

23.6.2 Reassurance

A second important function of religion is reassurance. People are faced with sickness and death, hunger, cold, pain, itches and many other uncomfortable physical sensations. Moreover, they worry about the possibility and probability of those things for themselves and those they love, and physical discomfort is translated thereby into psychological discomfort - anxiety and fear. Their friends, relatives and strangers treat them badly. They fail to be friendly; they insult them and injure their egos; they threaten physical injury; they cause them to fail in the pursuit of their desires. Life would be too much to endure were it not for the divination that determines what is wrong, the prayer that brings healing, the way the enemy is vanquished without the danger or discomfort of direct confrontation. Thus, religious beliefs and practices provide the comfort and reassurance that comes from having some way to explain and cope with the troubles and uncertainties of living. Some wonder why primitives continue to believe in religious approach when they so often fail. A large part of the answer appears to be the psychological comfort derived from having something to do which holds some promise of coping successfully with troubles.

23.6.3 Validation

A third significant function of religion is validation of people's customs and values. Religious beliefs are important in all cultures as powerful support for the things people believe they should or should not do and as explanations for these customs. For us female infanticide may be horrible custom, but if one lives where it seems unlikely that there will be enough food to keep alive a newborn child and where it is believed that the spirit of a killed child will later be born into another body, taking the child's life may seem the right thing to do. Such practices may be validated, justified, or sanctioned by a religious belief.

23.6.4 Social Integration

A fourth major function of religion is social integration. Social religion refers to the process of binding together the members of a society in a feeling of belonging and co-operation. Especially in primitive societies where there is a common set of religious beliefs and practices for the whole group the group's solidarity is enhanced by the sense of believing in the same things and participating in the same religious rituals. However, in advanced societies, religion has often been socially disruptive rather than integrative because of the competition and conflict among religious diverse groups.

23.6.5 Cultural Integration

Cultural Integration is a fifth important function of religion. A culture is a system of many interdependent customs. Religious themes within a culture indirectly link and unite many of the customs. This linking together of the customs of a society is different from social integration which is the binding together the members of a society. In all primitive societies of religion penetrates all aspects of a culture, but in advanced societies, religion works as a compartment that has only limited relevance to most aspects of everyday life. The British anthropologist, Raymond Firth, views religious organization in terms of means for handling the fundamental problems of social organization: "for reducing uncertainty and anxiety, for increasing coherence in human relationships, for assigning meaning to human endeavour, for providing justification for moral obligation. He concludes that it is impossible for human society to exist without some kind of religious solutions that go beyond those based on empirical evidence. The range of workable religious solutions is great (Firth 1951 : 250).

Check your progress

8. What are the important functions of religion?

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23.7 SUMMING UP

A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden - beliefs and practices which unit into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them. Beliefs and rituals are the constituents of religion. Animism, Animation, Naturism, Totemism are the different forms of religion. There is no society which has only animism, animalism, totemism or naturism. Several societies have a combination of these different forms of religion. Explanation, reassurance, validation, social integration and cultural integration are the important functions of religion.

23.8 KEY WORDS

- Cult institution** : Phrase coined by Anthony F.C. Wallace to refer to a set of rituals and associated beliefs. A myth is a sacred narrative telling of supernatural beings and heroes and of the origin of all things. It is different from a folk-tale. A folk-tale may contain a supernatural, element but it is not sacred in the same way as a myth. Folktales are told mainly for enjoyment, although they often have important educational functions.
- Vision quest** : A vision quest is a pattern of seeking contact with the supernatural found among many Red Indian groups of North America. In a vision quest an individual is able to develop a special relationship with a particular spirit that will give the person the power and knowledge of specific kinds. The spirit acts as a personal protector or guardian.
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23.9 SUGGESTED BOOKS

- Kroeber, A.L. : Anthropology
- Horigmann : The World of Man
- Herskovits : Cultural Anthropology
- Hoebel : Man in the Primitive World
- Piddington R. : Introduction to Social Anthropology
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23.10 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in 30 lines each :

1. Cite and explain the early definitions of religion.
2. Cite and explain the modern definitions of religion.
3. Is it possible to frame a universal definition of religion?

4. Briefly describe the various types of religions beliefs.
5. Explain animatistic beliefs of Melanesians and Polynesians.
6. Describe in detail the polytheistic and monotheistic beliefs of different societies.
7. What is a ritual? Explain the different practices used in religious rituals.
8. Who are the religious practitioners? What are their functions in different societies?
9. Discuss Tylor's views on the origins of religion.
10. Discuss the organization of different forms of religion.
11. Briefly describe the various functions of religion.

II. Answer the following questions in 15 lines each :

1. Give Tylor's definition and explanation of religion.
2. Cite and explain Durkheim's definition of religion.
3. On what points do the various definitions of religion agree and disagree?
4. What are the differences between animistic beliefs and animatistick beliefs?
5. What is 'mana'?
6. Discuss the types of religious rituals
7. Give a brief description of prayer.

Unit-24 : DEFINITION, FORMS AND FUNCTIONS OF MAGIC

Contents

- 24.0 Aims and Objectives
- 24.1 Introduction
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 - 24.2.1 First Definitions
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 - 24.4.1 Frazer's Classification of Forms of Magic
 - 24.4.2 Firth's Classification of Forms of Magic
 - 24.4.3 Other Classifications of Forms of Magic
- 24.5 Functions of Magic
 - 24.5.1 Explanation
 - 24.5.2 Reassurance
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 - 24.5.4 Social Integration
 - 24.5.5 Cultural Integration
- 24.6 Summing Up
- 24.7 Key Words
- 24.8 Suggested Books
- 24.9 Model Examination Questions

24.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with the concept Magic, its forms and functions. By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * discuss the definitions of magic emphasize beliefs and practices meant for controlling the supernatural forces, powers and beliefs,
- * describe the elements of magic,
- * explain the different forms of magic,
- * explain the functions of magic.

24.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit we have studied about the definitions of religion and have seen how these definitions of religion have shifted their emphasis from the supernatural to the recognition that religion is a cultural system. We have also studied about the constituents of religion, its forms and functions. In this unit we will study about Magic, its elements, forms and functions.

24.2 DEFINITION OF MAGIC

24.2.1 First definitions

Sir James George Frazer, a leading British anthropologist in the beginning of the present century, is one of the first to define magic. According to him magic is the technique designed to achieve specific goals by manipulating the supernatural.

Frazer emphasizes that magic is a technique i.e., it is an aspect of technology. This technology involves certain skills and competence for manipulating or controlling the supernatural i.e., it includes certain actions that can compel the supernatural to act in some particular and intended way. Supernatural is that which is empirically unknowable and is believed to exist beyond the visible universe. It includes supernatural powers or forces. The specific goals may be the ensuring of good crops, the replenishment of game, the fertility of domestic animals, the bringing of rains, the avoidance and cure of illness in humans or the harming of crops, the creation of scarcity of game, the rendering of domestic animals infertile, the creation of famine and the creation of illness and death in human i.e., magic is either meant for good or meant for evil purposes (Frazer 1922 : 50).

Bronislaw Kaspar Malinowski, offered yet another definition of magic in the second quarter of the present century. According to him, magic consists of the superstitious, acts and beliefs through which individuals try to control nature when their technology and natural techniques are insufficient.

Like Frazer, Malinowski also emphasizes that magic is an aspect of technology. Like Frazer, Malinowski also argues that controlling the supernatural forces but not supernatural beings alone comprises magic. Both Frazer and Malinowski argue that magic is primitive science because it comes into existence when the rational techniques are insufficient to control natural phenomena. While Frazer argues that magic came into existence earlier than religion, Malinowski said that magic came into existence when people tried to alleviate anxiety in the face of uncertainty.

Malinowski explains his definition with the help of the magical practices of Trobriand Islanders. According to Malinowski, the Trobriand Islanders have knowledge concerning their environment. They grow a variety of crops. They skillfully adjust their agricultural activities to the varying local situations. They build canoes and undertake long voyages for trade and fishing. Yanu gardens made with the best of care may be blasted by one or another natural phenomenon such as a storm and a heavy rain. Sudden storms may drive a canoe far off course or even capsize it. In such situations the Trobriand Islanders know that their knowledge about nature is limited and that there are factors beyond their control. Neither their considerable

knowledge of the crops can protect their crops from the dangers of unexpected storms and winds nor their commendable navigation abilities can save them from the dangers of unexpected winds and other natural calamities. Therefore in all such helpless situations the Trobriand Islanders take recourse to magical acts. Malinowski theorized that the function of these magical acts is to alleviate anxiety in the face of uncertainty. Hence, Malinowski says, magic refers to the acts and beliefs through which human beings try to control nature when their technology and rational techniques are insufficient. Malinowski, thus argues that the belief in supernatural forces other than supernatural beings and procedures for the manipulation of those forces and the result of applying such procedures is magic.

Check your progress

1. How did Frazer define Magic ?

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24.2.2 Modern Definitions

Since the days of Bronislaw Malinowski, the definition of magic has undergone several modifications. Some anthropologists define it as beliefs and practices seeking to control events through compulsive formulae thought to be influencing the supernatural world "or a ritual practice applying the belief that supernatural powers can be compelled to act in certain ways for good or evil purposes by recourse to certain specified formulas" or the "practice of specifically prescribed procedures for manipulating supernatural power, which are assured to have predictable results".

Some other anthropologists claim that magic is the "strategy that people use to control supernatural power", an "attempt to manipulate the forces of nature to derive certain desired results, the use of rituals to direct and control supernatural forces", the "control of supernatural forces by means of compulsive formulae" or "an attempt to mechanically control supernatural forces".

A majority of the modern definitions of magic emphasize that magic is belief and practice meant for controlling the supernatural forces. This was exactly the viewpoint of Frazer and Malinowski. But a few modern definitions emphasize that magic is belief and practice meant for controlling the supernatural world that includes not only supernatural powers and supernatural forces but also supernatural beings. This viewpoint is different from that of Frazer and Malinowski.

Check your progress

2. Give the modern definition of religion.

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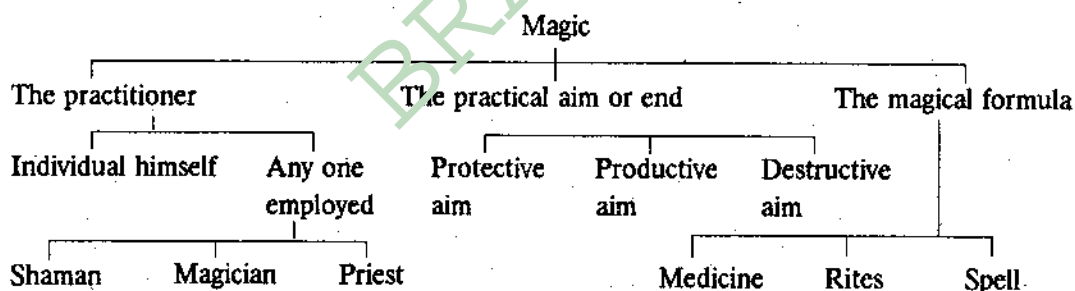
24.3 ELEMENTS OF MAGIC

The three elements of magic

According to Raymond Firth (1958 : 125-128), magic involves three elements :

- (i) The practitioner;
- (ii) The practical aim or end to be achieved; and
- (iii) The magical formula.

The following chart shows the three elements and the sub-elements of magic.



24.3.1 The Practitioner

Raymond Firth says that the practitioner of magic may be an individual himself or a specialist such as a shaman, magician or priest. When an individual has an objective which cannot be coped with by ordinary means or which requires the assistance of a supernatural being, he may either practise magic himself, or employ someone, possibly a shaman, a magician or a priest to perform the magic.

24.3.2 The Practical Aim

According to Raymond Firth the practical aims or ends for which magic is often used cover a wide range of objectives. They include objectives which can be classified as protective in that they prevent harm to the individual or cure him of illness. They also include objectives which can be classified as productive because they include the desire for a successful hunt, an abundant crop,

ample rains, and even success in courtship and lovemaking. Still other objectives are destructive because they include the desire to harm or destroy one's rivals or enemies.

24.3.3 The Magical Formula

Raymond Firth says that there are three aspects to the magical formula itself : the things used which are known as the instruments or medicines, the things done which are known as rites and the things spoken which are called spells.

The things used or medicines are of several types. The medicines used in magic are often difficult to obtain and prepare. They may be difficult to obtain because they are either rare or they must be taken from or have been in contact with the being (either human or supernatural) which one wishes to influence.

The things done or the rites are either simple or complex. The preparation of the medicines, the manner in which the medicines are combined, and the placement of the medicine either on or near that which is to be influenced constitute a rite. Magic may involve either one rite or a series of rites. Further, the rites may be simple or they may be elaborate and complex

The things spoken or spells comprise the verbal aspect of magic. The spell may consist of a series of words and phrases which are fixed and invariable, or it may be simply an overt expression of the practitioner's desires.

According to Bronislaw Malinowski, the effective force of magic lies in spell. He said that a spell can occur in four forms :

- (i) Spell accompanied by a simple rite of impregnation. The rite of impregnation is meant for changing the objects with magic.
- (ii) Spell accompanied by a rite of transference. The rite of transference is meant for transferring power of the spell to the objects used in magic
- (iii) Spell whose use is taken concomitantly.
- (iv) Spell associated with offerings.

Malinowski says that the effective principle of magic is the spell which may be a word or a formula. The spell is couched in a specific language. It is secretive. Ordinary men cannot understand the spells.

The medicines, the rites and the spells are almost always present in any magic formula. Their relative importance, however, may vary from formula to formula and society to society. For example, most societies which are located in the African continent south of the Sahara desert or which originated in Negro Africa place major importance is on the medicines employed. On the other hand, many societies situated in Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia place great emphasis on the spell.

Check your progress

3. What are the different elements of Magic ?

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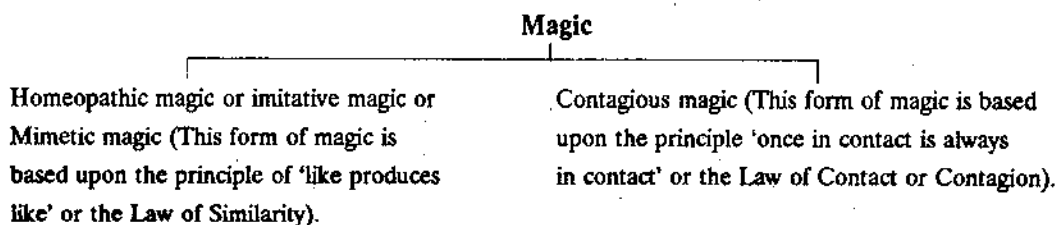
24.4 FORMS OF MAGIC

24.4.1 Frazer's Classification of Forms of Magic

Sir James George Frazer classified different magical practices into two forms on the basis of the laws or principles of thought associated with those practices. He found that magical formulae are based on two principles of thought:

- (i) Like produces like or an effect resembles its cause. This principle is the Law of Similarity.
- (ii) Once in contact always in contact or the things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed. This principle is the *Law of Contact or Contagion*.

According to Frazer, two forms of magic follow the two principles of thought or laws of magic. In Frazer's terms the magic that is associated with the law of similarity is **homeopathic magic, imitative magic or mimetic magic** and the magic that is associated with the law of contact or contagion is **contagious magic**. This can be shown in the following diagram.



Homeopathic magic is the most familiar form of magic. In Frazer's words it is the attempt which has been made by many people in many ages to injure or destroy an enemy by injuring or destroying an image of him, in the belief that, just as the image suffers, so does the man, and that when it perishes he must die.

Contagious magic is the magical sympathy which is supposed to exist between a man and any severed portion of his person, as his hair or nails; so that whoever gets possession of human hair or nails may work his will, at any distance, upon the person from whom they were cut.

Homeopathic magic can be explained with the help of examples taken from the tribes of India. The Oraons of Chota Nagpur believe that thunder with its rumbling noise, is the direct

cause of rain. Therefore, when they want rains they go to a hill top, sacrifice a hen or a pig, and then start flinging down stones, rocks and boulders down the hill, expecting rain to follow the rumbling noises created by their action, just as it follows thunder. The Ho of Chota Nagpur perform another form of homeopathic magic. They light fires expecting rain to come out of the cloud of smoke that is raised to the skies. The Khonds of Ganjam Hills in Orissa practised human sacrifice which was an example of homeopathic magic. The Khonds believed that as tears rolled down the victim's eyes, and blood gushed forth from the victim's wounds, so would rain come. Burning of effigies is yet another familiar form of homeopathic magic in India. It is believed that when the effigy is burnt, or nails driven into it, its original will suffer likewise (Majumdar and Madan 1956 : 160).

Contagious magic can be found in many tribal groups in India and other parts of the world. Many tribal people do not use each other's clothing, not for reasons of hygiene, but because clothes are regarded as part of that person's body who wore them first. Similarly nail-cuttings and hair-trimming and bodily excretions are also regarded as parts of the person to whom these belonged. The main implication of contagious magic is that a part is always associated with the whole to which it belongs or belonged; once a part is always a part. This association is extended to clothing, nail cuttings, hair-trimmings, excreta, utensils, personal effects and so on. It is for this reason that the personal effects of the dead are not made use of by many primitive groups but are instead buried or cremated along with the dead body.

Check your progress

4. What are the two principles of magical formulae ?

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24.4.2 Firth's Classification of Forms of Magic

Raymond Firth classified different magical practices into three forms on the basis of the aims, the ends or the functions they serve. He says some magical practices have productive function because they do good to the individual, group or community. Some magical practices have preventive function because they prevent harm to the individual, group or community. Still some magical practices have destructive function because they harm or destroy another individual, group or community. Based on these three functions served by different magical practices, Firth classified the latter into three distinct forms in the following manner.

Productive magic includes magic of hunting, magic of fertility, magic of rain-making, magic of security, magic of successful or abundant harvesting, magic of successful fishing, magic of successful courtship and love-making, canoe and sailing magic, and magic associated with successful trade and barter. Productive magic is performed either by private individuals for themselves or by specialist magicians for others or to a group or to the community as a whole.

It is socially approved. It serves as a stimulus effort and as a factor of organization of economic and social activity.

Protective magic includes taboos to guard property, magic to assist collection of debts, magic to avert misfortune, magic for the cure of sickness, magic for safety in travel and magic to counter misfortune, sickness and danger in travel. Protective magic is performed either by private individuals for themselves or by specialist magicians for another, to a group or to the community as a whole. To protect crops, skulls of cattle, effigies or decorated pots are placed upright in the fields. To protect cattle amulets may be hung around their necks or horns. To safeguard oneself against misfortune, against malevolent spirits and other forms of evil one may wear amulets. To cure the sick a magician may use spells, rites, medicines, talismans, amulets and any other magical elements. To ensure safety in travel several protective measures such as amulets, talisman, charms and objects of magical powers may be worn. All such protective magic is socially approved. But countermagic in the form of beneficial sorcery is sometimes socially approved and sometimes socially disapproved. Generally speaking, protective magic serves as a form of social control.

Destructive magic includes magic to destroy other's property, magic to produce sickness, magic to bring death, magic to bring storms, magic to produce scarcity of game, magic to create failure of crops, and any other harm or destruction done to plants, individuals, group or the whole community. Destructive magic is in the form of harmful sorcery and witchcraft. **Harmful sorcery** is the use of magic, supernatural beings, or other supernatural powers to deliberately attempt to harm or destroy another person, group or community. The individual who practices sorcery is known as sorcerer. Witchcraft is an inborn and often unconscious capacity to work evil. Deliberate action undertaken by an individual for the purpose of doing harm is sorcery. On the contrary, unconscious action of an individual for the purpose of doing harm is witchcraft. Just as sorcery requires sorcerers, witchcraft requires witches. But witches, in contrast to sorcerers, are not people who have practised on employed supernatural means to destroy people, crops, cattle and property. Witches are individuals who have evil intentions and activities attributed to them. Thus the practice of sorcery actually occurs, but the practice of witchcraft is imaginary. Destructive magic is performed by sorcerers and witches. Sorcery is sometimes socially approved and sometimes socially disapproved. Often it forms as a force of social control. Witchcraft is socially disapproved. It is classed as morally bad. It provides a native theory of failure, misfortune and death

Check your progress

5. What is destructive magic ?

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24.4.3 Other Classification of Forms of Magic

Several anthropologists classify different magical practices into two distinct forms, namely black magic and white magic on the basis of the ends to be achieved

The use of magic, supernatural beings or other supernatural powers to deliberately harm or destroy another person, group, community, cattle, crops, property, or personal achievements is known as **black magic**. It is malicious and anti-social.

The use of magic, supernatural beings or other supernatural powers to do good to another person, group, community, cattle, crops, property or personal achievements is known as **white magic**. It is beneficial to the individual and society. It has social approval.

Black magic may be homeopathic magic and contagious magic. It is destructive magic. Both sorcery and witchcraft come under black magic. On the other hand white magic includes both protective magic and productive magic. It includes homeopathic and contagious magic.

Some anthropologists have classified black magic or hostile magical practices into sorcery and witchcraft on the basis of the demonstrability of techniques. For these anthropologists sorcery includes only harmful magic. Unlike Firth, they do not consider beneficial magic also as sorcery. They simply consider beneficial sorcery as a form of protective magic. As such they treat both sorcery and witchcraft as destructive magic or black magic.

Sorcery includes several hostile magical practices. In sorcery the technique used by the practitioner or sorcerer can be demonstrated. The sorcerer, for example, may recite a spell, stick thorns into an image of the victim, breath on a bundle of feathers. Such techniques of the sorcerer can be demonstrated.

Bone-pointing is the technique of sorcerers in Melanesia. The sorcerer points out some magical object at an intended victim with the goal of causing disease or death. Sorcerer ritually imitates throwing a magical stick, either an arrow or the spine of some animal, in the direction of the person the magic is intended to kill. For the magic to work, the sorcerer must perform the procedure with an expression of hatred. He thrusts the bone in the air, twists it as if in anger in the wound, and then pulls it out with a sudden jerk. Both the physical act and the emotional state of passion have to be imitated to achieve results.

Object-Intrusion is another technique of sorcerers for carrying on their act of sorcery. In this technique pins or other sharp objects are stuck into a representation of the intended victim. This technique is employed by several sorcerers belonging to the tribes of India.

Manipulation of objects is another important technique used by sorcerers. In this technique the sorcerers manipulate something that was once a part of the victim, such as fecal material, hair or fingernails. Sometimes an intended victim can be tricked into touching or using some object that has been treated in a magical way. Sorcerers in Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia, India and Africa mostly use the technique of magical manipulation of something that was once a part of the victim. The magic practised with the help of such technique is contagious magic.

A sorcerer may involve a supernatural being such as a guardian spirit or an ancestral spirit to assist him in harming an enemy. He may have the ability to utilize unseen supernatural powers to bring about the destruction of another individual. He may accomplish this by willing or a psychic act such as putting a curse or casting an evil eye upon an individual.

Cases of magical death or death from sorcery have been observed by anthropologists. The victims sicken and die after believing themselves the victims of sorcery. Sorcery achieves its results by affecting the individual's emotional state. The effectiveness of sorcery depends on the awareness of the victim that a magical ritual is being performed against him or her. If the victim is psychologically vulnerable to begin with and believes in the effectiveness of sorcery, he or she may exhibit a stress reaction that consists of the disordering of various physiological functions. The intended victim may despair, lose his or her appetite, unable to overcome the inertia caused by realizing he or she is a victim.

Sorcery is acquired. Sorcerers learn a special technology that can be used to produce supernatural effects. Their gifts are acquired rather than inherited, and they use learned magical techniques for their ends. They engage in evil commerce with the supernatural powers, forces and beings. Since sorcerers know how to invoke the supernatural to cause illness, injury and death they are feared.

Witchcraft is an inborn and often an unconscious capacity to work evil. Like sorcery, witchcraft is an attempt to harm others through supernatural means. Unlike sorcery, which requires the actual material substances witchcraft is a quality of an individual. Sorcery is acquired but witchcraft is inherited. Witches (wallock is a term sometimes applied to male witches) are distinguished from sorcerers on the basis of power and its origin. Witches are humans with supernatural powers. They are born with these powers. That means unlike sorcerers, they inherit their power. Since sorcerers use materials, evidence of sorcery can actually be found. Therefore a person can be accused of sorcery because some objects or medicines were found in his or her house. But witchcraft may be said to accomplish the same ills by means of thought and emotion alone. Evidence of witchcraft can never be found. This lack of visible evidence makes an accusation of witchcrafts both harder to prove and harder to disprove. Sorcerers consciously undertake the kinds of actions they know will harm another, the power of witches may be an involuntary one.

Attributes of witches vary from society to society, but they are generally disagreeable. In many societies witches are believed to fly, change themselves into animals, and become invisible. They are associated with certain animals known as familiars. According to Lucy Mair, the Madari of Africa believe that witches rub faces on articles to harm the owner and that they dance on the graves of their victims. The Lugabra of East Africa believe that witches dance naked. The Ganda of Uganda believe in witches who also dance naked and who feast on corpses. The Dinka of Sudan believe that witches have tails. The Amba of Africa believe the witches hang by their feet from trees and eat salt when they are thirsty.

According to Evans-Pritchard, the Azande of Sudan believe witchcraft to be a physical condition of the intestines that allows the soul of the witch to go out at night and harm others. The Azande believe that witchcraft can enter into every misfortune that befalls them. However, they do not live in the constant terror of witches. After some misfortune occurs, they blame it

on a witch. To the Azande, witchcraft is part of everyday living. It is not used to explain events for which the cause is known, such as carelessness or violation of a taboo, but is used to explain the otherwise unexplainable. A man goes to his beer hut at night, lights some straw, and holds it aloft to look at his beer. The thatch catches fire and the hut burns down. The man has been bewitched for huts did not catch on fire on hundreds of other nights when he and others did the same thing. Some people are sitting in the cool shade under a granary and it collapses on them, injuring them. They are bewitched because, although they admit that termites eating through the wooden posts caused the granary to collapse, witchcraft made it collapse at the precise moment on those particular people. Some of the pots of a skilled potter break, some of bowls of a skilled carver crack, although the other pots and the other bowls treated exactly the same have not broken. The Azande blame many of their failures and accidents on witchcraft. The question they ask, which is the basis of the belief in witchcraft, is why me? and why now? Witchcraft in one sense is thus a theory of causation. What we might attribute to coincidence or bad luck, the Azande blames on the activities of a witch. That means, where a belief in witchcraft pervades a society, it becomes the first explanation when misfortune occurs.

The Azande believe that witches are motivated by hate, envy and spite against a specific person. Thus, the Azande man who believes that witchcraft has been worked on him looks around for the person with whom he has quarrelled, or who may have reason to be jealous of him. If the misfortune is a significant one, such as an illness or blight on his crops, the man will take action in a number of ways. He may try using magic to stop the witchcraft or call in a diviner or oracle to find out who the witch is so that he or she can be persuaded to call off the evil. In extreme cases, he may kill the alleged witch. This action is taken only with the support of the group. One person does not carelessly accuse another of being a witch and kill him. The persons who are jealous, spiteful and envious know that they are most likely to be accused as witches, and this expectation will bring their behaviour more into conformity with the norms of their society. In this way, witchcraft is a means of controlling behaviour considered harmful and disruptive to the society.

Check your progress

6. What is white magic and black magic ?

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24.5 FUNCTIONS OF MAGIC

Even though the belief in magic appears irrational to the rational mind, there are a number of positive functions of effects which may stem from the practice of magic.

24.5.1 Explanation

One of the important functions of magic is **explanation**. Magic provides a theory about the nature of the world. It gives meaning to and explains those aspects of the physical and social environment that are not fully understood through normal experience and thought. In every society magic deals with the natural and supernatural, the nature of life and death, the strain in the relations between individuals and between groups, and the relation of human beings to nature. Magic serves as a framework for interpreting events and experiences, particularly those that are out of the ordinary and unnatural. The supernatural is seen as part of the natural, and is believed intervening in many aspects of life. Thus, human society includes both humans and witches. Power and magical specialization are often believed to have supernatural origins. Rules of behaviour are given supernatural sanction, and breaches of taboos are punished by supernatural powers, forces and beings. The success of even ordinary undertakings in the physical world is ensured by wearing charms, talismans and other materials of varying magical powers. Natural disasters, illness, misfortune, failure, evil, crisis or emotional disturbance, destruction of property, loss of crop, sudden reduction in the size of herds and several other events are believed to be caused by extrahuman or supernatural spirits. Thus, magic provides an explanation for what would otherwise be unexplainable and therefore gives support to the established order of environment, culture and society or the nature of the world.

24.5.2 Reassurance

A second important function of magic is to provide reassurance to the individual, group and community. Many magical practices are aimed to control supernatural forces. People are faced with sickness, hunger and pain, and many other physical discomforts such as anxiety and fear. In all such crisis, people resort to magical practices and try to tide over them. Magic creates confidence in the face of uncertainty. Failure, misfortune and death are attributed to the practice of harmful magic. The practice of magic also provides emotional relief for an individual who believes that he has been wronged, if he himself practices counter-magic. The practitioner vents his rage and satisfies his desire for revenge. Although magical practices exist in many societies, magic is more prominent in those societies in which there is less predictability in the outcome of events and thus less feeling of being in control of the social and physical environment. In the Trobriand Islands, for example, magic is not used for ordinary canoe trips within the lagoons, but only when the Islanders undertake the long-distance and dangerous canoe trips to other islands in their Kula trade. Even if magic cannot work from the standpoint of Western Science, it may be effective in achieving results indirectly, mainly by reducing the anxiety of the individuals and groups who practice it. This reduced anxiety, allows them to proceed with more confidence and the confidence may lead to greater success and greater reassurance. Where technological advance and science are able to increase predictability and control over events and human relations, magic tends to become less important. Thus, magical beliefs and practices provide the comfort and reassurance that come from having some way to explain and cope with crisis, anxieties and uncertainties of living. Even when the primitives fail in some of their magical practices they continue to believe in magical practices because they derive psychological comfort from having something to do which holds some promise of coping successfully with troubles.

24.5.3 Validation

A third major function of magic is validation of people's customs and values. Magical beliefs support the things the people believe they should or should not do and as explanations for these customs. The Azande, for example, know that misfortunes are part of life : elephants gore hunters, canoes are overturned, people become ill, houses burn, dwellings collapse and pots break. The question the Azande asks, which is the basis of the belief in witchcraft, is why me? and why now? Witchcraft thus provides some explanations for the occurrence of all such misfortunes. We may attribute such misfortunes to coincidence or bad luck, but the Azande blames on the activities of a witch. Where a belief in witchcraft pervades a society, it becomes the first explanation when misfortune occurs. If the misfortune is a major one, such as an illness or blight to his crops, the victim takes action against the witch in a number of ways. The victim tries using magic to stop the witchcraft or kill the alleged witch. Such practices are validated, justified or sanctioned by the magical beliefs.

24.5.4 Social Integration

A fourth function of magic is **Social Integration** or binding together the members of a society in a feeling of belonging and cooperation. Magic either directly or indirectly helps maintenance of social order and the survival of a society. To begin with, magical beliefs about good and evil are reinforced by supernatural means of social control. That means magic is a powerful force for conformity in a society. Among the Azande, for example, witchcraft helps reinforce ideas about morality, it defines the good man and the evil man. The Azande believe that witches are motivated by hate, envy and spite against a specific person. The person who is jealous, spiteful and envious knows that he is most likely to be accused as a witch, and this expectation will bring his behaviour more into conformity with the norms. In this manner, witchcraft is a means of controlling behaviour considered harmful and disruptive to society. This function of magic is not unique to Azande society; it has been found to operate in many other societies as well. Magic functions to promote social control by deterring many individuals from cheating, stealing and harming others. Moreover, the belief in magic may in itself deter individuals from practising magic, since magic can be considered a suspicious or harmful act if its occurrence is discovered. The practice of magic provides positive and negative sanctions, thus the tasks are properly performed. Thus magic is a powerful force for conformity in a society. Furthermore, magical beliefs provide a reason for the present social order. Magic is an outlet for frustration, resentment and anger, and is a way of draining off energy that might otherwise be turned against the social system. In this way, magic indirectly contributes to maintaining the social system. In this way, magic indirectly contributes to maintaining the social order; it serves as an important force for social integration.

24.5.5 Cultural Integration

A fifth major function of magic is **Cultural Integration**. A culture is a system of inter-dependent customs. It includes social customs, economic customs, political customs, religious customs, and so on. All these customs are linked to one another. The magical beliefs and practices indirectly link many of the customs comprising a culture. Bronislaw Malinowski showed how magical rituals intruded into every phase of the life of the Trobriand Islanders of the South

Pacific. He showed that the behaviour patterns of Trobriand Islanders formed an inter-locking, interdependent unity in terms of magical beliefs and practices. He showed how the food gathering system or the system of horticulture, hunting, fishing and the rest, the economic system, the religious system, the political system, and the system of language interlock at every step with their magical beliefs and practices. Thus, cultural integration is an important function of magic in many cultures.

Check your progress

7. What is validation ?

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24.6 SUMMING UP

Sir James George Frazer a leading British anthropologist is one of the first to define Magic. Magic is the technique designed to achieve specific goals by manipulating the supernatural. The practitioner, the practical aim or end to be achieved and the magical formula are the three elements of Magic. Frazer classified different magical practices into two forms on the basis of the laws or principles of thought associated with those practices - Homeopathic magic or imitative magic and contagious magic. Raymond Firth classified magical practices into three forms on the basis of the aims, the ends or the functions they serve - Productive magic, protective magic and destructive magic. Several anthropologists classify magical practices into two distinct forms - black magic and white magic. Explanation, Reassurance, Validation, Social Integration and Cultural Integration are the functions of Magic.

24.7 KEY WORDS

- Contagious magic : This magic is based on the law of contact or contagion; that is, the principle of thought that things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed. The practitioner of this type of magic infers that whatever he does to a material object will affect equally the person with whom the object was once in contact.
- Homeopathic magic : This magic is based on the law of similarity; that is, principle of thought that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause. The practitioner of this type of magic infers that he can produce any effect he desires merely by imitating it.

Sorcery	: The use of magic, supernatural beings, or other supernatural powers to deliberately attempt to harm or destroy another person. The individual who practises sorcery is known as sorcerer.
Witchcraft	: Witchcraft is an inborn and often unconscious capacity to work evil. It is different from sorcery. Sorcery is a deliberate action undertaken for the purpose of doing harm.

24.8 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Kroeber	: Anthropology
Piddington R.	: Introduction to Social Anthropology
Hoebel	: Man in the Primitive World
Herskovits	: Cultural Anthropology

24.9 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in 30 lines each :

1. Cite and explain Frazer's definition of magic.
2. Cite and explain Malinowski's definition of magic.
3. Explain how the definition of magic since the days of Malinowski has undergone several modification.
4. What, according to Frazer, are the three elements of magic ?
5. Explain Frazer's classification of various forms of magic.
6. Explain homeopathic and contagious magic with the help of some examples taken from Indian tribes.
7. Explain Firth's classification of different forms of magic.
8. Explain the terms white magic and black magic.

II. Answer the following in 15 lines each :

1. Cite the definitions of magic provided by Frazer and Malinowski.
2. What, according to Firth, are the three aims of magic ?
3. What, according to Firth, are the three aspects of magic formula ?
4. What, according to Malinowski, are the four forms of a spell ?
5. Explain the two principles of thought that form the bases of homeopathic and contagious magic.
6. What is homeopathic magic ?
7. What is contagious magic ?
8. What should we mean by white magic and black magic ?

Unit-25 : RELATIONSHIP AMONG RELIGION, MAGIC AND SCIENCE

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- 25.0 Aims and Objectives
- 25.1 Introduction
- 25.2 Universal Occurrence and Differential Dominance
- 25.3 Similarities and Differences
 - 25.3.1 Similarities between Religion and Science
 - 25.3.2 Similarities between Magic and Science
 - 25.3.3 Similarities between Magic and Religion
 - 25.3.4 Differences between Religion and Science
 - 25.3.5 Differences between Magic and Science
 - 25.3.6 Differences between Magic and Religion
- 25.4 Summing Up
- 25.5 Key Words
- 25.6 Suggested Books
- 25.7 Model Examination Questions

25.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to acquaint you with the relationship between religion, magic and science.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * explain how magic, science and religion occur in all societies,
- * discuss how they have differential dominance in different societies with different levels of cultural development,
- * discuss the views of various anthropologists regarding the similarities and differences among magic, science and religion all over the world.

25.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit we have studied about magic - the first definitions and modern definitions, elements of magic namely the practitioner, the practical aim and the formula, the classification of different forms of magic by leading authorities in the field and finally the functions served by magic in different societies. In this unit we will study the similarities and differences between religion, science, magic and science and magic and religion.

25.2 OCCURRENCE AND DOMINANCE

Universal occurrence

Anthropologists distinguish between religion, magic and science. They consider religion, magic and science as different parts of culture. Religion is a system of beliefs and rituals dealing with the supernatural powers, forces and beings. Magic is a system of beliefs and practices upon assumed relationships in the knowable universe and an attempt to manipulate natural elements based on experiment. Science is a system of beliefs and practices based upon observed relationships in the knowable universe, and an attempt to manipulate natural forces based upon experiment.

Both magic and science assume that certain causes create certain effects. Magic is like science in that it seeks control over the forces of the universe, but it is unlike science in that it uses supernatural means to gain that control. Magic can be good (white magic) or bad (black magic) just as science can be good (for example nuclear energy) or bad (for example nuclear weapons). Both magic and science can be directed against an individual or an entire group and both can be practised by an individual or a group of people. However, when magic succeeds, it is the proof that magic is effective, that the spirits exist and that they can be manipulated or controlled. When magic fails, it is an indication that proper rituals were not performed correctly or that an important rule was broken, or that some one else also used magic to counteract the force. It is never the supernatural element that is at fault, but always the human practitioner, or magician. If science fails, it is an indication that proper experiments are not conducted correctly or that an important rule was not followed. It is never the natural force that is at fault, but always the scientist who is at fault.

Differential dominance

Religion, magic and science exist together in all societies. However, in some societies the role of religion is dominant, in some the role of magic is dominant and in still some others the role of science is dominant. But in no society, we find the absence of all the three and the presence of only one of these. In every society all the three together exist but one plays a greater role than the other in the lives of the people.

25.3 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

25.3.1. Similarity between religion and Science

The early British anthropologists Sir Edward Burnett Tylor and the later anthropologists like Sir James George Frazer, Bronislaw Malinowski and others delineated the fundamental similarity between religion and science. The same has also been repeated by some modern anthropologists like Robin Horner.

According to Tylor, Frazer, Malinowski, Horner and several others, science and religion are similar in that both involve the quest for unity underlying apparent diversity, for simplicity underlying apparent complexity, for order underlying apparent disorder, for regularity underlying apparent anomaly (Horner 1973).

25.3.2 Similarities between magic and science

The early and later anthropologists like Tylor, Frazer, Malinowski and others who delineated the fundamental similarity between religion and science have also described the following similarities between magic and science.

Magic	Science
1. Magic assumes that certain causes create certain effects.	1. Science assumes that certain causes create certain effects.
2. Magic is governed by a body of principles. The principles reveal how a magician has to proceed to get the result.	2. Science is governed by a body of principles. The principles reveal how a scientist has to proceed to get the result.
3. Magic is oriented towards a desired goal.	3. Science is also oriented towards a desired end.
4. Magic reveals the confidence of humans in their ability to bring about certain desired results.	4. Science reveals the confidence of humans in their ability to bring about certain desired results.

25.3.3 Similarities between magic and religion

Edward Burnett Tylor, Sir James Frazer, Bronislaw Malinowski and many other anthropologists delineated the differences between magic and religion as shown in the following table.

Magic	Science
1. Magic is concerned with non-empirical aspects. It is beyond logic and experimentation. It refers to intangible and non-measurable things. It cannot be experimentally justified.	1. Religion also is concerned with non-empirical aspects. It is beyond logic and experimentation. It refers to intangible and non-measurable things. It cannot be experimentally justified.
2. The relationship of magic to science is the same as that of religion to science. Primitives do not make a distinction between magic and religion. They consider the supernatural as real.	2. The relationship of religion to science is same as that of magic to science. Primitives do not make a distinction between religion and magic. They consider the supernatural as real.
3. Magic is pervasive and symbolic i.e., ordinary objects are considered as having endowed with magical power.	3. Religion is pervasive and symbolic i.e., ordinary objects are considered as having endowed with religious power.
4. Magic contains a ritual system that includes traditional lore and formulated procedures.	4. Religion also contains a ritual system that include traditional lore and formulated procedures.

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| <p>5. Forces or objects symbolized by the magical ritual system contain many anthropopsychic entities i.e., human like entities which are moody and which can be threatened or addressed.</p> <p>6. Magic arises and functions in situations of emotional stress.</p> <p>7. Magic is surrounded by taboos and observances.</p> | <p>5. Forces or objects symbolized by the religious ritual system contain many anthropopsychic entities i.e., human like entities which are moody and which can be petitioned or praised.</p> <p>6. Religion arises and functions in situations of emotional stress.</p> <p>7. Religion is surrounded by taboos and observances.</p> |
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Primitive people are not greatly concerned with the analytical distinctions between magic and religion. Rather, they blend magic and religion as best as they can to attain their specific goals.

Bronislaw Malinowski and his student Ian Hogbin have pointed out the impersonal and instrumental nature of magic. But Robert Harry Lowie has slightly modified this notion and said that this was not at all a universal truth.

Robert Ranulph Marett said that a thin partition often divides magic from religion. He argued that a slight change in the formulation of words, possibly transitory personification may convert the magical formula into a religious petition. Alexander Goldenweiser and others expressed almost the same view.

Melville Jean Herskovits argued that in many societies magic was an integral part of religion. For example, among the Dahomeans of Africa, the essential nature of magic and religion is the same. To be brief, humans resort to magical and religious practices in their adjustment to supernatural powers, forces and beings. So, the distinction between magic and religion is only an intellectual one.

Raymond William Firth argued that one can find overlapping of the religious and magical practices. It is only after careful observation and investigation one can differentiate magic from a religion in primitive societies because in primitive societies what is primarily classified as magic can also contain elements of religion.

25.3.5 Differences between religion and science

The major differences as explained by Tylor, Frazer, Malinowski and many other anthropologists are shown in the following table.

Religion	Science
<p>1. Religion is a closed system of thought. It is a closed system of beliefs. Religious beliefs are sacred. They are not to be questioned. Therefore they are not open to empirical testing.</p>	<p>1. Science is an open system of thought. Science provides explanations that are not considered to be absolutely valid, but rather are open to new data. In science there is an awareness of alternative theories or explanations. Ideally, as old explanations are found invalid, new ones will be accepted.</p>

2. Religion belongs to supernatural realm. However, in primitive societies, supernatural may be seen as part of the natural and intervenes in all aspects of life.
2. Science belongs to natural realm. The separation between science and religion in our society corresponds to our sharp separation of the natural and the supernatural.

In primitive societies, the concepts natural and supernatural, science and religion are less sharply separated. The primitives fuse natural and supernatural together and believe such a fusion of natural and supernatural phenomena as supernatural phenomena interfering with all aspects of their lives. Thus, the kin group includes both living relatives (natural) and dead ancestors (supernatural); power and leadership (natural) are often believed to have divine origins (supernatural), rules of behaviour (natural) are given divine sanction (supernatural); and breaches (natural) are punished by gods (supernatural). The success of even ordinary undertakings in the physical world is ensured by enlisting the help of supernatural powers. Natural disasters, illness, and misfortunes are believed to be caused by extra-human or supernatural spirits. Natural and supernatural, man and nature, past, present and future, may be perceived as a unity in a way that violates the logic of scientific thought. This makes it difficult for us to understand many primitive religions. For this reason we brand primitive religions as irrational, contradictory, or the products of faulty thinking.

Check your progress

1. Why is religion branded as irrational?

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25.3.6 Differences between magic and science

Sir Edward Burnett Tylor and Sir James George Frazer said that primitives do not distinguish between magic and science. Robert Ranulph Marett also said that the theoretical distinction between magic and science does not occur to primitive people. On the other hand, Bronislaw Malinowski said that primitives were all aware of the distinction between magic and science (technology). Other anthropologists proposed that the degree of differentiation between magic (supernatural) and science (natural) depends on the level of cultural development of the people. However, Tylor, Frazer, Marett, Malinowski differentiated between magic and science.

Magic	Science
1. Magic represents unreason. It is 'pseudoscience' 'primitive science'(Tylor) or 'bastard sister' of science (Tylor).	1. Science represents reason. (Tylor and Frazer)
2. Magic is based on belief and emotion. (Tylor and Frazer)	2. Science is based on experience and reason. (Tylor and Frazer)
3. Magic rests on supernatural sequence (Tylor and Frazer)	3. Science rests on natural sequence. (Tylor and Frazer)

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| 4. Magic revolves round supernatural causation of events (Tylor and Frazer). | 4. Science clusters around natural causation of events. (Tylor and Frazer) |
| 5. Magic rests on wrong association of ideas (Frazer). | 5. Science rests on correct association of ideas. (Frazer) |
| 6. Magic aims for both good and bad (Malinowski). | 6. Science aims for common good (Malinowski). |
| 7. Magic cannot be experimentally justified (Tylor, Frazer and Malinowski). | 7. Science can be experimentally justified (Tylor, Frazer and Malinowski). |
| 8. Failures of magic are supposed to be due to some error in the performance of ritual or else due to counter magic or some powerful magician (Tylor, Frazer and Malinowski). | 8. Failures of science are due to inadequate knowledge and can be corrected by further research (Tylor, Frazer and Malinowski). |
| 9. Magic is born out of tradition (Malinowski). | 9. Science is out of experience (Malinowski). |

25.3.7 Differences between magic and religion

Anthropological literature abound in attempt to make meaningful and clearcut distinctions between magic and religion. Edward Burnett Tylor called magic a monstrous farrago, or a fallacious reasoning, a pseudo science or primitive science, but described religion as a rational kind of philosophy. James George Frazer followed Tylor in viewing magic as qualitatively different and sharply distinct from religion. Frazer saw magic as manipulative but religion as supplicative. Frazer regarded magic as primitive man's science or bastard sister of science although it is based on two erroneous principles which he called the *law of similarity and the law of contact*.

Emile Durkheim characterized magic as thoroughly anti-religious. He emphasized that magic is mainly an individual affair in which no lasting social bonds are established, while religion is a collective enterprise that involves a church or community of fellow believers.

Bronislaw Malinowski made a series of distinctions between magic and religion. He said that magic is a means to an end, while religion is an end in itself, belief in magic is simple and its aim is straightforward and definite, while religious belief is more complex, involving pantheons of supernatural beings. He argued that humans resort to magic when faced with the possibility of failure. A hunter cannot find game, a cultivator fails to reap a rich harvest, a seafarer fails to get fish a lover cannot win over the beloved. Despite one's best efforts, one cannot attain the valued goal through normal, rational means. A natural recourse in such blocked circumstances, according to Malinowski, is resort to magic. Moreover, this has an effect, for it gives the magician confidence. Feeling that something has been done to bring the goal closer, the hunter or lover perseveres with renewed effort. Religion also gives humans the confidence to carry on, but on a more long-range basis, establishing positive attitudes and values.

William J. Goode reviewed the anthropological writings and prepared a summary of the characteristics that distinguish magic from religion. He concluded that magic is manipulative,

instrumental, individualistic, less emotional, sometimes malevolent and sometimes benevolent and specific goal oriented but religion is supplicative, an end in itself, collective, relatively more emotional, mostly benevolent and general welfare-oriented.

Francies L.K. Hsu has criticized the contrast made between magic and religion by Malinowski and many other anthropologists. He showed that in many societies it is very difficult to separate magic and religion from one another or even sometimes to say which is which. Magicians may make use of religious practices and appeal to spirits for help, while priests may make use of magical techniques such as sprinkling of holy water, and pursuit of immediate practical ends like a prayer meeting for rain. Magic is not always individual, nor religion is always collective. Several Red Indians fast alone in woods and engage in a religious quest. Then religion is individualistic. Despite such lack of agreement, with regard to a few points, all anthropologists delineate the following differences between magic and religion.

Magic

1. Magic is simple in its form. It consists of practitioner (shaman, magician and sorcerer) practical aim (protective productive or destructive aim) and magical formula (medicine such as plants, powders, lotions, pastes, eggs, hair, clothes, exuviae, skulls of animals, human skulls and many others, Spells consisting of verbal elements or a series of fixed and invariable words and phrase, and rites that include preparation of medicines, combining the medicines, and placement of medicines either on or near that which is to be influenced) (Frazer and Firth).

Religion

1. Religion is complex in its form. It consists of prayers (thanks, giving, request or demand; spontaneous or memorized, private or public, silent or aloud; prayer language includes a special stance, gesture, or tone of voice, and perhaps special, often archaic, speech patterns), music (musical instruments, singing and chanting). Physiological experience (such as going into a trance or acquiring a feeling of euphoria by means of sensory deprivation, by means of mortification of flesh especially by self-flagellation, prolonged sleeplessness, piercing of the flesh and amputation of a linger joint, by means of deprivation of food or water or by means of using drugs and hallu cinogens), exhortation or preaching, recitation of myths and sacred literature, items with mana (relics, good luck symbols, sacred stones and so on which have power in them and which can transmit that power to the individuals who touch them), taboos (not touching certain objects, foods and people to avoid the effects of their power), feasts (the eating of a sacred meal), sacrifices (vegetarian offerings, blood sacrifice, animal sacrifice, personal sacrifice such as abstaining from particular foods, drinks, tobacco or sexual intercourse and money sacrifice), congregation, inspiration (states of ecstasy, possession. Conversion and relevation) and symbols (paintings, icons, statues, masks, dolls and other symbolizing the gods and goddesses) (Frazer, Firth and Wallane).

2. Magic is everywhere **uniform** in its principles (Frazer).
3. Magic involves **secrecy**. Always an aim of secrecy surrounds the magician and his disciples do not know each other. Therefore it is mostly individual (Frazer and Durkheim).
4. Magic is most commonly used for **good and bad purposes**. It is essentially antiethical (Frazer).
5. Magic has **concrete specificity of goal**. That means, it is always directed to a clearly stated goal (Frazer, Malinowski and Goode).
6. Magic is **manipulative**. It involves coercion with the supernatural. It affirms human control of supernatural. Magical spells command obedience of supernaturals. Thus, magic involves the attempt to manipulate the higher powers, to compel the supernatural to bend to human wishes. Success is seen as inevitable provided one knows the right formula (Frazer and Goode).
7. Magic includes only specialists but not followers. That means magic includes professional-client relationship (Frazer and Goode).
8. Magic more frequently revolves round **individual ends** (Frazer, Durkheim and Goode).
9. Magical practitioner or customer goes through his activities as a private individual or individuals functioning much less as groups.
10. Magicians are feared for they are, generally speaking, **malevolent** (Frazer).
2. Religious diversities are more common everywhere (Frazer).
3. Religion is **public**. It has a congregational aspect. Therefore it is communal (Frazer and Durkheim).
4. Religion is most commonly used for **good purposes**. It is essentially moral. (Frazer).
5. Religion has goals that are concerned with general welfare, health, good weather and eschatological occurrences (Frazer, Malinowski and Goode).
6. Religion is **supplicative**. It involves human submission to the supernatural. It relies on extra-human aid. Prayers appeal to the supernatural for their help. Thus, religion involves the attempt to pray, to propitiate or to cajole the higher powers, to grant requests. Success is assumed as the grace, blessing or boon of the supernatural powers who are free agents and who may or may not grant requests (Frazer and Goode).
7. Religion includes priests and many followers. That means religion includes shepherdflock or prophet-follower relationship (Frazer and Goode).
8. Religion more frequently revolves round **collective or grouped ends**.
9. Religious activities are carried out by groups or by representatives of groups (Frazer, Durkheim and Goode).
10. Religious specialists command respect for they are, generally speaking, **benevolent** (Frazer).

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| <p>11. Failure of magic and failure to achieve the goal inspires a magician to use a substitution or introduction of other techniques. Stronger magic will be used, or magic to offset the counter magic of enemies, or even a different magician will be employed (Frazer and Goode).</p> | <p>11. Religious activity is less specifically instrumental. It is concerned more with the intrinsic meaning of the ritual. It is expected to achieve concrete goals indirectly by maintaining the proper continuing relationship with the deities. Therefore a substitution is far rarer in the realm of religion (Frazer and Goode).</p> |
| <p>12. Although the magician may feel cautions in handling such powerful forces, a lesser degree of emotion is expected in magic. This may be described as impersonality (Frazer and Goode).</p> | <p>12. In religion one expects a greater degree of emotion, possibly awe or worship (Frazer and Goode).</p> |
| <p>13. In the case of magic, the practitioner decides whether the process is to start at all (Frazer Malinowski and Goode).</p> | <p>13. In the case of religion, the ritual must be carried out. That it must be done is part of the structure of the Universe (Frazer, Malinowski and Goode).</p> |
| <p>14. In the case of magic, the practitioner decides when the process is to start (Frazer, Malinowski and Goode).</p> | <p>14. In the case of religion, the time relationships of rituals are fairly fixed, within rough limits, even when not calendrical (Frazer, Malinowski and Goode).</p> |
| <p>15. Magic is thought of as at least potentially directed against the society or a group within the society or a respected individual in good repute with the gods (Frazer, Malinowski and Goode).</p> | <p>15. Religious rituals are not thought of as even potentially directed against the society or such respected people (Frazer, Malinowski and Goode).</p> |
| <p>16. Magic is used only instrumentally, i.e., for goals (Tylor Durkheim, Frazer, Malinowski, Goode and Wallace).</p> | <p>16. Religion may be used for goals, but ideally the practices are ends in themselves (Tylor, Durkheim, Frazer, Malinowski, Goode and Wallace).</p> |

Check your progress

2. Why did Malinowski call magic a savage science?

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25.4 SUMMING UP

Anthropologists consider religion, magic and science as different parts of culture. Religion is a system of beliefs and rituals dealing with the supernatural forces, powers and beings. Magic

is a system of beliefs and practices based upon assumed relationships in the knowable universe and an attempt to manipulate natural elements based on experiment. Science is a system of beliefs and practices based upon observed relationships in the knowable universe and an attempt to manipulate natural forces based upon experiment. Anthropologists like Tylor, George Frazer, Bronislaw Malinowski and others have delineated the fundamental similarities between religion and science and also between magic and science.

25.5 KEY WORDS

- Hallucinogen : A drug or substance that produces hallucinations. It may be Ma or Marijuana as in China of 15th Century B.C., Soma or fly agaric mushroom as in Rigvedic India of 10th Century B.C., mushrooms as used by the Red Indians of 3rd century B.C. sacred mushrooms as used by the Mazatec Red Indians of the present day southern Mexico or the moist inner bark of the ebene tree as used by the Yanomamo Red Indians of the contemporary Venezuela-Brazil border lands.
- Oracle : A medium by which ancestors are consulted.

25.6 SUGGESTED BOOKS

- Hoebel : Man in the Primitive World.
Durkheim : Religion
Herskovits : Cultural Anthropology.

25.7 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in 30 lines each.

1. Discuss the universal occurrence and the differential dominance of magic, science and religion.
2. Describe the views of Tylor and Frazer on the origins of magic.
3. Examine the views of Durkheim on the relations between magic and religion.
4. Elucidate the views of Malinowski on the relationship between science and magic.
5. Explain the similarities between magic and science.
6. Discuss the similarities between magic and religion.
7. Mention the differences between religion and science.
8. Point out the differences between magic and science.
9. Mention the differences between magic and religion.

II. Answer the following in 10 lines each.

1. Why should Tylor and Frazer call magic as pseudo-science?
2. What did Durkheim mean when he said that magic is individualistic and religion is communal?
3. What are the main differences between magic and religion according to Malinowski?
4. Briefly examine the magic religion continuum proposed by Goode.
5. What are the similarities between religion and science?
6. Mention the main differences between magic and science?
7. What are the differences between magic and religion in terms of their forms?

BRAOU

BLOCK IX

Tribes of India

Unit 26 : Distribution of Tribes in India.

Unit 27 : Racial and Linguistic Classification of Indian Tribes.

Unit 28 : Socio-Economic features of Indian Tribes.

UNIT-26 : DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES IN INDIA

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26.3.1 Number of Indian Tribes before and after Independence

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26.6 Key Words

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26.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to discuss the distribution of tribes in India.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * discuss how the Indian tribes have been identified and enumerated,
 - * give the present number and population of the tribes in India,
 - * describe the geographical distribution of the Indian tribes in terms of zones, territories or regions and tribal belts.
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26.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units we have studied about different social institutions. In this unit we will study how the tribes have been identified and enumerated and also about the number and distribution of tribes in India.

26.2 IDENTIFICATION AND ENUMERATION OF INDIAN TRIBES

26.2.1 Identification and enumeration of Indian tribes before Independence

Before Independence, Census Officials of India identified and enumerated the tribes of India under various names and heads. The 1891 Census counted the tribal populations under the

head people having a tribal form of religion and the 1901 Census classified the tribes under the title animists. The 1911 Census Officers enumerated the aboriginal groups as tribal animists or tribal religions, but the 1921 Census catalogued them as hill and forest tribes. The 1931 Census listed them as primitive tribes and the 1941 Census designated them as Tribes. Thus before Independence, the Census of 1891, 1901 and 1911 have identified the tribes in terms of such criteria as animism and religion, while the Census of 1921 and 1931 identified the tribes on the basis of two criteria, namely isolated habitation and primitiveness. The 1941 Census evolved different criteria like primitiveness, isolation and religion to identify and enumerate the tribes.

26.2.2 Identification and enumeration of Indian tribes after Independence

After Independence, the Government of India recognised the special efforts to be made for the development of tribes and gave certain constitutional protection to them. In this context the Government of India prepared a list of tribes which was issued by the Presidential Order of 1950. The tribes included in the list were called Scheduled Tribes. Then the 1951 Census followed the list of Scheduled Tribes issued by the Government and identified the persons who belonged to the Scheduled Tribes in that list. The information thus obtained gave only the number of Scheduled Tribes.

Neither the 1961 Census nor the 1971 and 1981 Censuses have made any deviation from the procedure adopted by the 1951 Census. Like the 1951 Census, they too identified and enumerated such groups which had been included in the Presidential Order of 1950 as Scheduled Tribes. Thus the tribes are defined as those groups which are deemed to be Scheduled Tribes according to the Constitution of India.

Check your progress

1. What did the early Census in India mean by animists.

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26.3 NUMBER AND POPULATION OF INDIAN TRIBES

26.3.1 Number of Indian Tribes before and after Independence

The 1891 Census did not give the actual number of tribes in India. The 1901 and 1911 Censuses did not provide even rough estimates about the number of tribes. The 1921 Census gave the number of Indian tribes as not more than 400. The 1931 Census returned the number of Indian tribes as a little less than 350. The 1941 Census revised the number of Indian tribes to more than 400. These Census figures give only the rough numbers of tribes in undivided India but they do not give the exact number of tribes in the territory which corresponds to the present Indian boundaries.

After Independence, the list of tribes which was issued by the Presidential Order of 1950 contained 212 Scheduled Tribes. This list was revised upwards to include a few more groups in 1956, 1962, 1967, 1968, 1970 and 1973. Due to these revisions the number of Scheduled Tribes in 1971 was almost double of what it had been in the year 1950. In 1967 the Anthropological

Survey of India prepared a list of tribes and arrived at a figure of 314. But in 1971 Roy Burman's estimate shows that the number of tribes in India is 427. The estimate of the Anthropological Survey of India is lower than that of Roy Burman's because it has included many tribes under the common name by which they are called, such as Gond, Bhil, and Naga. On the other hand a few of the 427 tribes estimated by Roy Burman were sub-tribes of larger tribes. Therefore neither the estimates given by Anthropological Survey of India nor the estimates provided by Roy Burman offer the actual number of tribes in India. The total number of tribes in India today may be a little less than 427 but not less than 400.

26.3.2 Population of Indian tribes before and after Independence

Due to changes in the definition of tribe in pre-independence period and because of periodic upward revision of the list of Scheduled Tribes, the figures pertaining to the number of tribes and the population of tribes in India had been fluctuating from time to time.

The earliest estimate of tribal population of India was made by Athelstane Baines in 1891 Census. The total tribal population at that time was given as 16 millions. However, the 1921 Census report considered the inhabitants of hills and jungles as tribals and estimated the tribal population as more than 16 millions. The 1931 Census Officers made a serious attempt to provide an accurate estimate of the population of the primitive tribes of India, and computed the figure as 22.4 millions. In 1941 the Census mentioned 24.70 millions as the total population of Indian tribes. The 1951 Census gave the figure of tribal population as 19.40 millions. This reduction in tribal population between 1941 and 1951 is attributed to the division of the country in 1947. According to 1961 Census, the tribal population of India was 29.87. According to 1961 Census, the tribal population of India was 29.87 millions which was 6.87 per cent of the total population of India. In 1971, the Census reported that the strength of tribal population in India was 38.02 millions which was 6.94 per cent of the total population. That means, in the post-Independence period between 1951 and 1971, the population of Scheduled Tribes had increased from 29.87 millions to 38.02 millions and its percentage with respect to the general population had increased from 6.25 per cent to 6.94 per cent.

The total tribal population of India in 1971 was higher than that of Canada, more than twice that of Afghanistan, nearly equal to that of Spain, about three times that of Australia. It was thus no small number. If all the people of India were to walk past a point in a single file, roughly every fifteenth person would belong to the tribal groups. There are about as many as 427 tribes with a total population of about 45 millions in India today.

Check your progress

1. What criteria have been employed by the Census between 1921 and 1941 to identify and enumerate the tribes in India.

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26.4 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN TRIBE

26.4.1 Distribution of tribes in different zones, territories or regions of India

The Tribes of India are distributed unevenly all over the country. However, several anthropologists have tried to present a picture of the geographical distribution of Indian Tribes in terms of zones, territories and regions. They used the criteria of geography, historical background, language, racial features, demography, economic condition and social life in picturing the distribution of tribal groups in different zones, territories or regions. While B.S. Guha, S.C. Dube and Yogesh Atal have given zonal distribution of tribes, Roy Burman has offered a territorial distribution of tribes and L.P. Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai have presented a regional distribution of tribes.

Guha was the first anthropologist to study the geographical distribution of the tribes. He demarcated three tribal zones in the country :

- (i) The North and North-Eastern Zone;
- (ii) The Central or Middle Zone; and
- (iii) The Southern Zone.

The North and North-Eastern Zone consists of the Sub-Himalayan region and the mountain valleys of eastern frontiers of India. The northern part of this zone consists of eastern Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, northern Uttar Pradesh and the sub-Himalayan region of Sikkim. The eastern part of the zone includes the Darjeeling district of West Bengal besides Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura and Meghalaya.

Some of the important tribes of this zone are the Aka, the Dafla, the Miri, the Apa Tani, the Khamti, the different Nagr tribes such as the Angami, the Sema, the Ao, the Konyak, and the Maring and several other tribes like the Kuki, the Lushai, the Garo and the Khasi. All these tribes are found in the North-East India. In the sub-Himalayan region of Sikkim, the Lepcha and the Bhotia are important tribes. The sub-Himalayan region of the North is the abode of the Tharu, the Bhotia, the Khasa and the Gaddi.

The Central or Middle Zone lies between 20° N to 25° N latitudes and 73 E 90 E longitudes. This zone consists of plateaus and mountainous belts between Indo-Gangetic plain to the north and the dividing line between the peninsular India and Indo-Gangetic Plain. In the east this zone is separated by the gap between the Garo hills and the Rajmahal Hills. This zone consists of the mountainous tracts of Madhya Pradesh with its extensions into Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal.

Important tribes of this zone are the Saora, the Gadaba, the Paraja, the Juang and the Kharia of Orissa, the Santal, the Oraon and the Ho of Bihar, and the Bhil, the Kol, the Kaikari and the Mina of Rajasthan. The Gonds form the largest tribal group of this zone and occupy a vast tract which cuts across the boundaries of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. In this zone Bastar is an abode of some of the most colourful tribes as the Hill-Muria of Abhujmar hills and the Bison-Horn Maria of Indravati Valley.

The Southern zone stretches across the peninsular India below latitude 16. It includes in it the four southern states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. The well known tribes of this zone are the Chenchus of Nallamala Hills, the Konda Reddi of Bison Hills and the Toda of Nilgiri Hills. The Wynad area of Kerala is inhabited by the tribes such as Irula. the

Paniyan, and the Kurumba. The Kadar, the Kanikkar, and the*Maikuruvan inhabit the dense forests along the hill ranges of Cochin and Travancore in Kerala.

Madan and Majumdar presented a picture of the geographical distribution of tribes which is similar to that given by Guha (Majumdar and Madan 1980 : 252-254). Dube has given an account of the distribution of Indian tribes which is different in some respects from that offered by Guha. According to Dube the tribes of India are distributed in the following four zones:

- (i) North and North-Eastern Zone
- (ii) Middle Zone
- (iii) Southern Zone
- (iv) Western Zone

The North and North-Eastern Zone and the Southern Zone described by Dube correspond to their counterparts in the scheme presented by Guha. But the Middle Zone and the Western Zone proposed by Dube together coincide with the Central or Middle Zone suggested by Guha. Dube has excluded the states of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra from the Central or Middle Zone described by Guha but constituted those states into a separate zone namely the Western Zone. The distribution of tribes in all these four zones, thus corresponds to the distribution of the corresponding zones as described by Guha (Dube 1960).

The sub-Himalayan region consists of the northern sub-mountainous district of Uttar Pradesh and the whole of Himachal Pradesh.

The Central and East India comprises West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and North and North-Eastern Andhra Pradesh.

South India comprises Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Karnataka. It includes peninsular India south of Krishna river.

Western India comprises the states of Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Maharashtra.

Check your progress

2. What are the Zones according to Dube where tribes are distributed in India.

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26.4.2 Concentration of Tribal Populations in different tribal belts

We will now discuss the distribution of tribes according to the concentration of their population in specific areas in India. If one can locate the geographical position of tribes on the map of India one can discern concentrations of tribal population in certain areas.

According to 1971 Census, the largest tribal populations are found in the states of Madhya Pradesh (8,387,403), Orissa (5,071,937), Bihar (4,932,767), Gujarat (3,734,422), Rajasthan (3,125,506), Maharashtra (2,954,249), West Bengal (2,532,969), Andhra Pradesh (1,657,657) and

Assam (1,606,648). Among the other states and Union Territories, Meghalaya (814,230) comes first followed by Nagaland (457,602) Tripura (450,544), Arunachal Pradesh (369,408), Manipur (334,466), Mizoram (313,299), Tamil Nadu (311, 515), Kerala (269,356), Karnataka (231,268), Uttar Pradesh (198,565), Himachal Pradesh (141,610), Dadra and Nagar Haveli (64,445), Lakshadweep (29,540), Andaman and Nicobar (18,102), and Goa (7,654). The total tribal population of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal comprises a little more than 55% of the country's tribal population, while the tribal populations in all the other states, and Union Territories put together comprise a little less than 45% of the 38 million tribal population of India.

However, several states have most of their tribal populations chiefly concentrated in specific areas within them. These areas where the tribes are concentrated in each state are contiguous, hilly and covered by forests. Such tracts are located in as many as over seventy districts in different states. As all these territories are almost inhabited by the tribals, they comprise tribal tracts which together may be designated as the tribal belt of India. The Tribal belt runs right across the middle of India, from the district of Broach on the shores of Arabian Sea, through the districts of Surat, Dhulia, Jalgaon, Amaravati and Chanda in Maharashtra, Bastar in Madhya Pradesh, Koraput and Ganjam in Orissa, Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh. Mayurbhanj, Singhbun, Sundargarh, Ranchi and Santal Paraganas in Bihar, to the foothills of the Himalayas in Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura. This large extensive tribal belt with lateral extensions here and there, can be divided into nine parts.

- (i) The Western tribal belt.
- (ii) The Northern most and North-Western tribal belt,
- (iii) The Central Tribal Belts,
- (iv) The Eastern and North-Eastern tribal belt,
- (v) The North-Eastern tribal belt,
- (vi) The Southern tribal belt,
- (vi) The Southern tribal belt,
- (vii) The South-Western tribal belt,
- (viii) The East Island tribal belt, and
- (ix) The West Island tribal belt.

The Western tribal belt of India is a contiguous tract of rolling hills and dense forests spread over about 17 districts in four states of India. This tract covers the whole Dang district and parts of Broach, Surat, Baroda, Panchmahal and Sabarkanth Districts in Gujarat, parts of the districts of Thane, Nasik, Dhulia and Balgaon in Maharashtra, the two districts of Dungarpar and Banswara and parts of the Chittorgarh districts in Rajasthan, and the district of Jhabua and parts of Ratlam, Dhar and Khargaon districts in Madhya Pradesh. About 8.5 millions of tribal people live in this belt. The Bhil, the Dubla, the Gond, the Korku, the Koli, the Katkari, the Pardhi, the Vaghri and the Varli are the numerically significant tribes in the Western belt.

The Northern most tribal belt of India consists of the district of Lahaul and Spiti in Himachal Pradesh. The Jad, the Gaddi, and the Swangla with a total population about one million are the numerically strong tribes of this tract.

The Central tribal belt consists of a stretch of hilly tract across Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. It includes parts of several districts like Amaravati in Maharashtra, Betul, Chhindwara, Balaghat, Mandla and Bilasapur. In terms of numbers the Bhil, the Gond, the Baiga, the Pardhi, the Saharia and the Korku comprise the most important tribes in this tribal belt. They number about 5 millions.

The Eastern and North-Eastern tribal belt includes an uninterrupted wild and hilly territory embracing the district of Ranchi and portions of Palamau, Santal Paraganas and Singhbhum district in Bihar and portions of the districts of Surguja, and Raigarh in Madhya Pradesh, parts of Sundargarh and Mayurbhanj districts in Orissa. Several tribes like the Asur, the Baiga, the Bhumij, the Gond, the Ho, the Khond, the Munda, the Oraon, the Birhor, and the Poraj exceeding a total of 10 millions of souls reside in this tribal belt.

The North-Eastern tribal belt is a vast contiguous mountainous tract covered with dense forests and deep valleys. In this belt the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Meghalaya and Mizoram and the districts of Mikir and North Cachar Hills embrace about 4 millions of tribals. The most important tribes in this belt are the Abor, the Akas, the Dafla, the Mir, the Apa Tani, the Gallong, the Minyong, the Pasi, the Padam, the Mishmi, the Khampti, the Singpho, the Kuki, the Lushai, the Lakher, the Chin and the Nagas.

The Southern tribal belt embraces portions of Yeotmal and Chanda districts of Maharashtra, West Godavari, East Godavari, Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts in Andhra Pradesh, portions of the districts of Drug and Bastar in Madhya Pradesh, the whole Koraput district and part of Ganjam district in Orissa. The numerically significant tribes inhabiting this territory are the Baiga, the Muria, the Maria, the Bagata, the Kotiya, the Bondo, the Poroja, the Khond, the Konda Reddi, the Koya, and the Saora. This Tribal tract is the home of about 2.5 millions of tribals.

The South-Western tribal belt encompasses the Nilgiri Hills in Tamil Nadu, the Wynad Plateau and its adjacent hilly tracts with a population of about 30 thousands.

The East Island tribal belt includes the Andaman and Nicobar Islands with more than a dozen tribes and a tribal population of 20 thousands.

The tribals in each of these eight tribal belts differ in their physical character, languages, levels of living, religious practices and beliefs, and ways of social life. The tribals in the Western belt are proto-Australoids. Most of them speak languages belonging to Indo-European family. Their economy revolves round food-gathering, herding and labour. Their religion almost resembles that of their neighbouring Hindus. The tribes in the Northernmost tribal belt have Mongoloid features, but speak languages belonging to Tibeto-Burman sub-family, and Indo-European family. They are Hindus, practise polyandry, eke out their livelihood from cultivation and herding. The Central tribal and the Eastern and North-Eastern tribal belts include Proto-Australoid populations speaking languages that belong to Munda branch of Austro-Asiatic sub-family, Intermediate branch of Dravidian family and Indo-European family. They represent a wide economic spectrum varying from food-gathering, herding and shifting cultivation to working in mining and industries. The North-Eastern tribal belt includes several tribes who are Mongoloids, speak Tibeto-Chinese languages and to some extent Mon-Khmer branch of Austro-Asiatic sub-family, practise shifting and terrace cultivation and profess Buddhism, Christianity and to some extent Hinduism.

The Southern tribal belt consists of several tribes who have proto-Australoid traits, speak Dravidian and Munda languages, practise food gathering, shifting cultivation, settled cultivation and herding and profess a religion that shares several religious traits of their neighbouring Hindus.

The South-Western tribal belt includes tribes whose living conditions are similar to those of the tribes inhabiting the Southern tribal belt. But, in the South-Western tribal belt, the tribes speak only the Dravidian languages. The Todas have nordic racial features.

The West Islands tribal belt includes tribes that speak Dravidian languages besides Urdu, practise gardening and fishing and profess Islam but the tribes in the East Island tribal belt speak languages belonging to Mon-Khmer branch of Austro-Asiatic sub-family and subsist on food-gathering and fishing.

There is truly a vast tribal belt stretching across about 2.56 millions of square kilometres of hilly and forest tract and enclosing the largest assemblages of tribal populations numbering about 30.45 millions. This tribal belt is not homogeneous but heterogeneous because its inhabitants differ in their race, language, religion, economy and social life (Government of India 1968 : 1977).

26.5 SUMMING UP

The tribes of India today number about 45 millions constituting almost seven per cent of the country's population. Before India attained Independence the tribes were identified and enumerated as aboriginals, animists, hill and jungle folk, indigeneous people, and primitives. After India attained its Independence in 1947, the Government of India listed the tribes and placed them in a Schedule, whence the tribes came to be known as Scheduled Tribes. The number of such tribes in 1971 varied between 314 and 427 tribes as claimed by Anthropological Survey of India and the Census Officers. However, the latter figure is often quoted by social scientists to inform the number of tribes in India. Now the words tribe and Scheduled tribe are used as synonyms. The recent figures show that tribals in India number about 45 millions.

The tribes live in all parts of India. Guha, Majumdar and Madan, Dube, Atal and Vidyarthi and Rai explained the distribution of Indian tribes in terms of zones, territories and regions. They based their classification of tribes on geography, population, race, language, economy and social life. Their descriptions include the tribals living in villages, towns and cities along with the non-tribal groups, besides the tribals inhabiting the isolated hills and forests. However, the distribution of tribes can also be presented on the basis of their chief concentrations in specific geographic areas which are hilly and wooded. All these geographic areas cover about 2.56 millions of square kilometres and embraces about 30.45 millions of tribals. This tract is called tribal belt, since it is occupied by the tribes almost to the total exclusion or with a sprinkling of non-tribal groups. Based on the racial, linguistic, economic and social conditions of the tribes, the tribal belt can be divided into nine geographical divisions.

26.6 KEY WORDS

Adimajati : It is a vernacular term used for referring to a tribe. It means the original peoples (adima=original; jati=race, breed, descent group or peoples) of India.

Adivasis : It is a vernacular term used for designating a tribe. It means the original inhabitants (adi=original; vasis=inhabitants) of India.

- Anthropological Survey of India : The national institute means for conducting anthropological studies in India.
- Primitive : A term used for designating the tribes. A tribe is called primitive because it is thought to be a survival of humankind's primeval past. Early anthropologists thought of these societies as living fossils from the earliest stages of human society.
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26.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

- Hutton : Tribes of India
-

26.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in 30 lines each.

1. Examine how the term tribe came to have different meanings at different times in India.
2. Explain how the Indian tribes are identified and enumerated before Independence.
3. Describe how the Indian tribes have been identified and enumerated after Independence.
4. Examine the fluctuations in the number and population of Indian tribes before 1946.
5. Describe the variations in the number and population of Indian tribe since 1947.
6. Give the distribution of Indian tribes as described by S.C. Dube and Yogesh Atal.
7. Give an account of the distribution of Indian tribes as explained by L.P. Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai.

II. Answer the following in 10 lines each.

1. What is a Scheduled Tribe?
2. Why there was a reduction in the tribal population of India in 1947?
3. What is the population of growth of Indian tribes in three decades between 1951 and 1971?
4. Mention the geographical distribution of Indian tribes according to Guha.
5. Describe the territorial distribution of Indian tribes according to Dube.
6. What patterns of geographical distribution of Indian tribes is suggested by Vidyarthi and Rai?
7. What should we mean by a tribal belt?
8. Which tribal belt shows the heaviest concentration of tribes in India?
9. Which tribal belt shows the least concentration in India?

Unit-27 : RACIAL AND LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATIONS OF INDIAN TRIBES

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- 27.3 Linguistic Classifications of Indian Tribes
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 - 27.3.2 Chatterji's Classification
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- 27.6 Suggested Books
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27.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to discuss the Racial and Linguistic classifications of Indian Tribes.

By the end of this unit you will be able to:

- * discuss how different scientists have classified Indian tribes,
- * explain how different linguists and anthropologists have classified the languages of Indian tribes.

27.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last unit we have seen how the tribes have been identified and enumerated on the basis of different criteria and the present number and population of the tribes in India. We have also studied about the geographical distribution of the Indian tribes in terms of zones, territories or regions and tribal belts. In this unit we will study how different scientists have classified Indian tribes into different racial types and also how the anthropologists have classified the languages of the Indian tribes into several linguistic families.

27.2 RACIAL CLASSIFICATIONS OF INDIAN TRIBES

In the previous lesson you understood the significant ways in which the tribal people of India can be classified by geographical distribution. Now, you will be knowing the other ways of classifying the tribal people of India. One way is to classify the tribes of India by language, another is by religion, a third is by the manner in which the tribes make their living, a fourth is by the complexity of social organization, a fifth is by the degree of exposure of the tribes to contact with outsiders. There is still another way of arranging the tribes into different types on the basis of physical resemblances or racial features. This categorization into physical or ethnic types is known as **racial classification or ethnic classification**.

The first scientific racial classification of the people of India was presented in 1901 by Sir Herbert Hope Risley who supervised the Census Operations in 1891. Sir William Crooke disagreed with Risley and presented a new classification of the people of India. Later, Giuffrida Ruggeri classified the races of India. After these classifications of Indian people, several scholars such as Alfred Cort Haddon, Baron Egon Von Eickstadt, B.S. Guha, James Hunt Hutton, Baron Von Furer Heimendorf, Dhirendranath Majumdar and S.S. Sarkar have attempted racial classifications of the people of India. All these racial classifications of Indian humanity explain the physical features of the tribal and non-tribal populations. We will try to know only those racial types in these classifications that account for the racial composition of Indian tribes.

27.2.1 Risley's Classification

Sir Herbert Hope Risley's classification of Indian population shows that the tribes of India belong to two major racial types:

- (i) The Dravidian type, and
- (ii) The Mongoloid type

The Dravidian type is characterized by long head, broad nose, depressed nasal root, dark eyes, dark complexion, short stature, and plentiful of head-hair with a tendency to curl. The tribals of this type can be found in the whole of South India, in the southern part of Madhya Pradesh and Chota Nagpur in Bihar. The Paniyans of South India, and the Santals of Chota Nagpur present pure characteristics of the Dravidian race in Indian tribes. Risley believes that Dravidians are the original inhabitants of India, who, in course of time have been modified by the infiltration of the Aryans, Scythians and the Mongoloids.

The Mongoloid type have broad head, flat face, fine nose and in some cases broad nose, eye with epicanthic fold, short stature, scanty body hair, and dark and yellowish skin colour. The tribals belonging to this race are distributed in the whole of the Cis-Himalayan region, in Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura (Risley 1915).

Risley's classification pertaining to the tribal people of India has received criticism from various corners. Sir William Crooke disagreed with Risley's racial classification and presented a different type of analysis. He says that a Negritic type of Dravidians lived in India from times immemorial. There were also the Kolarians living in some parts of India. Then there were

the Nagas living in Punjab. The Dravidians mixed with the Kolarians and formed a separate race called Dasyus. The Dasyus lived in Bengal. The Aryans encountered the Nagas in Punjab and the Dasyus in Bengal. Some of the tribes belong to the Dravidian and Negritic race while some belong to Naga race. Crooke's racial classification is no improvement upon that offered by Risley.

Apart from Crooke, several others criticised Risley. They argued that not all tribal people in South India belong to Dravidian race, that since Dravidian features can also be found among the non-tribals, it is not easy to prove that the tribals with Dravidian features are the original inhabitants of India and that there are variations within the Dravidian features of the tribal populations.

Deniker has pointed out that the Dravidian type of tribals and non-tribals described by Risley is actually composed of two distinct types: one with long head, medium stature and narrow nose; and the other with long head, short stature and broad nose. These two Dravidian types are quite different from each other so far as their culture and origin besides their racial features are concerned. The tribals mostly belong to the second type of Dravidians and they are described by some as pre-Dravidians or Dravidians who were existing even prior to the Dravidians. Chanda compared this type with the Nishadas who have been mentioned in Hindu Puranas as a race with very low stature, low topped nose, copper coloured hair and body complexion as dark as that of a crow. Thus Deniker and Chanda argued that the tribals are actually pre-Dravidians and their cultures and origin have greater antiquity than those of the Dravidians.

Check your progress

1. What are the characteristic features of Dravidian and Mongoloid type of tribes?

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27.2.2 Ruggeri's Classification

Giuffrida-Ruggeri classified the people of India into six types of which three include the tribal populations of India. The three racial types to which the tribes of India conform are :

- (i) Negritos
- (ii) Pre-Dravidian or Australoid - Vaddaic peoples
- (iii) Tall dolichocephals

The Negritos have short stature, high heads with vertical foreheads, little or no brow-ridges, short broad faces, thick and everted lips, wide nose with narrow root, low ridge, broad tip and flaring alae. The beard and body hair are sparse, but more abundant than in Negroes. The

tribes of Andaman Islands and the Kadars, the Irulas and the Puniyans living in the jungles of South India belong to Negrito racial group. The Negrito are different from the Negro and the Negroid. Negroes mean those whose physical features are the same as the Negroes of Africa. Negroids means those whose physical features are like those of Negroes. The Negrito is only a variation of pygmies. The negritos are distributed over the Congo forest, Phillipines, New Guinea and Melanesia. The Negrito tribes in India, according to Ruggeri, represent the most ancient stratum of Indian population.

The pre-Dravidians or Australoid - Veddaic among the Indian tribes possess short stature, long head, chocolate complexion, prominent brow-ridges, depressed nasal root, broad and flat nose, thick seamy lips, black and wavy or curly hair, sparse growth of hair on face and body and blackish-brown eye colour. The tribes of Central India and several South Indian tribes belong to this racial type. The Bhils, the Chenchus, the Santals, the Mundas, the Oraons and so on are the typical representatives of pre-Dravidians or Australoid-Veddaic race. According to Ruggeri this is a composite race representing a mixture of Indo-Dravidian elements, and constitutes the second oldest racial group in India.

The Tall Dolichocephals have tall stature, long head, flowing hair on the head, thin to medium lips and fair features of the body. The Todas of Nilgiri Hills in Tamil Nadu comprise the only representatives of this race. Their fine physical features are in sharp contrast with the inferior physical characters of the rest of the tribes in India. They represent one of the latest strata in the population in India.

27.2.3 Haddon's Classification

Alfred Cort Haddon has divided Indian population into those confining to three regions namely the Himalayan region, the Northern plains or Hindustan region (now Pakistan), and the Deccan region. He further divided the population in each region into distinct racial types. The tribal population of India, according to Haddon's classification, belong to two regions and three races:

- (i) Negrito, and
- (ii) Pre-Dravidian races in the Deccan region
- (iii) Mongoloid race in the Deccan region

The Negritos exhibit medium head, flat nose, flattened occiput, protruding forehead, dark skin colour, black hair, brown eyes and fleshy and everted lips. The Kadars of Cochin jungles besides the Uralis of Nilgiri Hills and the Pullayans of Palni Hills in the southern part of the Deccan region represent the Negritos among the Indian tribes.

The pre-Dravidians possess dolichocephalic head or long head, platyrrhine nose or flat nose, short stature and brown to black complexion. A vast majority of the tribes residing in the Deccan region belong to this race. The Bhils, Gonds and Santals are some of the specific examples of this race.

The Mongoloids possess broad head, flat to fine nose, epicanthic fold, short stature, scanty body hair, and dark and yellowish complexion. The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam,

Meghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura exhibit Mongoloid features. The Lepcha, the Garo, the Nagas, the Khasi, the Dafla and many more tribes living along with them belong to the race of Mongoloids.

According to Haddon, the oldest people of India must have been the pre-Dravidians. The Dravidians also lived in India and they must have been also the original inhabitants of the Ganges in West Bengal. The Aryans came to India in the second millennium B.C. However, Haddon did not make a mention of the antiquity of Negritos, although he made clear about the antiquity of Mongoloids.

27.2.4 Hutton's Classification

According to James Hunt Hutton, the tribal population of India can be classified into the following racial types:

- (i) Negrito
- (ii) Proto-Australoid
- (iii) Mongoloids

Hutton says that the earliest occupants of India were the tribes which belong to Negrito race but they have left little trace on Indian sub-continent. The Negritos were followed by the proto-Australoids whose earliest ancestors can be traced to Palestine. Bulk of the tribal population in India belongs to this race. From the east there was a widespread movement of the southern Mongoloids southwards to Bay of Bengal and into Indonesia which had some reflex influence on India from the east. As a result Mongoloid race came into existence in the eastern and north-eastern parts of India. Representatives of Mongoloid race are the various tribal populations living in Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura.

27.2.5 Guha's classification

B. S. Guha gave the most acceptable classification of Indian population during the 1931 Census operations. Guha recognizes six main races with nine sub-races :

- (i) The Negrito
- (ii) The proto-Australoid
- (iii) The Mongoloid
 - (A) Palaeo - Mongoloids
 - (a) Long - headed
 - (b) Broad - headed
 - (B) Tibeto-Mangoloid

- (iv) The Mediterranean
 - (A) Palaeo - Mediterranean
 - (B) Mediterranean
 - (C) Oriental type
- (v) The Western Brachycephals
 - (A) Alpinoid
 - (B) Dinaric
 - (C) Armenoid
- (vi) The Nordic

According to Guha the tribal population of India belongs to three racial types:

- (i) The negrito
- (ii) The proto-Australoid
- (iii) The Mongoloid

The Negritos possess short stature, dark complexion, frizzly hair with either long or short spirals, broad nose, long, medium or broad head and thick and everted lips. The tribes of South India such as the Kadars, the Irulas and the Puniyan, and the tribes living in the Rajmahal Hills in Bihar belong to Negrito race. The Negritos are the first inhabitants of India. They all belong to the Negroid stock largely found in Africa, Melanesia, Australia and the neighbourly Islands. However, the Negritos of India resemble their Melanesian neighbours than the African pygmies.

The proto-Australoids are characterized by short stature, dark brown to nearly black skin, wavy or curly hair, long head, broad and flat nose with a slight depression at the root. Almost all the Central Western and South Indian tribes belong to this race. The Oraons, the Santals, the Mundas and several other tribes of Chota Nagpur region in Bihar, the Chenchus, the Kurumbas, the Yeruvas and the Badagas of South India, and the Bhills and the Kols of Central and Western India belong to proto-Australoid race. Guha says that the proto-Australoids constitute the second oldest racial group in India and that these tribal groups in India are essentially similar to the aborigines of Australia and the Veddas of Ceylon. For this reason all these tribal groups in India are placed under the heading proto-Australoid.

The Mongoloids among the tribals of India entered India through the North-Eastern region during the pre-historic and historic periods. The palaeo-Mongoloid Long-headed sub-race possesses long to medium head with bulging occiput, medium nose, short and flat face, oblique eyes, less prominent epicanthic fold, prominent cheek bones, scanty body and facial hair, straight hair, and light brown skin colour. Some of the tribes living in Cis-Himalayan region, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya and Tripura come under this sub-racial group. The Palaeo-Mongoloid Broad-headed sub-race possesses broad head, medium nose, short and flat face, oblique eyes, marked epicanthic fold, prominent cheek bones, scanty facial and body hair, straight hair with a tendency to form short waves and dark skin colour.

The Lepchas of Kalimpong belong to this sub-racial group. The Tibeto-Mongoloid sub-race is characterized by broad head, long and flat face, long or medium nose, tall stature, oblique eyes with marked epicanthic fold, prominent cheek bones and marked absence of body hair and facial hair. The Tibetans of Sikkim are representatives of this sub-racial group.

Check your progress

2. Guha classified the Indian population into how many types?

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27.3 LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATIONS OF INDIAN TRIBES

27.3.1 Grierson's Classification

G.A. Grierson in his linguistic survey of India between 1903 and 1922, enumerated the languages of the tribals and non-tribals in India and presented the following linguistic classification of Indian peoples.

1. Aryan or Indo-European family
2. Dravidian family
3. Mundari family
4. Tibeto-Chinese family

According to Grierson there are about 170 languages and about 500 dialects in India. Out of these 15 are major languages, 11 Aryan and 14 Dravidian, about 100 are Tibeto-Chinese, and the remaining 55 comprise the Mundari and other languages.

The tribals of India, according to Grierson, belong to Dravidian Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Chinese language families. The Mundari languages are the most ancient ones representing the ancient character of the tribes speaking these languages. The tribes with these languages survive in some out of way places, in hills and jungles of Central India. They include the Mundas, the Santals, the Ho, the Kharia, the Bhumij, the Korku, the Saore and the Gadaba of Central India, the Khasi in Meghalaya and Nicobarese in Andaman Nicobar Islands.

The Tibeto-Chinese languages are more recent than the Mundari languages. All the 100 languages belonging to Tibeto-Chinese family are small speeches. The tribes speaking these languages live in remote hills and mountains of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur and Tripura. Some of the important languages of the Tibeto-Chinese family are Manipuri, Lushai and Garo.

The tribes speaking the Dravidian languages are located in South India and Central India. Gonds, Khons, Todas and Oraons are examples of these tribes. The Dravidian languages spoken by the tribes are Toda, Gondi, Kul, Kurukh or Oraon and Malto.

Grierson's classification of tribes by languages is in many instances not clear. However, it has given a graphic idea of the distribution of tribes and their linguistic diversity in India (Grierson 1903-1922).

27.3.2 Chatterji's Classification

Suniti Kumar Chatterji has given the most acceptable classification of Indian tribes by language in 1945. In India, according to him, there are 179 languages and 544 dialects but there are 15 major languages of which 11 are Aryan or Indo-Aryan, 4 Dravidian, about 48 Austro-Asiatic and as many as 116 Tibeto-Chinese. Further, among the Indian people 73% speak Indo Aryan languages, 20% speak Dravidian languages, 1.3% speak Austro-Asiatic languages and 1.7% speak Tibeto-Chinese languages. A few tribes in Western and North-Eastern India speak Indo-Aryan languages, several tribes in South and Central India speak Dravidian languages and a large number of tribes in Central and North-Eastern India speak Austro-Asiatic languages and many tribes located in the Sub-Himalayan belt including the North-Eastern States of India speak Tibeto-Chinese languages (Chatterji-1945).

According to Sunit Kumar Chatterji's classification the tribal languages in India belong to all the major language families even though the Austro-Asiatic and the Tibeto-Chinese families are the dominant ones. The tribals who speak tribal languages constitute about 47 percent of the total population of 45 millions of tribals. That means, the rest of the tribals share with their non-tribal neighbours, the same language as their mother-tongue. About 16% of the tribals are bilingual, multi-lingual whereby they speak one more subsidiary languages in addition to their mother-tongue.

There is much controversy over the origin of the Austro-Asiatic language. Father Wilhelm Schmidt named the Munda languages as Austro-Asiatic. In 1928 Heine Geldren suggested that the Mongolid people entered India from the north-eastern side and brought with them the languages which later spread to Central India. But Hutton says that Austro-Asiatic language was brought by the Kolarians through the West end of the Himalayas and by the Mon-Khmer speaking people from the east of the Himalayas. The Tibeto-Burmese language entered India from the north and spread all along the Himalayas.

27.4 SUMMING UP

One way to classify the tribes of India is by language, another is by religion, a third by the manner in which the tribes make their living, a fourth is by the complexity of social organization, a fifth is by the degree of exposure of the tribes to contact with outsiders. There is still another way of arranging the tribes into different types on the basis of physical resemblances or racial features. The first scientific racial classification of the people of India was presented in 1901 by Sir Herbert Hope Risley. Risley's classification of Indian population shows that the tribes of India belong to two major racial types - The Dravidian type and the Mongoloid type. Ruggeri classified the tribal populations of India into three racial types - Negritos, pre-Dravidian or

Australoid - Vaddaic peoples and Tall dolichocephals. Hutton classified the tribal population of India into three racial types - Negrito, proto-Australoid and Mongoloids.

27.5 KEY WORDS

Brachycephalic	: Round headed or short-headed. One is called brachycephalic if the breadth of his head is at least four-fifths as great as the length of his head from front to back.
Dolichocephalic	: Long-headed. One is called dolichocephalic if the breadth of his head is small in proportion to the length of his head from front to back.
Epicanthic fold	: A fold of the upper eyelid; it is a fold of skin covering the lower margin of the eye near the nose, often found in Mongoloids.
Head-hunting	: The customary practice of cutting the heads of humans by certain tribes. Such a practice was existing in Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh.
Mongoloid	: Racial classification including Chinese, Japanese and American Indians, peoples grouped around the Pacific Ocean.
Negrito	: Short-statured Negroid people such as the Andaman Islanders and the Semang of the Malay Peninsula.
Negroid	: Racial grouping of dark-skinned African and Melanesian peoples.

27.6 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Hutton : Tribes in India.

27.7 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in 30 lines each :

1. Discuss Risley's classification of Indian tribes into racial types.
2. Give Ruggeri's classification of Indian tribes into ethnic types.
3. Outline Haddon's classification of Indian tribes into racial groups.
4. Describe Hutton's classification of tribal populations of India into racial categories.
5. What tribal races and sub-races exist in India according to Guha?
6. Briefly explain the viewpoints of scientists regarding the presence of Negrito element in India.
7. What final conclusions are drawn out of the discussions on the Negrito racial problem in India?
8. Can we classify tribes into specific categories on the basis of the languages they speak?

II. Answer the following in 15 lines each :

1. Give the Mongoloid features of some of the tribes of India.
2. Who are pre-Dravidians?
3. State the views of Denikar and Chanda on Riskey's classification of Indian tribes into racial types.
4. To which racial type do the Todas belong?
5. What are the views of Haddon on the antiquity of tribal races in India?
6. What are the important physical features of Kolids?
7. Which physical and cultural features of Angami Nagas overlap with those of Melanesians?
8. What tribes according to Guha are the proto-Australoids in India?
9. What are the racial differences between Palaeo-Mongoloids and Tibeto-Mongoloids according to Guha?
10. Which blood-group is most commonly found among the Indian tribes? Why?
11. Which tribes in India speak Dravidian languages?
12. Does the racial type of Todas overlap with their linguistic type?
13. Which language groups are numerically dominant among the tribes of India?

Unit-28 : SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATIONS OF INDIAN TRIBES

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- 28.0 Aims and Objectives
- 28.1 Introduction
- 28.2 Social Classification of Indian Tribes
 - 28.2.1 Das's Classification
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 - 28.3.6 Bose's Classification
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- 28.4 Summing Up
- 28.5 Key Words
- 28.6 Suggested Books
- 28.7 Model Examination Questions

28.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to acquaint you with the Socio-economic classifications of Indian tribes.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * explain how the tribes of India can be classified into several social types on the basis of their structure and organisation,
- * discuss the classification of Indian tribes into distinct types on the basis of the primary means of their livelihood and show how these distinct types make their living, weave their relationships with neighbouring communities and regulate their economic life in different ways yet retain their separate social identity,
- * discuss the classification of Indian tribes into specific types on the basis of their cultural development and the degree of their contact with other communities and societies and show how these specific types are slowly trying to join the mainstream of the social, economic, political and religious life in India.

28.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied about the classification of Indian tribes into different racial types and also the linguistic classification of Indian tribes. In this unit we will study how the tribes of India can be classified into several social types on the basis of their structure and organisation, economic classification on the basis of their livelihood.

28.2 SOCIAL CLASSIFICATIONS OF INDIAN TRIBES

Different social classifications

Social classification of tribes refers to the categorization of tribes into different types by their social organisation i.e., the arrangement and working of their social units. The social units or groups of a tribe may be families, villages, lineages, clans, phratries, sub-tribes and moieties. However, not every tribe contains all these social groups. There is difference in the type of social units found in a tribe and the nature of their inter-relations. Some tribes may contain only families, villages, lineages and clans; some tribes may include families, villages, lineages, clans, phratries and moieties, some only families, lineages and moieties; and so on.

The first anthropologist to attempt a classification of Indian tribes into specific social types is Tarak Chandra Das. The other scholars who have attempted a social classification of the tribes of India are Syam Charan Dube, and Lalita Prasad Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai.

28.2.1 Das's classification

Tarak Chandra Das (1953) proposed a classification of Indian tribes into seven types. The bases of his classification are: the difference in the type and inter-relationship of the constituent social units of a tribe. The social units of a tribe are understood as descent groups. The inter-relation of these groups is understood in terms of regulation of marriage. As regulation of marriage is the most important function of these descent groups, these groups have been characterized as either agamous, endogamous or exogamous. Agamy means lack of cultural preference or prescription concerned whether one marries someone from within his or her group or from some other group. Endogamy, as we already understood, refers to marriage to someone within one's own group. Exogamy means marriage to some one outside one's own group. Das (1953) has coined the term orthogamy to indicate marriage with persons of a selected group.

The Toda is an endogamous tribe divided into two endogamous moieties, namely the Teivaliol and the Tartharol. The Teivaliol moiety is sub-divided into six exogamous clans but the Tartharol is sub-divided into twelve exogamous clans. Each exogamous clan is divided into several exogamous families.

28.2.2 Dube's classification

Syam Charan Dube (1952 & 1971) points out that the tribes of India can be classified into several social types, each depending upon a specific social design. In this context he uses three criteria: descent groups, territorial groups and inter-relations between and among these groups.

In the social design of a tribe the smallest unit is the individual. Several individuals form the smallest group like family or household. These smaller groups are combined into a larger one through several levels of incorporation. Then the total social design of the tribe will be: a number of individuals are joined in families or households, families in lineages, lineages in sub-clans or sub-local groups, sub-clans in class or villages or local groups, clans in phratries or territorial groups, phratries in moieties, moieties in sub-tribes, and several sub-tribes making up the tribe. A group of tribes living in the same geographic area may be called by outsiders by a common name.

Check your progress

1. What is meant by social classification ?

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28.3 ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATIONS OF INDIAN TRIBES

Different economic classifications

The tribes of India have different levels of economy. No tribal group has one and only one source of livelihood, mostly they have mixed economy. For this reason, it is difficult to place any tribal group in strictly one particular typology. Nonetheless, several anthropologists have tried to classify the tribes of India on the basis of their primary means of livelihood.

Among the anthropologists who have attempted economic classification of the tribes of India, the most prominent are D.N. Majumdar and T.N. Madan, T.C. Das, Yogesh Atal, S.C. Dube, N.K. Bose and L.P. Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai. Their classifications are not uniform, they show several variations.

28.3.1 Majumdar's Classification

Dhirendra Nath Majumdar (1944:92) has classified the tribes of India into three economic types: Hunters and gatherers, Shifting cultivators and settled agriculturist.

- (i) Hunters and gatherers. The Raji of Uttar Pradesh, the Kharia and Birhor of Bihar, the Konyak Nagas of Assam, the Juang of Orissa and the Koya and the Konda Reddi of Andhra Pradesh, the Paliyan, the Kadar and the Mal Pantaram of Kerala are hunters and gatherers.
- (ii) Shifting Cultivators, lumberers, manufactures of catechu, and similar other economic categories. The tribes following these economic activities are the Bhuiya and the Kharwar of Uttar Pradesh, the Korwa and the Asur of Bihar, the Naga of Nagaland

and the Garo of Meghalaya, the Khonds and the Saoras of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, and the Kurumba of Tamil Nadu.

- (iii) Settled agriculturists who keep poultry and cattle, and know weaving and spinning, pottery and terraced farming. The tribal groups which follow these economic activities are the Tharu and the Khasa of Uttar Pradesh, the Munda of Bihar, the Khasi of Meghalaya and the Manipuri of Tripura, the Irula of Tamil Nadu, the Bhil of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan and the Gond of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra.

28.3.2 Atal's Classification

Yogesh Atal (1965) has classified the tribes into the following four economic types:

- (i) Food-gatherers.
- (ii) Shifting cultivators with some food-gathering activities.
- (iii) The tribes dependent on business.
- (iv) Nomadic life and pasturing.

28.3.3 Das's Classification

Tarak Chandra Das (1967) has classified the tribes into five economic types:

- (i) Nomadic food collectors and pastoralists.
- (ii) Shifting cultivators on hill slopes.
- (iii) Plough cultivators on plateaus and farai areas.
- (iv) Tribes who are partly assimilated with the Hindu social system.
- (v) Totally assimilated tribes who have gained a good social status among the Hindus.

28.3.4 Dube's Classification

Syam Charan Dube (1952, 1960 : 33-39) has divided Indian tribes into two major economic types with three sub-types in each of the two types. His classification is as follows :

- (i) Important means of livelihood.
 - (a) Food-collectors: The Andaman Islanders, the Kadars of Cochin, the Chenchus of Nallamalai Hills, some of the Baigas of Madhya Pradesh, the Juangs of Orissa, the Hill Kharias and Birhors of Bihar are representatives of food-gatherers.
 - (b) Unsettled primary agriculturists: They are the shifting cultivators. The Kolam, the Koyas and the Hill Reddis of Andhra Pradesh and the Baiga, the Maria and the Kamar of Madhya Pradesh do shifting cultivation with Ho's on the slopes of hills.
 - (c) Settled primary agriculturists. The several peasant branches of Gond tribe are typical examples of these economic groups.

(ii) **Semi-important means of livelihood.**

(a) **Cattle-herders:** The Todas of Nilgiri Hills derive their subsistence from dairying and have an elaborate cult of buffalo.

(b) **Tribes earning their livelihood from a specific craft or industry :**

The Asur of Bihar and the dwindling Agaria people of Madhya Pradesh work in iron following in tradition sanctioned by their mythology.

(c) **Crime as a source of livelihood:** The tribes living on crime are the criminal tribes such as the Bhuntus, the Sanshis, the Karwals, the Haburas, the Togu, the Pakhiwars, the Meenas, the Harini and many other in Northern India.

Check your progress

2. Into how many economic types are tribes in India classified ?

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28.3.5 Majumdar and Madan's classification

Dhirendra Nath Majumdar and Trilok Nath Madan (1956 : 195-200) have classified the tribals in India into six economic types: Food-gatherers, Agriculturists, Shifting-axe-cultivators, Craftsmen, Pastoralists and Industrial labourers.

(i) Food-gatherers are represented by a few tribes in India. They are the Bihors, the Chenchu, the Malapantaram, the Kadar, the Paliyan, the Yanadi and the Kurumba. The Kadar collect fruits, edible roots and honey from the forest as well as they go for hunting and fishing.

(ii) Agriculturists form a majority of the tribal population of India. The agricultural tribes are Munda, Oraon, Santal, Baiga, Korwa, Gond, Bhil and Khasi.

(iii) Shifting-axe-cultivators are also in large numbers. In shifting-axe-cultivation the cultivators move from one place to another in their efforts to counteract the decreasing yield of the same land under cultivation year after year. In shifting cultivation the tribals cut down the trees, bushes and shrubs by the axe and set them on fire before the sowing season. After the first showers the seeds are scattered in the ashes. They depend entirely on rain water and do not put any manure resulting in inferior quality of crop yield. In the absence of ploughing and manuring the soil becomes impoverished and then they choose a new place where trees are again cut down by axe. Shifting-axe-cultivation has caused deforestation.

(iv) Craftsmen form a small proportion of the tribes in India. Some of the tribes partly depend for their livelihood on handicrafts like basket-making, spinning, weaving, pottery-making.

metal-working, iron-smelting and rope-making comprise the craftsmen. For example, the Birhors of Bihar earn part of their livelihood by making ropes and selling them in the local markets.

- (v) Pastoralists are very few in number. The Todas of Niligiri Hills and the Bhotiyas of Darjeeling are examples of tribes with pastoral economy. Just as the Ahirs among the non-tribals depended in the past on cattle-rearing economy, the Todas economic organization is built around their buffaloe herds. The Todas depend entirely upon milk and milk products by selling them in the neighbouring market.
- (vi) Industrial labourers form a considerable proportion of tribals. The industries have affected the tribals in two ways. Either the tribals have migrated to industrial areas in search of unskilled jobs or industries have sprung up in areas where they inhabit. The labourers in the tea gardens of Assam and Darjeeling district of West Bengal are full of the Munda, Oraon, Santal, Gond, Khond, and other tribes of Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Several industries have sprung up in Central India rich in natural ores. Most of the unskilled or semi-skilled labourers in these industries are tribals. The manganese industry of Madhya Pradesh has over 50% of tribal labour force. In Tata Iron and Steel Company about 17,000 workers are tribals. All these have established a tribal-urban-industrial continuum.

Check your progress

3. What is Shifting Axe Cultivation?

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28.3.6 Bose's Classification

Nirmal Kumar Bose (1971 : 6-30) has classified the tribal groups of India into three economic categories: 1) Hunters, fishers and gatherers; 2) Shifting cultivators; and 3) Peasants and artisans.

- (i) Hunter, fishers and gatherers collect plants and animals from the natural environment rather than produce them as in agriculture and stock-raising. The Onge of Little Andaman, the Jarawas of the Great Andaman, and the Sentinelese of North Sentinel Island represent this economic group. They gather roots from the forests, collect turtle's eggs, crabs and shellfish from the beaches of the sea, hunt pigs in the jungles for their meat and fat and get fish from the shallow waters round the coral reefs and in lagoons. They are self-contained tribal groups.
- (ii) Shifting cultivators are simple form of cultivators. The tribes in Tripura, Manipur, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram, some of the tribes of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh are shifting cultivators. In all the north-eastern states shifting cultivation is known

as Jhum or Jum; in Orissa Podu, Dahi or Kamana; Penda in Madhya Pradesh; and Podu in Andhra Pradesh. Those who practise shifting cultivation do not themselves move from place to form new settlements. What they do is, every family goes on adding a fresh patch of forest every year, while a patch of land which has been used several times is left free to recuperate. The villages themselves remain in the same place, generation after generation.

- (iii) Peasants and artisans include those tribes which practise a comparatively simple form of production. They have contacts with caste peasants and others in their neighbourhood. The tribal peasants may work in mines and quarries, work as forest labourers and sometimes do fishing, hunting, rearing of livestock and many other economic activities. The Santals of Bihar, Orissa and Bengal, the Mundas and Oraons of Bihar and the Gonds of Central India have thus largely given up their attachment to more primitive forms of production, and taken to work which affiliates them with the prosperous caste groups living in their neighbourhood. These tribes are no longer self-contained as the fishers, hunters and gatherers happen to be.

Apart from the peasant tribes there are the artisan tribes who resemble their caste neighbours in their economic activities. The Lohars and the Asurs of Chota Nagpur and the Pentia Bhoi of Orissa are tribal artisans. They adopted themselves to local situations by specialization in particular occupations and those occupations are generally regarded as their monopoly. Some became artisans producing special types of commodities. The brass workers produce grain-measures and toys by the lost-wax process. The Hira potters of Assam produce hand-made pottery which other Hindus use for domestic purposes but not for ceremonial purposes. The Asurs of Chota Nagpur are blacksmiths. All these artisan tribes come under the category of tribal populations which have become converted into artisan caste groups.

28.3.7 Vidyarthi and Rai's Classification

L.P. Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai have classified the tribes of India into eight economic types. However, like other anthropologists, they too emphasized that no particular type is either completely adopted by the tribes or exclusively the means of livelihood for them. Vidyarthi and Rai's classification of tribes into economic type is as follows:

- (i) **The forest hunter type** : Tribes coming under this type have mainly three economic resources which vary according to season, cycle and area. (a) food-gathering, (b) hunting and (c) fishing. They are found in small pockets in different states of India. Under this typology are the Birhors, Hill Kharias and Korwas of Bihar; the Chenchus and Yanadis of Andhra Pradesh; and the Onges, Jarwas, Sentinelese, Shompen and Nicobarese in Andaman and Nicobar Islands. These tribes living in forests depend for their livelihood on hunting and catching preys like deer, hares, birds, monkeys and fishes. From the forest they also collect roots, tubers, fruits, nuts, flowers, leaves, bamboo, honey and wax, and fibres as raw materials for making ropes.
- (ii) **The hill cultivator type** : The tribes practising shifting cultivation in hilly area come under this typology. This is done by three techniques: (a) Slash and burn cultivation with the help of axe and digging stick, (b) hoe-and-burn cultivation, and (c) terrace-cultivation in Tarai areas. This typology is similar to Majumdar and Madan's shifting-axe-cultivator type.

- (iii) **The plain agriculturist type :** For all the major tribes of India agriculture of simple type requiring ploughing with two animals, is the main source of their livelihood. They are settled agriculturists and the villages work in extreme co-operation on reciprocal basis at the time of transplanting, harvesting and other occasions. This typology is similar to Majumdar and Madan's agriculturists type. This type is represented by Santal, Munda, Oraon and Ho of Bihar, the Khasis of and Jaintias of Assam and Meghalaya; the Khasas and Tharus of Uttar Pradesh, the Bhils and Korkus of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Maharashtra; the Minas of Rajasthan; the Koyas of Andhra Pradesh and the Malayalis of Tamil Nadu.
- (iv) **The simple artisan type :** This type is similar to Majumdar and Madan's craftsmen type. The tribes coming under this typology earn their livelihood by basket-making, spinning, weaving, making pottery, metal-working, iron-smelting and making wooden products. The Gujjars and Kinnauris of Himachal Pradesh produce wood products; the Kanjars of Uttar Pradesh make baskets and ropes; the Lohars and Karmails of Bihar repair the agricultural implements of the agricultural tribes; the Chik-Baraiks of Bihar weave clothes for the Mundas and Oraons; the Mahlis of Bihar and Irulas of Tamil Nadu and the Kolams of Maharashtra make baskets, mats and bamboo products.
- (v) **The pastoral and cattle-herder type :** This type is similar to Majumdar and Madan's pastoralist type discussed earlier in this lesson.
- (vi) **The folk-artist type :** The tribes, with singing and dancing, music barding, acrobatics, conjuring, snake-charming, etc. as their main occupation, have been placed in this category. Actually these people are folk-artists and economically depend on their art. The Nats of south-eastern Uttar Pradesh earn by singing, acrobating and rope-dancing. The Pardhans of Madhya Pradesh are bards of the Gond tribe. Their jokes and humours are enjoyed by the Gonds. The Kotas of Nilgiri Hills offer music which is essential for conducting the ceremonies of the Todas or the Badaga. In Rajasthan the Kalbelas commonly known as seperas earn their livelihood by snake-charming, dancing, singing and magic-shows.
- (vii) **Labourer-type :** Agricultural and non-agricultural tribes with a considerable population who traditionally come from the agriculturist or artisan type have adopted an economic life of casual worker or labourer and whatever wages they get is their income. They may get employment on daily basis. The agricultural work is mostly available in the locality itself within a radius of a few kilometres. The poor and landless tribals in all 'plain agriculturist type', 'hill cultivatory type' and 'simple artisan type' can be considered under the typology of 'agricultural labourer type'. The non-agricultural labourer type is similar to Majumdar and Madan's 'industrial labourer type' discussed earlier in this lesson.
- (viii) **The skilled, white collared job traders type :** In this typology no particular Indian tribe can be placed. Due to the spread of Christianity and education a very small percentage of all tribals have started earning their livelihood by working in different offices, hospitals, business enterprises, industries and administrative jobs. Due to the percentage reservation of seats for Scheduled Tribes in all India and State Government services many tribals are seen working in all types of government or semi-government jobs on equal footing with the non-tribals.

Check your progress

4. Vidyarthi and Rai classified tribes into how many economic types?

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28.4 SUMMING UP

Social classification of tribes refers to the categorization of tribes into different types by their social organization, i.e., the arrangement and working of their social units. The social units or groups of a tribe may be families, villages, lineages, clans, phratries, sub-tribes and moieties. Tarak Chandra Das, Syam Charan Dube, Lalita Prasad Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai attempted a classification of Indian tribes into specific social types. Several anthropologists have tried to classify the tribes of India on the basis of their primary means of livelihood. Among the anthropologists who have attempted economic classification of the tribes of India the most prominent are D.N. Majumdar, T.N. Madan, T.C. Das, Yogesh Atal, S.C. Dube, N.K. Bose, L.P. Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai.

28.5 KEY WORDS

Agamy	: The lack of a cultural preference or prescription concerning whether one marries some one from within his or her group or from some other group.
Descent group	: A corporate group whose membership is made up of persons who share genealogical connections to a single ancestor.
Orthogamy	: The cultural preference or prescription for marriage with persons of a selected group.

28.6 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Hutton	: Tribes in India
Madan and Majumdar	: Introduction to Social Anthropology

28.7 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in 30 lines each :

1. Explain the criteria employed by T.C. Das in classifying the tribes of India into social types.
2. What criteria are suggested by S.C. Dube to evolve a typology of social designs of Indian tribes?

3. What in your opinion are the strong points of Dube's classification of social types among Indian tribes?
4. According to Vidyarthi and Rai which social types are existing among the tribes of the Middle Indian region?
5. According to Vidyarthi and Rai what structural and organisational features are most common to the tribes of India?
6. Enumerate the common features of the various anthropological classifications of Indian tribes into economic categories.
7. Explain Majumdar's classification of Indian tribes into distinct economic types.
8. Give Dube's classification of Indian tribes into specific economic groupings.
9. Mention Majumdar and Madan's classification of Indian tribes into economic types.

II. Answer the following in 15 lines each :

1. State the criteria employed by various anthropologists for classifying the Indian tribes into distinct structural types.
2. What, according to Dube, is a structural or social design of a tribe in India?
3. Give the structural formulae of any six tribes inhabiting the North-Eastern Himalayan region.
4. Give Das' classification of Indian tribes into specific groups.
5. Enumerate the differences between the economic classifications of Indian tribes as suggested by Atal and Das.
6. Describe the economic activities of the peasant and artisan tribes in India.
7. Which tribal groups live even to this day on hunting, fishing and gathering?

BLOCK X

Tribal Welfare

Unit 29 : Culture contact and Tribal problems.

Unit 30 : Policy towards Tribes in Pre-independent India.

Unit 31 : Constitutional Safeguards to Tribes.

Unit 32 : Tribes in Andhra Pradesh - A broad outline.

Unit 33 : Tribal welfare in Andhra Pradesh.

UNIT - 29 : CULTURE CONTACT AND TRIBAL PROBLEMS

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29.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to discuss about the different types of culture contact situations, culture contact processes and tribal problems.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * discuss culture contact situation through ages,
- * explain the types of culture contact situations,
- * explain the different types of culture contact processes through ages,
- * discuss different types of tribal problems.

29.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied about the classification of tribes on the basis of structure and organization, on the basis of their primary means of livelihood, and on the basis of levels of integration. In this unit we will study the different types of contact situations and contact

processes that involved continuous interaction between tribals and non-tribals and how certain customs and traditions have contributed to the creation and continuity of some problems to specific tribes and some to all tribes.

29.2 CULTURE CONTACT SITUATION AND TRIBALS

29.2.1 Culture contact situation through Ages

The tribal people of India, who are now referred to as Adivasis (dwellers from the beginning), Adimajati (aboriginal races), Vanvasis (forest dwellers), Vanyajati (forest people), Upajati (secondary races) Paharis (hill dwellers), Girijans (hill folk), Anusuchit Janjatis (Scheduled tribes) and Scheduled Tribes, have been in almost continuous contact with their neighbours, who live by farming and a number of specialized manual industries. This contact goes back to Vedic Age. In Vedic literature there are references to people who were different in physical appearance and who worshipped strange gods, so that contact between the tribes and the farming and cattle-rearing people who crowded in the more open plains has been a continuous one over the centuries. The contact of tribes with non-tribal populations has never ceased even during the Epic Age, for in Ramayana and Mahabharata there are references to direct contact of non-tribals with tribal groups (Jana) and tribal abodes (janasthana) in Central India.

In puranic Age also the tribals of India, had been in continuous contact with their non-tribal neighbours. There are references in Puranas which show that the aboriginals such as Saoras, Dasyus, Nishadhas and even Rakshasas had come into contact with groups of people who possessed better technology and higher social status in those ancient days. However, these aboriginal groups had resisted the non-tribal Aryan invasion but in course of time due to varied interactional situations, they have had to assimilate most of the major Hindu traditions and thus reorient their manners and customs.

During the Hindu and the Muslim periods the tribals had more or less continuous contact with non-tribals as revealed by historical sources (Roy Burman 1971; xiv Aiyappam 1973:40-43). The British had come at a time when Mughal power was in decay. As a result of the weakening of government, trade had languished between one part of the country and another, as the roads had become infested with marauders. So, tribals and non-tribals had to restrict their contacts with each other.

With the establishment of British Government, and opening up of roads and communications, swarms of non-tribals from the places located in the neighbourhood of hills and forests penetrated into the homeland of tribal people and established themselves permanently amidst them. This was also on a rather small scale, comparable to what had taken place before, but there was a vital difference in the quality of contact which now took place. Peasants, small traders, and money lenders began to flock into fastness which had hitherto been avoided. The money-lenders, and several others tried to exploit the tribals in various ways. Even some of the Governmental officials directly in touch with the tribals, and the contractors, took undue advantage of the illiteracy, simplicity and straightforwardness of the tribals. The Christian missionaries who had been there to proselytize the tribals had also created some social problems to the tribal communities. As a result, the tribal groups of our country had to face many tension-charged and conflicting situations. Eventhough the British tried to protect the tribes, the tribals in general began to experience more difficulties. Encroachment on forest by other groups led to the cessation of the rights of the tribal occupants. The land settlement policy also affected very seriously the system of tribal ownership. Oppression of the money-lenders, rapacious enhancement of the rent

by landlords and so on ultimately led to a situation of tribal unrest throughout the country at different periods between 1772 and 1930. It has been estimated that over the whole of India, there were more than these economic revolts failed completely to develop a political edge. All that happened was that these revolts either fizzled out or were suppressed easily by the government. Knowingly or unknowingly, the Government made it possible for non-tribals to come and settle in tribal territories and exploit the tribals.

The Government realized what was happening. It introduced protective measures in order to bring relief and save the tribals from the exploitation of traders and moneylenders. Not that the latter rendered no service to the tribesmen. Peasants had indeed extended efficient cultivation where it was absent before. Traders and money-lenders had come forward to help tribal people with credit when no other help was available. But the price paid by the tribes was heavy, as always happens when private ownership and the profit motive extend into areas where they had been absent before.

It was at this time that the British firms had discovered that the foothills of the Himalayas were excellent for the cultivation of tea. Similarly there were hilly areas in the southern peninsula where coffee could be grown. But all this needed a large labour force. The increasing population of tribal people which suffered from the shortage of land became a tempting field for recruitment. British companies established depots for the recruitment of indentured labour. These were in Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, where a large number of Santal, Oraon, Munda and Kharia labourers lived. A number of industries were also established in mineral rich tribal areas in Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. The establishment of industries and urban centres in tribal belts had brought contact situations that were different from those that existed before. The situations involved continuous direct interaction of millions of tribals and non-tribals in tribal tracts of Central India.

After Independence, a significant change has taken place in the contact situations that involved the interaction of tribals with non-tribals. There has been rapid industrial development in tribal areas. Tribals have acquired new political rights through adult franchise. Both these developments have altered the relationship of tribals with non-tribals. The administrative officers and missionaries have introduced significant changes in the tribal cultures every where. The tribal people have learnt to imitate the ways of these non-tribals living amidst them. The interent vendors of imported toys and trinkets, the cloth merchants and travelling agents who tour with patient medicins, varieties of textiles, and aluminium, brass and bell-metal utensils have penetrated into the most inaccessible tribal areas. They too have left their impress on the tribal cultures. The tremendous development of transport and communications has led to the infiltration of alien traits of culture, into tribal cultures. Existence of mineral resources in an around tribal tracts has helped immigration of aliens who influenced the tribal cultures in a variety of ways. The displacement of tribal people in many areas from their hereditary possession of cultivated lands has led to a change of occupation. The tribes that eked out their livelihood from the forests have had to enlist as members of gangs which go out to the tea gardens and plantations for small cash earnings which do not even supply their primary material needs. Yet they bring back with them traits of culture which are passed on and accepted by their own people on account of the prestige they possess. Tribal unrest had appeared in the form of agitations, uprisings, rebellions, revolts, insurrections and revitalization movements started by several tribals like the Nagas, the Mizos, the Gonds, the inhabitants of Bastar, Chota Nagpur, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and West Bengal.

What is the situation today? Today most of the tribes are in contact with non-tribal groups, have learnt traits of their neighbours, have borrowed the patterns of their dress and developed an

intricate material economy. In the coal and steel industries and the hydro-electric projects established in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar in the last thirty years, thousands of tribals alongside innumerable non-tribals are working as unskilled labourers and trained specialists. Due to the introduction of some new transport and communication facilities, new industries, hydro-electric projects and developmental programmes into the tribal belts and due to the presence of large numbers of official agencies, voluntary organizations, social workers, Christian missionaries, forest contractors, money lenders, traders and some peasant populations in the tribal areas, the contact between tribals and non-tribals has acquired new dimensions. Ruthless exploitation by money-lenders, merchants and other non-tribals has caused heartburning to the tribals to a degree that was never before. Tribals have become restless. Consequently a political movement called Naxalite Movement has shaken West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and many other parts of India. The tribals are bent on achieving their demand of elimination of merchants and money-lenders from their traditional abodes. There are many other situations which have not only fomented the outbursts of tribals, but also affected the fabric of national integration, though in different degrees (Vidyarthi and Rai 1976; Bhowmich 1980:6-7).

29.2.2 Types of culture contact situation through Ages

This brief summary of events from ancient to present times reveals the various contact situations in which the tribals and non-tribals have been placed. In the Vedic times the contact situation involved a peaceful interaction between tribals and non-tribals. During the Epic period the tribes were in a situation that marked their withdrawal to geographically marginal areas reflecting their escape from the agents of Hindu culture, namely the Aryans. At the same time the contact situation highlighted the circumstances in which the tribes had to assimilate major Hindu traditions and reorient their manners and customs. During the Hindu period the contact situation was marked by uninterrupted interaction between the tribals and non-tribals. On the contrary, during the Muslim period the contact situation involved very restricted interaction between the tribal groups and non-tribal groups. During the British period the contact situation was marked by a ceaseless heavy flow of caste populations into tribal areas, exploitation of tribals by caste people, conflict and tensions between tribals and caste people and tribal unrest in many parts of the country. The same situation more or less persists even to this day.

In the light of the facts mentioned above, it may be said that culture contact situations varied with reference to certain features such as power, mutual respect, hostility, regulation, and primary-secondary contacts and they may be classified into different types : situation of equal or unequal dominance, situation of mutual respect, situation of exploitation, hostile situation, regulated or controlled situation, primary situation, intermediate situation or full secondary situation.

(i) In culture contact situation of equal dominance the interaction is between peers. The interaction of tribals with non-tribals during the early Vedic Age seems to have conformed to this type of situation. But during the later Vedic Age and during and after the Epic Age, culture contact situation was of unequal dominance type. In a situation of unequal dominance, the non-tribals controlled a disproportionate number of the responses made by the tribal groups.

(ii) Culture contact situation of mutual respect is marked by varying degrees of mutual appreciation. In this situation each party respects the culture of the other. If one is larger in scale and possesses greater social power and more knowledge, these resources are used not autocratically but to help the other party develop in what-ever direction the latter chooses. Such a

relationship existed as the ideal in the royal policies during Hindu and Muslim period and the colonial policy during the British period. In practice, however, the policy was scarcely apparent.

(iii) In exploitative culture contact situation, the non-tribal group is interested primarily in exploiting the tribals. The situation is marked by fear, rivalry or ethnocentrism. Such a situation existed in the past two centuries, and continues to exist in the present century also.

(iv) The culture contact situation of hostile type features violence, discrimination and rejections. In the last two centuries the contacts of tribal groups with the caste groups in many places were marred by hostility, violence, fear, contempt, hatred and rejection expressed by either side.

(v) In primary culture contact situation individuals reared in one homogenous tribe, through migration or otherwise are faced with the problem of adjusting to the culture formed in another homogenous society. The interaction of different tribal groups working together for an industry in Assam marks this type of contact situation.

All these different types of contact situations are different sets of circumstances or states of affairs in which the tribals and non-tribals interacted with each other in different time periods. That is to say, culture contact is a situation which refers to combination of circumstances marked by a direct relatively continuous interaction between two or more cultures, one culture representing that of a tribal society and another one usually representing that of a non-tribal society.

29.3 CULTURE CONTACT PROCESS AND TRIBALS

29.3.1 Culture contact process through Ages

Culture contact is a situation as well as a process. From the standpoint of situation culture contact refers mainly to a combination of circumstances marked by relatively continuous interaction between two or more cultures, between contact designates all the continuous series of changes that ensue when two or more cultures come into lasting direct or mediated contact. So, culture contact is a process in action. It is a main process within which there are several processes which constitute it. The constituent processes are : diffusion or spread of cultural elements from one group to another, origination or creation of certain new cultural elements to solve new problems and displacement or disappearance of old cultural elements in favour of new. These processes are discussed in detail in lesson-2 of Unit-III.

What types of processes constituted the main process of culture contact that involved the interaction of tribals and non-tribals in India through Ages? In the Vedic, Epic and Puranic Ages, the contact of tribes with non-tribal groups was very slow and resulted in absorption of some of the cultural elements of non-tribals by the tribals. During the Hindu and Muslim period, the contact of tribes with non-tribal communities were usually slow and spread over many generations. During the British period, the contact of tribes with non-tribals was fast and spread over several generations. In cases where the tribals were not wholly absorbed in the social system of the non-tribals, and were able to live in comparatively large numbers they retained their language and a considerable part of their social and religious institutions inspite of radical changes in their economic relationship with others. In more recent times, the contact of many tribal groups with an industrial system of production has been swift and on a massive scale, the new culture adopted by the tribe.

Check your progress

1. What are the constituent processes of culture contact.

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29.3.2 Types of culture contact processes through Ages

The above mentioned brief history of interaction between tribals and non-tribals reveals the various constituent processes of the main process of culture contact : diffusion, origination, displacement, culture conflict, and assimilation.

(i) Diffusion of cultural elements from tribals to non-tribals and vice-versa was common within the culture contact process. From the ancient times artefacts, ideas and many other-items diffused from non-tribals to tribals. The number of cultural elements that spread from tribes to castes was lesser than the number of cultural elements that followed from the castes to tribes.

(ii) Origination of cultural elements was favoured by the process of culture contact. During the Epic period and later periods the tribals in contact with non-tribals were confronted with certain problems that had no ready-made solutions. As a result the tribes had to find new cultural elements to reorient themselves to their manners and customs, to find new ways for utilizing the available resources, and to maintain relations with their neighbours at different places and times.

(iii) Displacement occurred when a trait disappeared from tribal cultures. Many tribes in contact with the non-tribals lost their mother-tongue. They acquired many new customs in the place of old. They abandoned their magico-religious beliefs and practices in favour of the Hindu religious beliefs and practices.

(iv) Culture conflict resulted from contact between tribals and non-tribals. Culture contact brought with it disparate values, identifications, and loyalties. It posed difficult problems of relearning, involving discrimination of tribal groups by non-tribal groups, and introduced wants that could not always be supplied. The state of affairs in almost all tribal areas where the industries and urban centres were established, the tribal cultures were in conflict with the non-tribal cultures. Furthermore, the values preached by Christian missionaries, the technological, economic and other ideas introduced by the official and non-official agencies, and the improved tools and techniques supplied by the personnel of development programmes were in conflict with those already in existence among the tribal groups. This process of culture conflict persists even to the present day.

(v) Assimilation has resulted when the tribes have come into contact with the caste groups. In this process there was atleast relatively intense social interaction and cultural fusion, so that a single way of life emerged from a situation of cultural pluralism. Heavy cultural assimilation took place with relatively little social acceptance and biological mixture. In this process, a culture was not only adopted but also absorbed and therefore became an integral part of the adopting culture. This process occurred in Gonds of Andhra Pradesh and Central India and Santals of West Bengal. Their cultures were constantly influenced by Hindu culture so much so that they were almost Hindu in culture. The Gonds and Santals have been assimilated so much by Hindu culture that they are existing today all most as Hindu castes.

Thus, due to contact with non-tribals, the tribal cultures have not remained static, rather they became dynamic and they have constantly changed. In the process of culture contact, the cultural elements of non-tribals diffused into the cultures of tribals. Moreover, the tribals have originated new items to solve new problems that they have faced during their contact with non-tribals. Some cultural elements of the tribes were also displaced by the cultural elements of non-tribals. After the spread of the culture traits from non-tribals to tribals, the tribals have simply adopted some cultural traits of the non-tribals. Culture contact has also brought with it conflict between some cultural elements of the tribals and non-tribals. The tribals have also sought to stop the course of change in their culture.

29.4 TYPES OF TRIBAL PROBLEMS

The Tribal problems can be classified into two broad types: those which are basically inherent in the life of the tribals and those which arose under the situation and from the process of culture contact.

29.4.1 Basically inherent tribal problems

Several problems are basically inherent in the life of the tribals who have been conditioned to a great extent to face them. Eco-systems of varied forms regulate their way of life and the associated problems thereof. Certain customs and traditions in tribal culture have, directly or indirectly, contributed a great deal to the creation and continuity of some problems. That means, the tribal population of India keeps on perpetuating certain specifically distinguishable, cultural traits. The tribals are the oldest inhabitants of India. Their villages and huts are scattered widely in forests, hills, mountains and plains throughout the length and breadth of this country. In terms of population of individual tribes there is an extremely wide variation, ranging from a mere handful (the Andamanese, the Shompens, the Onges and the Todas comprising only 19, 71, 129 and 714 souls respectively) to several hundred thousands (the Bhils, the Gonds and the Santals exceed 4 millions each). A similar situation exists in their racial and linguistic aspects. They belong to several racial stocks and speak a large number of languages and dialects. Likewise there is a variety in their economic systems. There are food collectors, trappers, hunters, artisans, shifting cultivators, settled agriculturists and labourers of various kinds. The nature of social organization also varies considerably, from simple one of nomadic and little known communities to larger and complex one of bigger and permanently settled tribes. The religion varies from tribe to tribe. The overwhelming majority of them claim to be Hindus. A good number also profess Christianity. Buddhism and Islam professed by the tribals only in certain places.

All these varied forms of eco-systems, besides the economic, linguistic, social and religious customs and traditions of the tribals have contributed a great deal to the creation and continuity of some problems. Examine how the eco-system and the economic system have created some problems to the tribals. Over 2.6 million tribals, in the North-Eastern and the Central zone depend on shifting cultivation which is known by different names : Jhum or Jum in Assam and Tripura, Deppa in Bastar, Khil in the Himalayas, Kumari in Western Ghats, Bewar, Dahia and Penda in several parts of Madhya Pradesh, Pama, Dahi, Koman or Bringa in North Orissa, Gundia or Dongarchas in South Orissa, Waha in south-east Rajasthan, Podu in Andhra Pradesh, and Punam in Nilgiri Hills of Tamil Nadu and Wynad area in Kerala. The trees and bushes are cut and dired. They are, then, burnt before the start of rains. This is followed by the sowing of seeds which germinate and grow when it rains. The site is shifted every two to three years. This type of cultivation was more popular in the absence of advanced technology. Certain superstitious beliefs and ecological conditions also have had hand in the matter. Shifting cultivation is quite an uneconomic enterprise as it leads to deforestation and social erosion.

There are other practices such as human sacrifice, head-hunting and cannibalism in tribal societies that contribute directly or indirectly to some problems. Human sacrifice relates to the general welfare of its practitioners. This may be foundation sacrifice or field-sacrifice. The foundation sacrifice is a custom of sacrificing a human being at the foundation of an important building, bridge, tank or well. Several tribes in Chota Nagpur are always found spreading false rumours regarding the sacrifice of children whenever a bridge in their locality is to be constructed. It is believed that the spirit of the victim will keep a watch over the building, bridge or well. Human sacrifice at the foundation of bridges has been interpreted in a different ways. When people cross a river without a bridge, there are chances of drowning during rainy season but after the construction of a bridge people can safely cross the river. Thus the river goddess is deprived of her human victim. So, the sacrifice is a ritualistic compensation offered to the river goddess. In field sacrifice human beings are slaughtered in the agricultural field. Human sacrifice to secure good crops was common among the Dravidian-speaking tribes of India in general and the Khonds of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh and the Oraons of Chota Nagpur in particular. The Khonds contrived to kidnap their human victims through secret agents from the plains. Apart from non-tribals, they used children born of illegal unions and women who ceased to bear children amongst themselves as their human victims. All these victims, known as Meriahs were generally innocent men, women and children who were purchased and reared for years for being sacrificed at the appropriate time to the earth-goddess named Tari Pemma. After the sacrifice, the flesh was divided into two portions, one portion was buried in the field as an offering to the earth-goddess to serve as a guarantee of good harvest and the other was distributed in equal shares among the heads of all the households of the village. The Khonds used to bury it in their best fields. Thus the flesh and bone were treated as magical manure. This custom was suppressed in 1850s. Among the tribes of Chota Nagpur in general and the Oraon in particular human sacrifice or Otanga was once very common. But now it has almost disappeared. Illiteracy, ignorance and some superstitions of the tribals are responsible for several of their problems related to population decline, economy, education, health and hygiene and environment. All these problems are thus the creations of their own cultures.

Check your progress

2. What are the problems inherent in the life of tribals.

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29.5 CULTURE CONTACT AND TRIBAL PROBLEMS

Even though some of the tribal problems are the creation of the tribal cultures themselves, there are several tribal problems which are due to the contact of tribal cultures with those of non-tribals. These tribal problems created by culture contact are related to environmental, demographic, economic, social, religious, political, educational and psychological aspects. All these problems may now be discussed in detail.

29.5.1 Environmental problems

In many tribal areas of India, contact of tribals with non-tribals has been accompanied by the introduction of new powerful weapons, new techniques of plant cultivation like ploughing,

and intensified use of land for many crops. The new artefacts and practices helped alter the geographical environment to some extent.

(i) Powerful weapons like guns led to the extermination of several varieties of fauna and reduction of large herds of game animals in almost all parts of tribal areas in India.

(ii) Reduction in the average cultivable land holding among the tribals due to grabbing by non-tribals and increasing pressure of tribal population has influenced the tribals to resort to more and more shifting cultivation and has encouraged soil erosion and deforestation in many tribal tracts in India.

(iii) The fertility of land has become seriously depleted under intensive cultivation introduced by non-tribals into some scattered parts of tribal areas like Chota Nagpur and Bastar.

Deforestation has almost everywhere upset the eco-systems of tribal areas. The destruction of several flora and fauna, the encouragement of soil erosion and deforestation and the depletion of soil fertility have tilted the ecological balances in many tribal areas. As a consequence some of the tribals are now facing the problems of scarcity of game, scarcity of land for cultivation, and paucity of sacred groves for worship in their respective environments.

29.5.2 Demographic problems

Contact of tribals with non-tribals is responsible for a gradual decline in the tribal populations. The Andamanese show a decline in number from a few hundreds in 1881 to nineteen in 1961. The Malaryans from Kerala have suffered a heavier loss from 2,853 in 1921 to 128 in 1931. The Todas of Tamil Nadu who numbered 2,689 in 1881 now number about 800. The Asurs of Bihar have declined from 3,099 in 1911 to 635 in 1931. In Andhra Pradesh, the Korawas have decreased from 1,204 in 1921 to 1,121 in 1931. There are many more tribals which have shown a decline in their total strength. Thus it is evident that several tribes are preparing for an exit like the Andamanese. The demographic problems arising out of contact of tribals with non-tribals may be summed up as follows :

(i) Fluctuations in the birth rate, death rate and other demographic indices of tribal populations have followed from adhered diets and newly introduced diseases. These fluctuations are causing depopulation of several tribal groups.

(ii) Labour recruitment that separate men and women are interfering with reproduction of tribal populations. These are not uncommon conditions appearing with culture contact situations.

(iii) The dwindling number of the friendly Andaman islanders and the hostility of the unfriendly ones are unique problems. Out of the four tribes of the Andaman Islands, the Great Andamanese and the Onge are, for long, in contact with the non-tribals, and their population is constantly towards decline.

Check your progress

3. What are the demographic problems created by culture contact?

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29.5.3 Economic problems

Contact of tribals with non-tribals is responsible for the creation of several economic problems such as land alienation, indebtedness, exploitation, bonded labour and poverty in almost every tribal area of this country.

(i) The tribal land used for shifting cultivation is held to be unclassed State Forest and the possessors can be ousted without any sort of compensation, as often has been done.

(ii) Quarrying stone, gravel and ores for private use is forbidden to the owner of the site of shifting cultivation where they may lie and the license fee demanded for quarrying is prohibitive.

(iii) The problem of land alienation is very much pronounced among the tribals. Before contact of the tribals with non-tribals, there was enough land for all tribals. The land was originally under rajahs. The rajahs receive their annual land rent either in the form of services or in kind. When the British rule extended into the tribal areas, the rajahs had to pay to the Government their tribute in cash. As the demands of the Government progressively increased, more and more pressure was put upon the tribal tenants, who had also to pay in cash. The small traders who settled down in tribal areas now found an opportunity of making money. They became money-lenders and as the tribal people knew little of accounts, it was possible for them to fleece the tribals in a most shameful way. The money lenders lent money to tribals who, in due course, felt victim to them and could never come out of their clutches. To repay the debt, the tribal had to part with his land. The illegal practice of money-lending has led to land alienation. The tribals have been deprived of all the best lands which they possessed previously by the process of mounting land alienation.

Tribals, being simple people, hesitate to come forward to defend their rights. In many cases benami transactions are taking place because the tribals are more interested in the annual rent than in keeping away the non-tribals from their land. Thus the fears of antagonising the non-tribal and misplaced sense of loyalty among tribals make it difficult to arrest illegal transfers. Consequently, in many cases the tribal land had been transferred to the non-tribal money lenders for the repayment of loans.

The problem of bonded labour and slavery is most common in many tribal areas. The practice of bonded labour is known by different names in different regions. It is known as Sagari in Rajasthan, Halpati in Gujarat, Mahjdari, Hali Kalia, Harvathi or Naukari Nama in Madhya Pradesh, jeetha in Karnataka, Vayla in Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Gothi in Orissa and Gothi or Vetti in Andhra Pradesh. The main feature of bonded labour is that a tribal pledges his person and members of his family against the loan received from the non-tribal merchants, money-lenders and sometimes landlords. Once a tribal is in the vicious circle of economic exploitation, it is an

impossibility for him to get out of it. The amount of his debt goes on mounting year after year making him serve the non-tribal merchant, money-lender or landlord in perpetuity.

The problems of indebtedness, exploitation and poverty are the creations of contact of tribals with non-tribals. Most of the tribal people are indebted to the non-tribal traders, merchants and money-lenders. The important reasons for their indebtedness are : unproductive agriculture, expensive festivals, payment of bride price or dowry and lack of proper marketing facilities for the forest produce which they collect.

29.5.4 Social problems

The isolation of tribes has its own social problems : it hinders culture growth and causes stagnation in the community ventures. But contact of tribals with non-tribals also poses many social problems, specially in the context of adjustment of the communities influenced. The more common social problems faced by the tribals in culture contact situation are : tribal discomfort, moral corruption, adoption and assimilation of caste elements and social disorganization of tribal groups.

(i) The problem of discomfort with reference to certain areas of social life is very common in almost all tribal areas of the subcontinent. The influx of non-tribals in tribal habitations made the tribals money minded. Even the bride-price, which the tribals before contact paid in kind, is now decided through cash payments. In certain tribal groups the value of bride-price has gone as high as rupees two thousand. For a tribal family, in general, it is highly difficult to manage for the payment of bride-price from one's own resources. This causes discomfort to the tribals.

(ii) Contact of tribals with non-tribals has also introduced moral corruption into tribal areas. The youth houses known as bachelors halls or youth dormitories, where tribal boys and girls have been enjoying a free life, have once formed an important part of the social organization and community life of Indian tribes. The youth dormitories at many places have started disappearing. At many places the non-tribals have attempted to share sex with the tribals. As a consequence some tribals like the Bhotia, Bhuiya and Muria Gonds have already started doing away with the dormitories and some tribals like the Oraons have almost dispensed with the dormitories. Even in some other places where pre-marital sex life is free or where the women are allowed to keep lovers, some non-tribals have caused trouble. Further, the establishment of various commercial concerns, and the connected human settlements in tribal belts led to similar kinds of effects.

The development of tea gardens, the establishment of steel and other plants and some hydro-electric projects have introduced new varieties of liquor, gambling and exploitation of sex. The excise laws in tribal areas are hitting the tribal groups hard. The outstill system has led to an increase in drunkenness and immorality. The Government is accused of making money by this means. Liquor has become cheap and the tribal population who used to brew their own liquor are finding it uneconomic to do so and are taking more and more to liquor shops.

(iii) Because of contact of tribals with the caste Hindus the tribal societies have become disorganized. Tribal groups have adopted and assimilated many caste elements. They absorbed the ideas regarding untouchability, purity, pollution and hierarchy. Tribes like the Gonds, the Santals, the Juangs, the Bhuiyas and several others have already differentiated amongst themselves, various sub-social hierarchy. Lately emerging social stratification and ranking among the tribals have brought in new kinds of complications. Problems defined in the relevance of caste system have slowly started taking roots among tribals, especially in case of the more exposed ones.

When democratic India stands for integration, elimination of caste consciousness, abolition of untouchability, all unhealthy trends causing social disorganization and hatred within the tribal groups are most undesirable.

Check your progress

4. What are the social problems faced by tribes in India.

29.6 SUMMING UP

The tribal people of India have been in almost continuous contact with their neighbours who live by farming and a number of specialized manual industries. With the establishment of British government, and opening up of roads and communication swarms of non tribals from the places located in the neighbourhood of hills and forests penetrated into the home land of tribal people and established themselves permanently amidst them. Culture contact is a situation as well as a process. Diffusion origination, displacement, culture conflict and assimilation are the types of culture contact processes.

29.7 KEY WORDS

- Bhagat movement : A revitalization or solidarity movement started by the tribes of Chota Nagpur for purifying their religious and social life on the model of the higher form of Hinduism.
- Revitalization movement : A deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture.

29.8 SUGGESTED BOOKS

- Hutton : Indian Tribes
- Madan and Majumdar : Introduction to Social Anthropology

29.9 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following in 30 lines each.
1. "Culture contact is a situation as well as a process", Discuss.
 2. Discuss how the tribal people were in continuous contact with the non-tribals in India through Ages?
 3. How did the tribals and non-tribals interact with each other during the British period?
 4. Explain the various types of contact situations which involved the interaction between tribals and non-tribals in India?
 5. Explain how diffusion, origination and conflict of cultural traits took place when tribals and non-tribals came into contact with one another in India in the last several centuries.
 6. Identify the problems that are basically inherent in tribal cultures of India.

7. What types of problems that shifting cultivation, head-hunting and witchcraft have created in the tribal societies in India?
8. Identify the tribal problems which arose out of contact of tribals with non-tribals in India.

II. Answer the following in 10 lines each.

1. What type of contact did exist between tribals and non-tribals during Hindu and Muslim periods?
2. What are the highlights of contact situation that involved interaction between tribals and non-tribals in British period in India.
3. Describe the contact situation that involved dominance of the non-tribals over the tribals in India.
4. Examine the contact situation that involved exploitation of tribals by non-tribals in India.
5. What factors have altered the environment of tribals who were in contact with non-tribals in India?
6. Describe how contact of tribals with non-tribals has created demographic problems to the tribes in India.
7. What is assimilation? Explain how certain tribes in contact with non-tribals have assimilated caste characteristics in India.
8. What are the main economic problems of tribes which have come into contact with non-tribals in India?

BRAOU

UNIT - 30 : POLICY TOWARDS TRIBES IN PRE-INDEPENDENT INDIA

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- 30.0 Aims and Objectives
- 30.1 Introduction
- 30.2 Policies towards Tribals in Pre-British Period
 - 30.2.1 Ancient Policy of Segregation
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- 30.3 Policies towards Tribals during British Period
 - 30.3.1 Governments Policy of Segregation
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 - 30.3.3 Missionaries, Reformers and Loaders Policy of Assimilation
 - 30.3.4 Anthropologists go Slow Policy of Integration
- 30.4 Summing Up
- 30.5 Key Words
- 30.6 Suggested Books
- 30.7 Model Examination Quelstions

30.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to discuss the policy towards tribes in pre-independent India.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * explain how the ancient unwritten policy of segregation and the later Indian rulers policy of non-interference towards tribals existed before the British established their rule,
- * explain how the British Government evolved a policy of segregation towards tribals in different phases between late eighteenth and early twentieth century.

30.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied about Culture contact and tribal problems. In this unit we will study about policies towards tribals in pre-British period and the British evolved a policy of segregation towards tribals in different phases between late eighteenth century and early twentieth century.

30.2 POLICIES TOWARDS TRIBALS IN PRE-BRITISH PERIOD

30.2.1 Ancient Policy of Segregation

During the ancient days when Aryans invaded India, they seem to have an unwritten policy of segregating or setting apart the tribal groups in India from the general body of Aryan society. Segregation of Aryans and tribals had significant consequences for the organization of ethnic clusters, for race relations, and for the culture and society of Aryans and tribals. The tribals had to seek shelter in the comparative isolation of their hill abodes. The same hill abodes over a period

of several hundreds of centuries had served as the places of permanent habitation. Distinct from the earliest tribal groups that lived in India before Aryan invasion, a number of new tribal groups immigrated into India, even after Aryan invasion. The entry of these later tribal immigrants into the hilly tracts of India was a dramatic demonstration of the segregation policy of the dominant Aryan society.

Over centuries, the Aryans and the other races mixed up with each other, and became the more advanced neighbours to the tribals. The tribals living in the hills and forests have come in direct, indirect and occasional contact with the more advanced neighbours living in the plains. Although there was some culture give and take between the tribals and the non-tribals the tribals largely maintained their distinctive Cultures, and worked out their tribal destinies in forms which were deeprooted in the ancient traditions of their unique mythology. The unwritten policy of segregation created, implemented and continued through centuries has borne unmistakable testimony to the preservation of tribal cultures in the hilly and isolated parts of India.

Check your progress

1. What should we mean by the policy of Segregation towards tribals in Pre-Independent India?

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30.2.2 Ruler's Policy of non-interference

The Hindu rulers and Muslim rulers have followed a policy of non-interference towards the tribals in India. A famous Asokan rockedict assures the forest tribes in his dominion, of his compassion and desire for their well-being.

By and large, the policy of the Hindu and Muslim rulers in India about the tribal population had been that of tolerance for their different ways of life and noninter-ferece in their internal matters and respect for their traditions and institutions.

30.3 POLICIES TOWARDS TRIBALS DURING BRITISH PERIOD

30.3.1 Government policy of segregation

The policy of non-interference towards tribals formulated by the Hindu and Muslim rulers suffered a serious setback with the establishment of British Government and the introduction of the policy of segregating the tribal people into Excluded and Partially Excluded areas only to neglect them later.

The British rulers evolved their policy of segregating the tribals into Excluded and Partially Excluded areas in several stages as follows.

- (i) The British policy of segregation, in the first stage, appeared in the form of isolation of all tribal tracts from the rest of India. The British rulers isolated all tribal areas from the general

mass. They did not make any deliberate effort to develop communications in the tribal areas. As a consequence the tribal areas remained cut off from the rest of the population. However, in their commercial and military interests the British rulers extended a few roads to the tribal areas. Such roads helped army personnel to visit the areas occasionally. But they enabled the forest contractors to exploit the forest produce. The administrators discouraged non-tribals other than the forest contractors, the forest labour, a few businessmen and the government officials from entering the tribal areas. The British rulers hardly did anything to develop the economy of the tribals. All tribals remained cut off from the rest of India. Especially, the north-eastern tribal areas had no communication with the rest of India.

This isolation or seclusion of the tribal areas led to exploitation of tribals by non-tribals namely the forest contractors, the traders and the government officials. The tribals branded the forest contractors, the traders, the forest labourers and the government officials as plains people i.e., people from the plains in contradistinction with themselves who were hillfolk. The non-tribals or plains people grouped together and started trade, cultivation and money-lending on their own terms. They found a new opportunity of making money. Several of them established themselves permanently amidst the tribals. Several of the traders and money-lenders asked the government for land which they would till. As there seemed to be enough land and as cultivation was generally extended in the forested areas, there seemed to have been no objection. The landlord turned traders and money-lenders had indeed extended efficient cultivation where it was absent before. They had come forward to help the tribal people with credit when no other help was available. They lent money to the tribals at exorbitant rates of interest and exploited the tribals. They provided daily requirements of the tribal people such as salt, tobacco, onions, chillies and kerosene and cotton clothes and collected the cost in kind at the time of harvest. The prices fixed by the traders were always high. The produce offered by the tribals was found insufficient for the price charged by the traders. This led to credit transactions which made the tribal people heavily indebted to the traders. To clear off the debts the tribals sold away their lands to the traders. Much land thus passed from tribals to non-tribals. The non-tribal landlords, traders and money-lenders took advantage of the situation and mercilessly exploited the tribals. In fact indebtedness came to be regarded as a normal aspect of the tribal existence. Very often the debt descended from father to son. Large scale transfers of tribal lands to non-tribals possession caused heart-burning to the tribals. The British rulers did nothing to control exploitation of tribals and hold in check the non-tribal merchants, money-lenders, contractors and others.

(ii) The British Government had to make its policy of segregating the tribals from non-tribals more stringent when the exploitation of tribals by non-tribals reached its extreme degree and tribal reaction and resentment against it became bitter.

When this was happening it was mid-eighteenth century. At that time something more distressing happened in one tribal area namely the Rajmahal Hills in Bengal. Here the land originally belonged to the local Hindu Zamindars. They used to receive their dues either in the form of service or in kind. But as British rule extended into the Rajmahal Hills, the Zamindars had to pay to the Government their tribute in Cash. As the demands of Government progressively increased, more and more pressure was put upon the tribal tenants, who had also to pay in cash. The traders who had settled down now found an excellent opportunity of making money. They lent money to the tribals at exorbitant rates of interest and mercilessly exploited the tribals. Those tribals who could not repay the loan taken from the money-lenders had given away their land to the money-lenders. As alienation of land extended more and more, while the Zamindars demand for cash went on increasing, the distress became acute, and the tribals, namely the Malpaharis or Paharis rose in rebellion in 1772. Augustus Cleveland was deputed to handle the situation. The

Malpaharis were subdued in a clash of arms. Soon after Augustus Cleveland adopted a policy of pacification. Bribes were paid under the name of pensions totalling Rs. 15,000 per year, to tribal leaders. Ex-servicemen were encouraged to settle down around the habitation of Mahpaharis.

Almost ten years after the violent outbreak of the Malpaharis, i.e., in 1782, on the suggestion of Augustus Cleveland, administrator of Rajmahal Hills area, the Rajmahal Hills area was withdrawn from normal administration and a policy of pacification through indirect rule was adopted. That is to say, the Government recognized the tribal society of Malpaharis, and assisted it to adopt itself to the functions of local self-government. The traditional leaders of the Malpaharis were granted sanads and annual payments. They on their part were required to report all crimes in the villages under their control, use their influence to prevent a breach of peace and assist the authorities when called upon to do so. In this way, local courts consisting of local Malphari leaders were given civil and penal jurisdiction over the Rajmahal Hills. Contacts with Zamindars were severed and the Malpaharis held rent-free land direct from the Government. This type of administration was very much successful among the Malpaharis of Rajamahal Hills.

Under the guidance of Augustus Cleveland and his successors Hill Assembly was formed not only to administer justice but also frame rules for its own procedure for conducting the affairs of Malpaharis. In 1796 these rules were made Regulation of that year by the Government. However, the experiment was not successful over time because inefficiency and corruption crept in and in 1827 Regulation 1 of 1796 was abolished. A new Regulation 1 of 1827 brought the Malpaharis and other adjacent tribes under the partial jurisdiction of the ordinary courts, providing special exemptions from the application of the law in their favour. This pattern of administration in Rajmahal Hills continued. Thus the British Government laid foundations of its policy towards the Malpaharis which in course of the next 125 years developed into a policy of segregation of tribal areas combined with a harsh application of the laws of the land, entirely unsuited to the tribes of India.

The British rulers realized what was happening and wanted to keep the tribal people and the areas they inhabit deliberately isolated from the rest of the Indian people because they knew their explosive potentialities and therefore did not wish them to become a part of the national movement. The British Parliament sanctioned the establishment of specially administered non-regulation areas by the Indian Councils Act of 1861. In 1870, the Parliament gave the Governor-General in Council the Power to legalize the regulation under which various areas were being specially administered. Thus the areas exclusively inhabited by the tribal people were converted by the British rulers into non-regulation areas technically known as Scheduled Tracts and gave them separate political representation by an Act known as the Government of India Act, 1870. The area-wise isolation began with the enactment of the Government of India, Act 1870. British policy was a hotch-patch of segregation, often unnecessary and harmful, and lack of discrimination or unfair discrimination, both of which hit the Indian tribes hard.

The Scheduled Tracts as specified by the Government of India Act of 1870 were as follows;

(a) In the Himalayan region: then Assam, Darjeeling, Kumaon and Garhwal, then Tarai Parganas, Jaunsar - Bawar, Lahaul and Spiti,

(b) In middle India: Chota Nagpur and Santal Parganas, Angul Mahal, Chanda, Chattisgarh, Chhindwara, Maupur (Indore), Jhansi, Mirzapur, and Ganjam,

(c) In Western India : Panch Mahals and Mewasi (Khadesh),

(c) In South India : Visakhapatnam, Godavari and Lakshadweep.

(iii) The area-wise isolation of tribals was used by the British Government as a means to strengthen its policy of segregation towards tribals. It served as a good device for the Government to isolate more and more number of tribal tracts, bring them under separate administration and suppress the tribal revolts in those areas. In 1874 the Scheduled District Act gave effect to the Government of India Act 1870.

The Scheduled District Act of 1874 passed by the Indian Legislature, gave special powers to local government. A local government could now specify the enactments that were to be locally in a specially administered area, and the modification which were to be made in enactments, elsewhere in force, before their application to a specially administered area.

As the exploitation of tribals became very cruel there were a series of Tribal disturbances and uprisings in several tribal areas. The Sardar agitation in 1887, the Birsa movement in 1895, the Bastar uprising in 1911, the Kuruchia rebellion in Kerala, the Naga struggle led by Rani Gaidallo, the Tana Bhagat movement in 1914, the repeated rebellions of Koyas and the rebellion of tribals under the leadership of Alluri Sitaramaraju in Andhra Pradesh and so on had highlighted the cruelty of exploitation of tribals.

Indeed between 1887 and 1914 the British rulers had to take note again and again of these rebellions and undertake various measures of legislation in respect of land, tenancy, forest rights indebtedness, forest labour and so on to save the tribals from the merciless exploitation of traders and money-lenders. Every tribal area from which a rebellion sprang was included in the Scheduled Tract or Scheduled District. In 1894 a forest policy was enunciated for the first time. This policy set out to regulate the rights and privileges of the tribals who could no longer claim the forests as their own. The various measures taken to protect the tribals from the exploitation by non-tribals were mostly ineffective and unfruitful.

There were no changes in the British policy towards tribals until Parliament passed the Government of India Act, 1919. Under section 52-A(2) of this Act, special modified administration of the Scheduled Tracts and Scheduled Districts were regarded as Backward Tracts. The areas were more or less the same as those of Scheduled Tracts and Scheduled Districts with certain additions and omissions. For instance, Sambalpur was included in the Backward Tracts but Mewasi, Chattisgarh, Chanda, Chhindwara, Mirzapur and Jaunsar-Bawar were excluded from Backward Tracts. The Backward Tracts were formed on the basis of the reforms suggested by Montagu and Chelmsford in their report pertaining to the socio-economic-development of different areas in India. Motagu and Chelmsford considered certain areas to be backward, the people being primitive without political institutions and so on. This drama of helping the tribals with special protections in these demarcated areas did not end. The British Parliament was eager to show that something had been done to help the tribals through special administration in the Backward Tracts, Scheduled Tracts and Scheduled Districts.

In fact the British government with its policy of divide and rule sought its political objective by segregating the tribals into Backward and Scheduled areas. Since the tribals in the Backward and Scheduled areas had to communicate with the rest of India, they had developed a sense of separatism in them. To add fuel to the fire, some British politicians and administrators wanted the tribes to have a separate and strong organization of their own. They actively encouraged separatist tendencies among the tribals especially amongst those of north-eastern states and Chota

Nagpur. Ambitious tribal leaders took the hint from them and claimed for autonomy and even sovereignty of the tribes and tribal areas. Such separatist tendencies ultimately precipitated the creation of Nagaland, a separate state in 1960 with a population of a few lakhs.

The main features to distinguish an Excluded Area from a Partially Excluded Area were

(a) the Governor functioned in his own discretion in an Excluded Area whereas he sought the advice of Ministers in a Partially Excluded Area,

(b) the expenditure in regard to Excluded Area was non-votable while the demands in the Partially Excluded Area were subject to a vote of the legislatures, and

(c) the discussion of any matter regarding the Excluded Areas needed prior consent of the Governor.

In Excluded Areas complete special administration alone would meet the demands of the situation but in Partially Excluded Areas, modification of national laws was enough. Further, some Excluded Areas were not given the right of representation in the Indian and provincial legislatures, others could have members nominated on their behalf, and still others could elect some of their representatives, while the rest would have to be nominated to represent them. The Council of Ministers could not advise a Governor on how to administer wholly Excluded Areas but it could advise a Governor on how to administer Partially Excluded Areas.

The British Government with its policy of divide and rule sought its political objectives by segregating the tribal people into Excluded and Partially Excluded areas, only to neglect them later. Nearly next to nothing was done to regulate culture-contacts and to hold in check such forces as were detrimental to their life and culture and resulted in tribal degeneration and decay. The practical achievements of British policy with regard to large tribal areas, specially the Middle and Peninsular India, were almost nil.

(v) In the early period of independence, the Government of India too adopted the policy of segregation towards tribals, of course in a slightly modified form.

The Republic of India converted the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas into Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas. This was an example of the policy of segregation. The tribals living outside the Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas were not protected.

Article 244 of the Constitution of India outlined the new deal the Republic had for its tribal populations. The Fifth Schedule contained provisions for the administration and control of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in all States of the Republic except Assam. The provisions regarding the administration of Tribal Areas in Assam were contained in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution.

Thus in the early period of Independence, the Government of India also adopted the policy of segregating the tribals into Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas though in a slightly modified form. The partial exclusion of largely tribal areas was followed by special welfare measures. The intensity of tribal isolation due to the policy of segregation of tribes into Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas can be grasped from an official report which says : The problem emanates from centuries of isolation, only to this extent it is different from the problems facing the other section of Indian Society. The most hopeful feature is that the tribal himself has awakened to the need of finding a solution and is responding.

Check your progress

2. When did the area wise isolation of tribal areas in India begin?

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3. List out the Scheduled tracts specified by the Government of India Act of 1870.

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30.3.2 Elwin's policy of isolation

Apart from the Government, several non-governmental sources such as anthropologists, sociologists, social workers or social reformers and Christian missionaries had put forward their own policies which can be classified into three categories: the policy of isolation, the policy of assimilation and the policy of integration.

The anthropologists were at times divided and most of them supported the policy of segregation or isolation followed by the British Government. In 1939 Verrier Elwin, for example, suggested 'National Park' policy for tribals. Elwin diagnosed the malady and the devastating effects of over-hasty and unregulated process of tribal uplift and suggested some remedies. According to him, the first necessity was the establishment of a sort of National Park in which the tribals might take refuge. The administration was to be so adjusted to allow the tribals to live their life with utmost possible happiness and freedom. The missionaries of any sort were not to be allowed to break the tribal life. Again in 1941 Verrier Elwin supported the idea of isolationism to a great extent. His National Park policy of keeping the tribals as museum isolation in the modern world is impossible; it would not be desirable even if it was possible. We do not want to preserve the tribesmen as museum specimens, but equally we do not want to stop the clock of progress but we do want to see that it keeps the right time. We may not believe in the myth of noble savage but we do not want to create a class of ignoble Seris. The great problem is how to develop the tribals without destroying the rare and precious values of life.

30.3.3 Missionaries, reformers and leaders policy of assimilation

The Christian missionaries, the Hindu social reformers, one eminent sociologist namely Ghurye, many political leaders and a number of voluntary agencies doing social work suggested the policy of assimilation of tribals into the main stream of Indian society. Ghurye, many political leaders and social workers said that the problems of the so-called aboriginals are in fact the problems of the whole of rural India. Therefore, they suggested that rather than doing anything special for aboriginals only it would be better to concentrate on comprehensive plans for reform and welfare of our rural population as a whole. The Christian missionaries and the Hindu social

reformers also followed the policy of assimilation which dealt with the tribals not by solving their problems from inside and on the basis of their own life and culture but by changing them or assimilating them into a new community. This policy could not get much support as it broke with the past, created inferiority complex, deprived the tribals of their standards and values and led to the loss of arts and crafts, music and dance and corporate discipline.

30.3.4 Anthropologist's go-slow policy of integration

Several anthropologists like S.C. Roy, J.H. Hutton, J.P. Millis and Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf argued that neither the policy of isolation nor the policy of assimilation except the policy of integration will be of much use to the tribals. They noticed some of the evil effects of unregulated culture contacts. They looked forward to the ultimate socio-cultural integration of the tribes into the main stream of Indian society, but they insisted on caution, understanding and go slow policy. They argued that the integration of the tribals into the main stream of Indian life was to be done without damaging their distinctive socio-cultural identity. Neither the policy of assimilation nor the policy of integration except the policy of isolation that conformed to the Government policy of segregation had been popular before India acquired its Independence.

30.4 SUMMING UP

The British policy of Segregation appeared in the form of isolation of tribal tracts from the rest of India. In 1970 the Parliament gave the Governor General in Council the power to legalize the regulation under which various areas were being specially administered. The areas exclusively inhabited by the tribal people were converted by the British rulers into non regulation areas technically known as Scheduled Tracts and gave them separate political representation by an Act known as the government of India Act 1870.

30.5 KEY WORDS

- Indirect rule : It denotes the system by which the tutelary power recognize existing societies and assists them to adopt themselves to the function of local self-government. It defines its goal as the progressive adaptation of native institutions to modern conditions. It involves rule with the consent of the majority of those governed, and in the maintenance of as much as possible of the native authority instead of its destruction.
- Sanad : A document conveying to an individual emoluments, titles, privileges and offices or the government rights to revenue from land, etc. under the seal of the ruling authority.

30.6 SUGGESTED BOOKS

- Madan and Majumdar : Introduction to Social Anthropology

30.7 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in 30 lines each.

1. Explain the ancient unwritten policy of isolation and rulers policy of non-interference towards tribals in India.

2. Briefly explain the British government policy of segregation of tribals in India.
3. How did the British laws help the non-tribals to exploit the tribals in India before eighteenth century?
4. What factors have actually influenced the British Government to form Scheduled Tracts in 1870 A.D.?
5. Which tribal tracts were specified as Scheduled Tracts as per the Government of India Act of 1870 A.D.?

II. Answer the following in 10 lines each.

1. What policy was adopted by non-tribals during ancient times?
2. What policy did the rulers of India adopt towards the tribal populations under their control?
3. What is the importance of the Government of India Act 1874?
4. Name the tribal rebellions that occurred in India during nineteenth and early twentieth century.
5. What is a Backward Tract?
6. What are the differences between Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas?

BRAOU

UNIT - 31 : CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS TO TRIBES

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- 31.1 Introduction
- 31.2 Review of Old Policies towards Tribals
- 31.3 Designing the New Policy towards Tribals
- 31.4 Constitutional Safeguards
 - 31.4.1 Types of Safeguards
- 31.5 Administration of Scheduled and Tribal Areas
- 31.6 Tribal Welfare and Advisory Agencies
 - 31.6.1 Ministry of Home Affairs
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 - 31.6.3 Parliamentary Committees
 - 31.6.4 Welfare Departments in States
 - 31.6.5 Voluntary Organizations
- 31.7 Tribal Welfare and Development Schemes
- 31.8 Summing Up
- 31.9 Key Words
- 31.10 Suggested Books
- 31.11 Model Examination Questions

31.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to discuss the constitutional safeguards for the tribals and how they are actually put into action by means of schemes, programmes, projects sponsored by the centre and states.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * discuss the old policies and new policies towards tribals,
- * discuss the different types of constitutional safeguards for the tribals in India,
- * describe how the constitutional safeguards are actually put into action by the centre and state.

31.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied about the policies evolved towards the tribals in pre-British period and the British period. In this unit we will study how the constitution makers found certain inadequacies in the policies towards tribes in British India and framed a policy of development and integration towards tribals in democratic India. We will also study the

constitutional safeguards for the tribal and how they are actually put into action by means of schemes, programmes and projects sponsored by the centre and states.

31.2 REVIEW OF OLD POLICIES TOWARDS TRIBALS

Fifteenth of August, 1947 heralded a rosy dawn over India. It stirred fresh hopes and brought new promises to all people including the tribals. Indeed those who took over the reins of power from the hands of the alien rulers and undertook to shape the destiny of India displayed a lot of concern for the fate and future of the tribal people. Therefore when they sat down to frame the constitution of India they wanted to know the exact policies towards tribals and the actual levels of development of tribals, and then design a policy that was best suited to all tribals in India.

The constitution makers reviewed the existing policies towards tribals and the socio-economic levels of the tribals and came to the following conclusions :

(i) First the then existing policy of segregation could not be appreciated as it was thought that the keeping of the tribals into Excluded and Partially excluded areas has always led them to stagnation from the point of view of progress.

(ii) Second, what exactly was a tribe could not be known because the alien rulers left no information regarding which groups actually comprise the tribes of India. Under the circumstances, no iron bar could be put between the tribals and non-tribals.

(iii) Third, the policy of assimilation could not be accepted for it would destroy the tribal cultures of India.

The makers of the constitution of India were however conscious of the fact that due to historical reasons including the policy of segregation followed by the British rulers certain amount of mental barrier had come into existence between the tribal and non-tribal populations in several parts of India. It required a deft and phased approach to remove the barrier. They also recognized that unless the social, economic, cultural and political conditions of life of the tribals were improved so as to bring them at par with the rest of the nation the tribals would remain weak-links in the social and cultural frame of free India.

31.3 DESIGNING THE NEW POLICY TOWARDS TRIBALS

Although the constitution makers recognized that the tribals should be improved at par with the rest of the nation, they were puzzled over the question as to how to bring the tribal people at par with the rest of the Indians. They decided that the tribes should be integrated with the main stream of Indian society without damaging their distinctive socio-cultural entity. Therefore they designed the policy of development and integration.

When India's constitution was framed in 1950, the constitution makers took great care to liberally inter-splice it with articles and schedules purporting to provide the design of the policy of development and integration with respect to the tribals of India. The articles and schedules of the constitution clearly highlighted that the tribals should be developed because there is a wide socio-cultural and techno-economic gulf between the tribal groups and the rest of the Indians and that the tribals at the same time should be integrated with the rest of the Indians socially, economically, culturally and politically without destroying what is distinctly good in their society, economy, culture and polity.

For the purpose of identifying the tribes the makers of constitution avoided the problem of defining the tribes in India by pragmatic expedient of laying down to the constitution that the tribes are what the President of India by notification lists and places under a schedule, whence they must be known as Scheduled Tribes and that the President of India may issue a subsequent notification modifying the list of Scheduled Tribes after it was approved by Indian Parliament by law. Thus a tribe is what the President of India initially by notification specifies and includes in the list of Scheduled Tribes and thereafter what the Parliament of India by law includes or excludes from the said list.

The makers of constitution also delineated the salient features of the policy of development and integration towards tribals in the form of the broad features of the Directive Principle of State Policy. The salient features of the policy are :

- (i) Special responsibility of the State to bring all round advancement of the tribals;
- (ii) Promotion of the educational and economic interests and protection from injustice and all forms of exploitation;
- (iii) Reservation in services;
- (iv) Reservation of seats in Parliament and State Legislatures;
- (v) Appointment of a special officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the tribals, and
- (vi) Specification of the areas where the tribals are chiefly concentrated as Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas.

Every state in the Indian Union was even assured of finances to meet the costs of such schemes of development as may be undertaken, for the purposes of promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in that state or raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas therein to that of the administration of the rest of the areas of that state. In accordance with the salient features of the policy, several safeguards, reservations and protections were woven into the text of Indian Constitution. Some of them were originally for ten years. The makers of the Constitution stipulated this ten-year period, assuming, in a burst of optimism, that thereafter they would be no longer necessary. All that would be needed for them will be a few effective followup programmes. However, as a matter of caution, it was included in the salient features of the policy that at the expiration of the ten-year period, the President shall appoint a commission to report on the progress made in the administration of the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the states.

In 1960, a decade after the promulgation of the Constitution, the President appointed a Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission under the Chairmanship of U.N. Dhebar. This Commission, after making a survey of the development of the tribes and integration of the tribes with the rest of the Indian society, recommended extension of the continuance of the special safeguards until 26th January, 1970. Second extension of the continuance of the special safeguards is given upto 25th January 1980. Third extension of the continuance is given upto 26th January 1990.

31.4 CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS

31.4.1 Types of Safeguards

The various special provisions made in the Constitution of India with regard to the tribal population are known as the constitutional safeguards. These safeguards may be classified into three broad types : protective safeguards, political safeguards and developmental safeguards.

The protective safeguards are meant for protecting the tribal populations with regard to education, employment, economy, social injustice, forced labour and administration of specified areas.

The political safeguards are concerned with reservation of seats for tribals in Parliament and State Legislatures, appointment of a Minister incharge of Tribal Welfare in certain states where the tribals are in considerable numbers and special provisions in respect of Nagaland, Assam and Manipur.

The developmental safeguards are meant for promoting the educational and economic interests of the tribal peoples, for providing free legal aid to the tribal peoples and for giving grants from Central Government to the States for welfare of the tribal peoples and raising the level of administration of Scheduled Areas.

All these safeguards for promoting and safeguarding the interests of the persons belonging to the tribes are written into the constitution by means of specific Articles. We will try to know what exactly is the nature of these Articles.

Check your progress

1. What is meant by constitutional safeguards.

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2. What are the different types of safeguards.

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Protective Safeguards

- (i) Articles 15,15(4) and 29 are concerned with educational safeguards.

Article 15 is under the Chapter on Fundamental Rights. It assures all citizens of India that no discrimination will be permitted on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. It

specifies that no citizen shall, on these grounds or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability restriction or condition with regard to :

(a) Access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment; or

(b) the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of State funds dedicated to the use of the general public.

This Article acquires significance because the tribal people have been in the past discriminated against on grounds of religion, race and place of birth.

Article 15, Clause 4 empowers the State to make any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

Article 29 states that any section of the citizens in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same. It protects the cultural and educational rights of the minorities. This provision also acquires special significance when applied to the tribal people who constitute one of the important cultural minorities of India.

(ii) **Articles, 16, 16(4), 320 (4) and 335** are concerned with safeguards for employment.

Article 16 provides for equality of opportunities for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State. It further provides that no citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of their, be eligible for, or discriminated against in respect of any employment or office under the State. This article assures equality of opportunity to all citizens, including the tribals in matters of employment with government.

Article 16, Clause 4 lays down that the State shall have the power to make any provision for the reservation of appointments of posts in favour of any backward class citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the service under the State. The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes constitute the most important categories of backward classes of citizens for the purpose of these safeguards.

Article 320, Clause 4 lays down, inter alia, that consultation with the Union Public Service Commission or the State Public Service Commission is not necessary as regards the manner of giving effect to service safeguards for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

Article 335 states that the claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State. It assures that the Scheduled Castes and Tribes will be given special attention, while filling in posts in the services.

(iii) **Articles 17 and 25** are concerned with the social safeguards.

Article 17 relates to abolition of untouchability and its practice in any form. It emphasized that enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability is an offense punishable in accordance with law.

Article 25 relates to freedom of conscience, and practice and propagation of religion. However, it says, the State has the power to enforce any existing law or make any law providing for social welfare and reform or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus. Thus this Article gives the right of freedom of religion to all including the tribal people of India.

(iv) **Article 19** is concerned with the economic safeguards.

Article 19 protects certain rights of all citizens of India. Clause (1) of this Article grants freedom of speech, expression, residence, acquisition and disposal of property, practice of profession, free association and free movement. Clause (5) of this Article, however, states that these rights shall not effect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law conferred by the Clause (1), either in the interests of the general public or for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe. This provision prevents the lands of a tribal from passing into the hands of a non-tribal in the Scheduled Areas and also exercises control over operation of money-lenders in those Areas.

(v) **Article 23** is concerned with the abolition of forced labour.

Article 23 prohibits traffic in human beings and forced labour and any contravention of this provision is an offence punishable in accordance with law. However, the State has the power to impose compulsory service for public purposes, and in imposing such service the State shall not make any discrimination on grounds only of religion, race, caste or class or any of them. Thus this Article illegalizes traffic in human beings and forced labour, evils which non-tribal people have encouraged and imposed upon the tribal peoples.

(vi) **Article 46** is concerned with the protection from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Article 46 lays down that the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

(vii) **Articles 244 and 339** are concerned with the administration of Scheduled and Tribal Areas:

Article 244 states that the provisions of the Fifth Schedule shall apply to the administration and control of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in any State other than Assam, while the provisions of the Sixth Schedule shall apply to the administration of the Tribal Areas in the State of Assam. The Governor of each State having Scheduled Areas is required to submit to the President an Annual Report regarding the administration of the Scheduled Areas in that State. Each such State has a Tribes Advisory Council. If the President so directs, a state having Scheduled Tribes but not Scheduled Areas therein, may also have a Tribals Advisory Council. The Governor may by public notification direct that any particular Act of Parliament or of the State Legislature shall not apply to a Scheduled Area or any part thereof in the State subject to such exceptions and modifications as he may specify in the notification and any such direction can be given with retrospective effect. The Governor may make regulations for the peace and good government of a Scheduled Area. Such regulations may particularly;

(a) Prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or among members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area,

(b) regulate the allotment of land to the members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area,

(c) regulate the carrying on of business as money lender by persons who lend money to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area.

In making such regulations, the Governor may repeal or amend any Act of Parliament or of the State Legislature or any existing law which is for the time being applicable to the area in question. All such regulations have to receive the President's assent before they can become effective. The Tribes Advisory Council has to be consulted before such a regulation is made by the Governor.

Check your progress

2. State article 46 of Indian Constitution.

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31.5 ADMINISTRATION OF SCHEDULED AND TRIBAL AREAS

Administration of Scheduled Areas

The Scheduled Areas are located only in seven States : Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, and Rajasthan. Governors of the respective states submit a report annually to the President on the administration of the Scheduled Areas in their States. The Collector of the District in which the Scheduled Area is located will act as 'Agent' to the Governor. He administers the Scheduled Area as per the provisions laid down in the Constitution. Since these Scheduled Areas are administered by the 'Agents' (District Collectors) of the Governor, they also came to be recognized as Agency Areas. Every year the 'Agent' or the District Collector has to submit a report to the Governor. The Governor of a State in turn submits a consolidated report on the administration of all the Agency Areas or Scheduled Areas to the President of India.

Administration of Tribal Areas

The Tribal Areas in the States of Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura and the Union Territory of Mizoram and the Hill Areas of Manipur are administered subject to the Articles 244(2) and 275(1) of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. Under these Articles of the Sixth Schedule, the Tribal Areas of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram and the Hill Areas of Manipur are divided into autonomous districts. There are eight such districts namely, North Cachar Hills and Mikir Hills District in Assam, Khasi Hills District, Jaintia Hills District and Garo Hills District in Meghalaya, and Chakma, Lakher and Pawi Districts in Mizoram. Likewise the Tribal Areas of Tripura and the Hill Areas of Manipur contain autonomous districts.

In all these States and Union Territories, each autonomous district has a District Council consisting of not more than 30 members of whom not more than 4 are nominated and the rest are to be elected on the basis of adult franchise. The District Councils are vested with certain administrative, legislative and judicial powers as mentioned earlier in this lesson.

Check your progress

3. Which states contain Scheduled Areas in India.

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31.6 TRIBAL WELFARE AND ADVISORY AGENCIES

31.6.1 Ministry of Home Affairs

The Union Ministry of Home Affairs is the nodal Ministry for overall policy, planning and coordination of programmes of development for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Each Central Ministry and Department is the nodal Ministry and Department concerning its sector. The Ministry of Home Affairs maintains liaison with State Government and Central Ministries.

31.6.2 Commission for Scheduled Caste and Tribes

There is a Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes consisting of a Chairman and four members, including the special officer appointed under Article 338 of the constitution known as the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This Commission was set up in August 1978. The Commission is to investigate all matters relating to constitutional safeguards, reservation in public services, to study the implementation of the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, with particular reference to the objective of removal of untouchability and invidious discrimination arising therefrom, and to ascertain the socio-economic and other relevant circumstances responsible for the commission of offences against persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Tribes with a view to recommend appropriate remedial measures.

31.6.3 Parliamentary Committees

There is an agency which is playing a very important role in getting the constitutional safeguards and special provisions implemented. That agency is the Committee of Parliament known as the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This Commission was set up in August 1978. The Commission is to investigate all matters relating to constitutional safeguards, reservation in public services, to study the implementation of the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, with particular reference to the objective of removal of untouchability and invidious discrimination arising therefrom, and to ascertain the socio-economic and other relevant circumstances responsible for the commission of offences against persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Tribes with a view to recommend appropriate remedial measures.

31.6.3 Parliamentary Committees

There is an agency which is playing a very important role in getting the constitutional safeguards and special provisions implemented. That agency is the Committee of Parliament known as the Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which came into existence in pursuance of a motion adopted by Lok Sabha on 30th August, 1968. This was the first Parliamentary Committee. It had 20 members from Lok Sabha and 10 from Rajya Sabha and its tenure is two years.

The second Parliament Committee was setup in 1971 and the third in 1973 to examine the implementation of the constitutional safeguards for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Committee has since been constituted as a standing committee of Parliament, the tenure of the members being one year. This committee continues to consist of 30 members, 20 from Lok Sabha and 10 from Rajya Sabha.

31.6.4 Welfare Department in States

The States and Union Territories have separate departments to look after the welfare of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes. The administrative set up varies from state to state. In Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, separate ministers have been appointed look after tribal welfare as prescribed in Article 164 of the Constitution. Some other States have set up committees of members of state legislatures on the pattern of the Parliamentary Committee at the Centre.

All the seven States, namely Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan which contain Scheduled Areas as also the two states of Tamil Nadu and West Bengal which do not contain Scheduled Areas have constituted Tribes Advisory Councils as per the provision in the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution. A majority of the Tribes Advisory Councils consist of the representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the State Legislative Assembly. As such, these Councils are important bodies for assessing tribal reaction to the welfare schemes undertaken for them.

The Governors of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa have promulgated several regulations for controlling transfer of land or immovable property, and money-lending. They have made certain new provisions and amended certain laws in their application to the Scheduled Areas in matters of tenant relief, land improvement, loans, agriculturists loans, abolition of debt bondage, debt relief and so on.

Some State Governments like those of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal have established Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institutes with the objective of collecting and analysing the information relating to the Scheduled Tribes located within their territories, to give orientation training to various cadres of officers serving the Scheduled Areas in their territories, and to advise on matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in their territories.

31.6.5 Voluntary organizations

There are several voluntary organizations also to promote the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. Important organizations of all India Character are : Bharatiya Depressed Class League,

New Delhi, Indian Red Cross Society, New Delhi, Ramakrishna Mission, Narendrapur, West Bengal, Bharatiya Adimajati Sevak Sangh, New Delhi; Andhra Rashtra Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Nellore; Ramakrishna Mission located at Cheerapunji, Silchar, Shillong, Puri. In addition, Thakkar Bapa Ashram, Nimakhandi, Orissa; Servants of Indian Society, Pune; and Social Work and Research Centre at Tilona in Rajasthan are the other voluntary organisation. The Government of India provides grants-in-aid to non-official voluntary organizations working among Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. During 1981-82 a provision for Rs. 14 millions was made for the purpose.

Check your progress

4. Name five voluntary agencies concerned with the upliftment of Indian tribes.

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31.7 TRIBAL WELFARE AND DEVELOPMENT

Tribal Welfare Schemes

As per the constitutional provisions the welfare of tribes is given special attention by both Central and State Governments. Special programmes for tribal welfare have been undertaken in the successive Five Year Plans and the size of investment on these special programmes has been increasing from one plan to another, they have also been spending a sizeable amount from their non-plan budgets on the welfare of the tribes.

Special programmes for tribal welfare have been undertaken in the successive Five Year Plans and the size of investment on these special programmes has been increasing from one plan to another, they have also been spending a sizeable amount from their non-plan budgets on the welfare of the tribes.

The tribal welfare schemes or programmes are classified into two broad categories: the Centrally sponsored and the State Government sponsored. The centrally sponsored schemes or programmes are those which cover common schemes of national importance and on which the entire expenditure is borne by the Union Government Schemes such as land allotment, grant of subsidies for purchase of ploughs, bullocks and improved seeds for development of agriculture, and animal husbandry, schemes of soil conservation, land colonisation, minor irrigation, organization and development of cooperative societies and promotion of cottage industries which include financial assistance for improving trade or business, marketing facilities, technical guidance and setting up production and training centres. There are also schemes or programmes providing land and allied facilities to the tribes. Schemes pertaining to educational facilities such as coaching for civil and allied services, granting of pre-matric and post-matric scholarships, establishment of Ashram schools and providing text books to tribal students doing engineering and medicine.

The State sector schemes differ from State to State and are divided into three groups viz., Education, Economic Development and Health, Housing and other schemes. The Central assistance is in the form of block grants and loans for all the sectors of the Plan together and the State Governments allocate funds for different sectors of the plan out of the block grants and loans given to them by the Centre.

31.8 SUMMING UP

The makers of the constitution of India recognized that unless the social, economic, cultural and political conditions of life of the tribals were improved so as to bring them on par with the rest of the nation, the tribals would remain weak links in the social & cultural frame work. Therefore they designed the policy of development and integration. The special provisions made in the constitution with the regard to the tribal population are known as the constitutional safeguards. They are classified into protective safeguards, political safeguards and developmental safeguards. The union ministry of Home Affairs is the nodal ministry for overall policy, planning and coordination of programmes of development of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

31.9 KEY WORDS

Integration : Integration means mutual adjustment between two or more groups. The process of integration means the progressive development of more and more perfect adjustments between groups. The degree of integration means simply the extent to which such adjustments have been perfected at any given point.

31.10 SUGGESTED BOOKS

Hutton : Castes & Tribes in India

Madan & Majumdar : An introduction to Social Anthropology

31.11 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in 30 lines each.

1. Give constitution makers review of the British policies towards tribals in India.
2. What policy towards tribes has been designed by the constitution makers of India and what are its salient features?
3. What types of safeguards are provided by Indian Constitution for promoting and safeguarding the interests of tribes?
4. Which constitutional safeguards are provided for the employment of Indian tribes?
5. What developmental safeguards are provided by the Indian Constitution to the tribes of India?
6. What amendments and modifications are made to the Scheduled Tribes List, and Organisation of Tribal Areas in India in the last three decades.
7. Briefly explain the nature of the advisory agencies in the context of tribal welfare and development in India.
8. Give an account of the tribal welfare schemes in India.

II. Answer the following in 15 lines each.

1. What are the broad features of the Directive Principle of the State Policy in India?
2. Explain Article 15, 15(4) of Indian Constitution.
3. What safeguards are provided for the tribes by Article 29 of Indian Constitution?
4. What is the function of Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India.
5. Name some of the voluntary agencies which are concerned with the promotion of the welfare of Scheduled Tribes in India?
6. What are Multipurpose Tribal Development Blocks?

BRAOU

UNIT - 32 : TRIBES IN ANDHRA PRADESH - A BROAD OUTLINE

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- 32.0 Aims and Objectives
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- 32.2 Population of Tribes in Andhra Pradesh
- 32.3 Distribution of Tribes in Andhra Pradesh
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- 32.5 Socio-Economic Characteristics of Tribes of Andhra Pradesh
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 - 32.5.3 Social Organization
- 32.6 Summing Up
- 32.7 Key Words
- 32.8 Suggested Books
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32.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to discuss about the population, geographical distribution and historical background and the socio-economic consequences of tribes of Andhra Pradesh.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * discuss the population, geographical distribution and historical background of the tribes of Andhra Pradesh,
- * explain the socio-economic characteristics of the tribes of Andhra Pradesh.

32.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have studied about the policies and constitutional safeguards for the tribals and how they are put into action. In this unit we will study about the population, geographical distribution and historical background of the tribes of Andhra Pradesh. We will also study the socio-economic characteristics of the tribes of Andhra Pradesh in terms of different languages, economies and types of social organization.

32.2 POPULATION OF TRIBES IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Andhra Pradesh has the largest concentration of tribals in South India. According to 1981 Census, the population of Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh is 3.18 millions constituting 5.95 per cent of the total population of Andhra Pradesh and 0.47 per cent of the total population of India.

As many as 31 tribes inhabit Andhra Pradesh. They vary in size from a mere handful to several hundred thousands. The Rona, the Kulia the Kattunayakan, and the Bhil number only 12,188,289 and 560 souls respectively but the koya and the Yanadi exceed 200 thousands each.

The following table shows the population of the tribes in Andhra Pradesh in the year 1971.

Table showing the population and location of the Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh according to 1971 Census

Sl. No.	Name of the Tribe	District where found	Population according to 1971 Census
1.	Andh	Adilabad	2,405
2.	Bagatha	Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam	71,657
3.	Bhil	Adilabad, Mahaboobnagar and Hyderabad	560
4.	Chenchu	Mahaboobnagar, Kurnool and Prakasam	24,178
5.	Gadaba	Srikakulam, Vizianagaram	25,108
6.	Gond	Adilabad	1,54,277
7.	Kammara	Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari and West Godavari	35,679
8.	Kattunayakan	Guntur, Ongole, Nellore, Chittoor and Cuddapah	280
9.	Kolam	Adilabad	26,498
10.	Konda Dora	Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari and West Godavari	1,38,678
11.	Konda Reddi	East Godavari, West Godavari and Khammam	45,883
12.	Kondh	Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam	108,685
13.	Kotia	Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam	17,888
14.	Koya	East Godavari, West Godavari, Khammam and Warangal	285,226
15.	Kulie	Visakhapatnam	188
16.	Mali	Visakhapatnam and Vizianagaram	1,978

17.	Manne Dora	Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, and Visakhapatnam	9,372
18.	Muka Dora	Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam	13,235
19.	Naikpods	Adilabad, Warangal, Karimnagar, Khamma, East Godavari and West Godavari	3,212
20.	Nayak	Visakhapatnam, West Godavari and Khammam	3,971
21.	Pradhan	Adilabad	11,407
22.	Poraya	Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam	12,357
23.	Reddi Dora	Visakhapatnam	5,254
24.	Rona, Rena	East Godavari	12
25.	Saora	Srikakulam	81,227
26.	Sugali	All districts except Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam	1,32,464
27.	Thoti	Adilabad	1,785
28.	Valmiki	East Godavari, Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam	28,967
29.	Yanadi	All Districts	239,403
30.	Yerukala	All Districts	162,560
		Total	1,657,650

Check your progress

- Name the tribes in Andhra Pradesh that have less than 1000 population each.

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2. Name the tribes in Andhra Pradesh that have more than 100 thousands of population each.

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3. Identify the names of tribes that are numerically dominant in the Agency Areas of Andhra Pradesh.

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32.3 DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES IN ANDHRA PRADESH

The tribes in Andhra Pradesh are inhabiting in the Plains as well as the Partially Excluded Areas which are otherwise known as Agency Areas. The Agency Areas are hilly and forest-clad tracts while the plains Areas are level-land territories. The Agency Areas are the geographically marginal refuge areas that reflect the historical escape of the tribals from the agents of Hindu culture.

On the basis of their location the tribes in Andhra Pradesh can be classified into two categories: those in the Agency Areas and those in the Plains. The Agency Areas extending across the hilly and wooded parts of the districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Khammam, Warangal, Adilabad, and Mahabubnagar occupy an area of 11,595 square miles and embraces nearly 100 thousands of tribal people. The tribes inhabiting the Agency Areas are: the Andh, the Bagatha, the Khond, the Kolam and Konda Dora, the Konda Reddi, the Kotiya, the Koya, the Kulia, the Mali, the Manne Dora, the Muka Dora, the Naikpods, the Poraja, the Pradhan, the Reddi Dora, the Saora, the Thoti and the Valmiki. The tribes inhabiting the plains areas are: the Kattunayakan, the Rona, the Sugali, the Yanadi, and the Yerukala.

Although the Agency Areas are the exclusive homes of a large number of tribes, they contain now some non-tribal population also because in the last one hundred years few non-tribals settled amidst the tribals in these areas. On the contrary, a few tribes live amidst the numerous non-tribals, inhabiting the villages located in the Plains.

32.4 HISTORY OF TRIBES IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Several sacred texts in Sanskrit and Telugu contain references to various tribes in Andhra Pradesh. Aitereya Brahmana, a part of Rigveda, refers to the tribe of Andhra in Peninsular India. The present day tribe of Andh in Adilabad district is believed to be an offshoot of the ancient tribe Andhra.

Ramayana mentions the tribal tracts of 'Janasthana', 'Kishkindha' which are believed to be the northern and western parts of the present day Andhra Pradesh respectively. Ramayana also contains reference to the hilly and forest tribal area of Dandakaranya which is believed to be extending into the northern parts of the present day Andhra Pradesh. The Saoras of Srikakulam district are believed to be the descendants of the Sabaras referred to in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The Valmiki in the Agency Areas of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam districts claim descent from Valmiki, a savage who became a sage and the author of Ramayana. The legends of Yerukala claim that the ancestor of Yerukala is Ekalavya of Mahabharata fame and that the Yerukalas gave up bow and arrow after Ekalavya offered his right thumb as his fee (gurudakshina) to his teacher Dronacharya. The rulers during the times of Mahabharata seem to have made deliberate attempts to bring the tribals into the fold of Hindu civilization.

Due to consistent efforts of rulers, monks and hermits the tribals and non-tribals were in continuous contact over several centuries. As a result, the tribals absorbed several cultural elements of non-tribals. Several of them like the Chenchus, the Saoras, the Gondas, the Konda Reddis, the Bagathas and the Muka Doras, had taken numerous elements of Saivism and Vaishnavism from the non-tribals. Some of them such as the Gonds, the Konda Reddis, the Konda Doras, and the Muka Doras had become powerful rulers. Consequently the Gonds became Raj Gonds, the Konda-Reddis became Racha Reddis, the Bagathas, the Konda Doras and the Muka Doras suffixed their names with the Kahatriya title Raju.

The Raj Gonds ruled for a fairly long period over an area that extended across Chanda district in Maharashtra, Mandla and Chindwada districts in Madhya Pradesh, and Adilabad and Warangal districts of Andhra Pradesh. They were independent rulers during the Moghul period until they were overthrown by the rise of Maratha power. They constructed irrigation tanks, encouraged cultivation and promoted interaction between tribals and non-tribals.

The Saoras also were rulers for several centuries. They reigned the area extended across the entire district of Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh.

The Muka Dora and the Konda-Dora ruled large areas that include the old tribal estates of Kurupam, Chinamerangi, Andhra and Pachipenta in Srikakulam district. They were well known for patronizing Telugu and Oriya Scholars.

The Konda Reddis who styled themselves as Racha Reddis were rulers of the territory covering the present taluks of Kovvur, Polavaram and Chintalpudi in West Godavari District. To this day, this area is called Reddiseema after the Konda Reddi rulers. They promoted interaction between tribals and non-tribals in their kingdom.

Even though the Hindu rulers, the Hindu monks and hermits, the Buddhist elites and the tribal rulers had made consistent efforts to promote continuous interaction between the tribals and non-tribals the interaction was not so intense as to nullify the separate identity of the tribes. The various tribes have not only retained their separate ethnic and cultural identity from the non-tribal populations but each tribe has conserved and nurtured its distinct social and cultural traditions.

32.5 SOCIO - ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF TRIBES OF ANDHRA PRADESH

32.5.1 Tribal languages

The languages of the tribes of Andhra Pradesh belong to three language families, namely Austric family, Dravidian family, and Indo European family. The languages of two tribes belong to Austric family, the languages of nineteen tribes belong to Dravidian family and the languages of five tribes belong to Indo-European family.

The tribal languages of Andhra Pradesh present several variations and differences. In a tribe like the Gadaba, some sub-tribes are distinguishable from others in language. Several tribes are bilingual or even multi-lingual because they speak the languages of their neighbours besides their mother-tongue. Since Gondi and Saora are spoken by many tribes in the neighbourhood of the Gonds and the Saoras, these two languages have almost acquired the status of a regional language within the Agency Areas. Among the Koyas those living in Rampa Chodavaram in East Godavari district have forgotten their mother-tongue but speak Telugu, the language of their neighbours. The tribes such as the Andh, the Bagatha, the Chenchu, the Goudu, the Konda Reddi, the Manne Dora, the Muka Dora, the Reddi Dora, the Yanadi, and the Valmiki which have no mother-tongue of their own speak now Telugu. Likewise the tribes namely the Kammara, the Kotiya, the Kulia and the Mali have lost their mother-tongue; they now speak only Oriya.

The literacy levels of the tribes of Andhra Pradesh show variations. Among the tribes Andh, Kammara, Khond, Konda Dora, Kolam, Kotiya, Kulia, Gadaba, Goudu, Thoti, Manne Dora, Mali and Muka Dora nearly one person is a literate in every one hundred individuals. Approximately 1.5% of the individuals are literates in the Chenchu tribals. Among the Konda Reddi about 2% are literates. Nearly 3% of the Koyas and Gonds are literates. Almost 5% of the people are literate among the Pradhans. The percentages of literates among the Bagathas and Saoras are 6 and 7 respectively. Almost 11% of the Valmiki population is literate. Thus the tribes of Andhra Pradesh have low literacy levels.

Check your progress

1. Which tribes have least literacy level in Andhra Pradesh

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2. Which tribes of Andhra Pradesh speak language that belong to dravidian family.

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32.5.2 Tribal economies

The tribals of Andhra Pradesh have the following types of economics.

- i) Food-gathering economy (Chenchu and Yanadi)
- ii) Simple agricultural economy (Konda Dora, Konda Reddi, Kolam, Khond and Saora)
- iii) Advanced agricultural economy (Bagatha, Bhil, Koya, Kotiya, Gadaba, Gond, Manne Dora, Mali, Kuka Dora, Naikpods, Poraja and Valmiki)
- iv) Pastoral economy (Goudus and Sugalis)
- v) Economy based on the specific technical skills of artisan groups (Kammara, Kulia, Thoti, Pradhan and Yerukala).

Food-gathering, combined with hunting and fishing, is the primary economy of the Chenchus and the Yanadis. Nearly about 80% of the Chenchus collect wild fruits, roots, tubers, leaves, plants, herbs, mushrooms and honey from the forests. On the other hand, nearly 60% of the Yanadis depend upon collection of fruits, tubers, leaves and other vegetable items from the wooded areas in the plains, collection of fish from fresh water sources and trapping of rats in the agricultural fields in the Plains. For collecting food from the forest or from the Plains the Chenchus as well as the Yanadis use a digging-stick and a collection basket. The Chenchus use special baskets for taking out honey. For the purpose of hunting the Chenchus use bows and arrows. The Yanadis, on the contrary, hunt various varieties of rats with the help of traps and snares. Both the Chenchu and the Yanadi catch fish with the help of traps, hooks and small nets and sometimes with bare hands. Food collection is done both by individuals and organized parties. What the individual collects by his own efforts is kept by him. Often the food-gathering activities are organized on democratic lines. Among the Chenchus men engage themselves in hunting and honey collection. Women often go in parties to collect food from the forest. Among both the Chenchus and the Yanadis fishing in the streams and rivers is done only by men; in the canals, tanks and ponds it may jointly be done by men, women and children. The food-gathering activities of the Chenchus often necessitate seasonal moves, depending on the availability of the flower of *Madhuca latifolia* (Telugu: Vippa; Hindi; Mhowa). Both the Chenchus and the Yanadis lead hand-to-mouth existence. Therefore, they have no surplus left with them after satisfying their needs which they could use for barter, exchange or trade. However, it should be mentioned here that under the impact of new socioeconomic forces influencing the food-gathering tribes, the Chenchus and the Yanadis have been forced to barter or sell a part of their meagre collection in the neighbouring villages, towns or markets. For acquiring such supplies as salt, clothes and other necessities they have to dispose of some of the forest produce collected by them.

In the simple agricultural economy adopted by the Khond, the Kolam, the Konda Dora, the Konda Reddi and the Saora, one does not have much of surplus left after the satisfaction of his needs from the produce of his agricultural field. This economy includes the form of

cultivation known as hoe cultivation and the allied systems of shifting cultivation (podu) and terrace cultivation.

Simple agricultural economy is almost always a mixed economy. The shifting and terrace cultivation that involves the use of hoe is just one part of this economic system. Food-gathering pursuits occupy an almost equally important position. Cultivation is done by individuals and their families who keep all the produce to themselves. However, when they engage in any collective labour, the fruits are shared by the whole local group, particularly in their hunting, fishing and food-gathering pursuits. The hunting, fishing and collection areas are the property of the local group. On the other hand, the land under hoe cultivation belongs either to the individual or is held by him under long term lease. The little surplus which people have is bartered or sold. Sparetime is used for the development of technical skills.

Several tribes like the Bagatha, the Koya, the Kotiya, the Gadaba, the Gond, the Manne Dora, the Mali, the Muka Dora, the Naikpods, the Poraja and the Valmiki, have advanced agricultural economy. Advanced agriculture involves the use of plough. The tribals do the agricultural work either all by themselves or with the help of hired labour. People have very considerable surpluses with them which they either barter or sell in markets. Among the advanced tribal agriculturists, the Gonds have a definite class structure and clearly distinguish between the high and the low. Those connected with ruling families are styled as the Raj Gonds and constitute a separate group distinct from the other humbler section namely Durva Gonds of the tribe.

The tribes practising simple and advanced agriculture have limited pastoralism. But the tribes wholly dependent upon pastoral economy for their subsistence are only two, the Goudus and the Sugalis. The Goudus not only raise live-stock but also tend the cattle of the tribal agriculturists. On the contrary, the Sugalis are only cattle-raisers and they do not tend the cattle of caste farmers. However, in the last two generations almost 80 per cent of the Goudus and the Sugalis have adopted plough cultivation, and their economic conditions are more or less similar to those of the tribals who are dependent on advanced agricultural economy.

Broadly speaking, the economy of majority of the tribes in the Agency Areas is based on agriculture, forestry crafts and employment as unskilled labourers. Small land holdings, poor quality of soil and primitive methods of cultivation, which are responsible for low agriculture yields are a common feature in the Agency Areas. The tribals have to supplement their income by collecting edible roots, tubers, fruits and honey. They are also engaged in animal husbandry and poultry farming. Generally speaking, the economy of most of the tribes living in the Plains revolves round agriculture, crafts and employment as unskilled labourers. Their methods of cultivation are almost similar to those of their caste neighbours. They supplement their income by food-gathering. They are also engaged in animal husbandry, rearing of pigs and poultry farming.

Recent researches have shown that the annual average income of tribals is very low. The annual average income of a farming Gond family in Adilabad District is Rs. 200 but its annual expenditure is Rs. 349-61. The annual average income of food-gathering Chenchu family of Nallamalai hills is Rs. 198-00, but its yearly expenditure is Rs. 267-00. The average annual income of a Konda Reddi family dependent upon shifting cultivation is only Rs. 170-67. However, its

year expenditure goes to the level Rs. 292-00. on the other hand, the average annual income of a Valmiki family depending upon trade is Rs. 292-00. and its annual expenditure amounts to Rs. 361-00 Corresponding to their income levels, the tribals suffer from different levels of indebtedness. Every Valmiki, Gond, Chenchu and Konda Reddi family is in debts to the tune of Rs. 594.89, Rs. 226.52, Rs. 117.19 and Rs. 2.92 respectively.

As in the tribal tracts of different states in India, in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh also there are the problems of exploitation of tribals by non-tribals through trade, through money and grain lending, and through forest labour, and the problems of illegal transfer of lands from tribals to non-tribals. Apart from these problems there are also the problems of shifting cultivation and soil erosion in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh.

Check your progress

3. What are the differences between shifting cultivation, terrace cultivation and advanced agriculture.

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32.5.3 Social Organisation

The units of social organization vary from tribe to tribe. The social organization of some of the tribes like that of the Konda Reddi is very simple. Among the Konda Reddi apart from the basic social group namely family, the only other unit of social organization is the surname group some tribes like the Bhil, the Koya, the Kotiya, the Mali and the Gond have an elaborate and complex form of social organization. They have a number of independent and self-contained endogamous sub-tribes which for all practical purposes function as independent groups by themselves. Each sub-tribe is divided into a number of phratries, each phratry into clans, each clan into surname groups and each surname group into several families. The social organization of other tribes is neither simple nor complex but occupies a position between the simple and the complex ones.

The social organization of Konda Reddi, the Sugali, the Kammara the Kulia, the Manne Dora, the Muka Dora, the Naikpods and the Reddi Dora is simple because it involves only three to four types of groupings for carrying out the various activities for establishing effective social life. On the contrary, the social organization of the Bhil, the Koya, the Gadaba, the Kotiya and the Gond is complex because it revolves round five to eight types of groups and establishes a complex network of relations for the creation of effective social life. Obviously the social organization of the rest of the tribes is neither simple nor complex but it is an intermediary one.

In all the tribes except the Yerukalas, the family (kutumbam) is patrilineal, patrilocal, patripotestal and patronymic. Among the Yerukalas the family is patrilineal. However, eventhough

patrilocal residence is common, matrilocal residence is also in vogue. Further, avunculocal residence and avuncupotestality occur in considerable proportion. In all the tribes almost 92 per cent of the families are monogamous, nuclear type, about 7 per cent of the families are monogamous and extended type and the remaining 1 per cent of the families are polygynous composite type.

Among all these tribes a family comes into existence when adults of opposite sex are united by marriage that may be by negotiation, by elopement, by exchange, by service or by capture. However, in one of these tribes namely Konda Dora, child marriages besides adult marriages are quite common.

The tribe is largest unit of social organisation. It is a group of people who have following features :

- i) It is a territorial group. It has a traditional territory and emigrants always refer to it as their home. Each tribe is confined to a particular territory.
- ii) It has a common name. Different tribes have their own common names which are either generic or territorial in nature.
- iii) It speaks common language or dialect of its own or its neighbourhood.
- iv) It has a common culture which is expressed in its social, economic, religious and political and aesthetic life and material goods.
- v) It is endogamous. All members of a tribe marry amongst themselves even though exceptions are there in extreme cases.
- vi) It has its own political system with full faith in its own leaders.
- vii) It has its economy which is, to some extent, self-sufficient in a restricted sense of the term.

Then what exactly is the social organization of a tribe in Andhra Pradesh ? The families belonging to a tribe live in small villages. The Chenchus call their village a 'gudem', the Sugalis call it a 'tanda' and other tribes call it by their own designations. All the families inhabiting a village have a sense of belongingness to the village. The next social unit of the tribe is the lineage or it may be a surname group. Then several of these units combine to form into clans, clans into phratries, phratries into a sub-tribe two or more sub-tribes into a tribe. That means the basis for the existence of a tribe as a unit is a combination of its different social units. The units may be as follows : (i) tribe, (ii) sub-tribe, (iii) classes of sub-tribe, (iv) moiety, (v) phratry, (vi) clan, (vii) sub-clan, (viii) local group, (ix) surname group, (x) lineage and (xi) family. It is not necessary that all the above ten social units exist in every tribe. In fact, as described above, different combinations of these social units are existing in the social designs of the different tribes of Andhra Pradesh.

Check your progress

4. What is the pattern of social organization of Konda Reddies.

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UNIT-33 : TRIBAL WELFARE IN ANDHRA PRADESH

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- 33.8 Model Examination Questions

33.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to discuss the policy efforts of State of Andhra Pradesh towards the development and welfare of tribals in Andhra Pradesh.

By the end of this unit you will be able to :

- * explain the policy and efforts of the State of Andhra Pradesh towards the development and welfare of the tribals are similar to those of the Government of India,
- * explain its strategy for tribal development as it has undergone changes in the successive six five year plans,
- * discuss the success and failure of the tribal development and welfare programmes in the State of Andhra Pradesh,
- * describe how the Government of Andhra Pradesh actually works for the welfare of the tribals with the help of a separate ministry, directorate, committee, advisory council, research and institute, tribal and community development blocks and integrated tribal development projects.

33.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units we have studied about the geographical distribution, socio-economic characteristics of the tribes of Andhra Pradesh. In this unit we will study about the tribal welfare in the state of Andhra Pradesh and how the Andhra Pradesh Government actually works for the welfare of the tribals with the help of a separate ministry, directorate, committee, advisory council, research and training institute, tribal and community development blocks and integrated tribals development projects.

33.2 STATES POLICY AND PROGRAMME FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE OF THE TRIBALS

State's policy

The policy of the State of Andhra Pradesh towards its tribal population is the same as the policy of India. The Constitution of India enjoins on the Government a special duty towards the backward segments of the population. Article 46 embodies the directive principle of the country's policy which reads as follows: The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Article 275 provides for grants from the Union to the States for meeting the cost of development schemes undertaken with the approval of the Centre for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in a State or for raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas therein to that of the administration of the area of the State.

In many States including the State of Andhra Pradesh, the Scheduled Areas (Partially Excluded Areas/Excluded Areas/Agency Areas) are administered as a part of the State. However, the Governor is empowered under the fifth Schedule to prohibit the application of any Central or State law, or direct its modifications in its application to the Scheduled Areas and to frame regulation for the peace and good government of these Scheduled Areas.

State's Programme

As in the other States of India, in the State of Andhra Pradesh also, the problem of development of Scheduled Areas is primarily linked with backwardness of these Areas, poverty of the tribal people and the concept and method of development and integration of tribals with the rest of the population. For promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and for raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas to that of the State level, Article 275 of the Constitution provides for grants-in-aid from the Consolidated Fund of India to States for implementing the development programmes. In addition, Article 46 as stated earlier lays down the special responsibility of the State towards tribal development. Special funds have thus been provided in each Five Year Plan for the welfare of the Scheduled tribes in those States of India which contain Scheduled tribal populations. The assumption behind such an arrangement is that these funds will be additional to general development outlays, the benefit of which will accrue to the tribal people and the Scheduled Areas in many States including the State of Andhra Pradesh.

Check your progress

1. What is Article 46?

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33.3 PLANNING FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

33.3.1 The Community Development Blocks

The process of planning for the tribal development in the State of Andhra Pradesh in the other States of India began as far back as in 1950s. In the First Five Year Plan period (1951-56), the Government of Andhra Pradesh has introduced Community Development Blocks (also called Community Development Projects) for the development of the people. Some of these Community Development Blocks covering the Agency Areas have included in them only tribal populations while the remaining Community Development Blocks located in the Plains Areas have included in them both the tribal and the non-tribal populations.

As in the other States of India, in the State of Andhra Pradesh also, the Community Development Blocks focussed their attention on rural areas as well as tribal areas and rural problems as well as tribal problems for the first time through a massive, universal and many-sided programmes for development. Their distinguishing features were as follows:

First, they visualized a sector of planning and development which could largely be left to the initiative of the people themselves. It is assumed that the inhabitants of different village communities understand their local needs best and that, given the opportunity to work for meeting their feltneeds, they will in time give a good account of themselves.

Second, they assumed that positive results canbe achieved by the mobilization and the utilization of physical resources as well as human resources available in the village communities.

Third, they viewed that the development of village communities shall be based on a comprehensive and integrated planning. That means, they believed in working simultaneously on the economic, the social, the political and the psychölogical development of the village communities.

Fourth, they contemplated that the entire village community rather than particular individuals or particular groups in it, would be brought into the focus of the development.

Fifth, they assumed that the development of the village communities should be largely left not only to the initiative but also to the active participation of the people themselves.

Sixth, they also assumed the participation of the Government to impart technical knowledge and to organize the people for their active participation in the various development programmes.

Finally, they aimed at generating a permanent process of development according to the genius of the village communities.

Through these Community Development Blocks monetary help was provided and many kinds of assistance was given to various village communities. The Community Development Blocks mostly envisaged economic and educational development, improvement of roads and communications and provision of medical and public health facilities. Thus the Community Development Blocks were designed to bring about a rapid improvement in the economic and social standards of the tribal people as well as the non-tribal people in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

Check your progress

2. What was the focus of attention of the Community Development Blocks?

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33.3.2 The Special Multi-Purpose Tribal Blocks

The Community Development Blocks started during the First Five Year Plan (1951-56) did not formulate any special strategy for the socio-economic development of the tribals in the State of Andhra Pradesh or for that matter in several States of India. Therefore, during the Second Five Year Plan (1956-1961) 43 Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks were started as pilot projects in some of the Scheduled Areas or Agency Areas. These Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks were based on the pattern of Community Development Blocks and were designed to bring about a rapid improvement in the economic and social standards of the tribal people in the Scheduled or Agency Areas.

A few Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks were also opened in the Agency Areas of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and Adilabad districts in Andhra Pradesh each with a special and heavy allotment of Rs. 27 lakhs for five years. Large amounts were made available for irrigation, soil conservation, communication and so on. The same was true with regard to the financial outlays for the Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks started in the predominantly tribal areas of the other States in India.

33.3.3 The Tribal Development Agencies

To start a Tribal Development Block in any place, the tribal population of that place must constitute at least 2/3rds of the total population of that place. Several tribal areas did not fulfil this criterion. As a result in many large tribal areas Tribal Development Blocks could not be started. It was later decided to open Tribal Development Blocks even in those tribal areas having more than 50 per cent tribal population. The decision could not cover, however be implemented during the Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74). Instead, the development effort in the existing Tribal Development Blocks was consolidated. In the meantime, as a result of the review of the working of the Tribal Development Blocks by various Committees, especially the Committee headed by Shifu Ao, it was felt that the Tribal Development Blocks were too small units for planning and execution of long term development programmes. It was, therefore, decided to evolve a new strategy for the development of tribal areas.

According to the new strategy evolved for the development of tribal areas, a special programme for the development of selected tribal areas was initiated towards the middle of the Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74). As a result in the year 1971-72, six pilot projects known as Tribal Development Agencies approved by the Government of India were located in the Scheduled or Agency Areas of six districts in four different States. Two more such Tribal Development Agencies have been taken up during Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79). The location of these Tribal Development Agencies in different districts of four States is indicated below.

Andhra Pradesh	Srikakulam
Bihar	Singhbhum
Madhya Pradesh	Bastar (Dantewada) Bastar (Kont)
Orissa	Ganjam Koraput Keonjhar Phulbani

33.3.4 The Integrated Tribal Development Projects

At the time of formulating the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79) a new strategy for tribal development was evolved. The new strategy was called integrated tribal development approach and the corresponding projects meant for tribal development were named as Integrated Tribal Development Projects. The salient features of Integrated Tribal Development Projects were as follows :

- (i) The area development and tribal development were to be suitably intermeshed in an integrated developmental programme.
- (ii) The main thrust of development will be provided by the general sector.
- (iii) The strategy considers the problem of tribal development in three parts :
 - (a) Areas with more than 50 per cent tribal concentration ;
 - (b) Areas with dispersed tribal population; and
 - (c) Primitive tribal groups at pre-agricultural level of economic development.
- (iv) For this purpose, the States and Union Territories have been grouped into three categories, namely :
 - (a) States and Union Territories having more than 50 per cent tribal population (Arunachal Pradesh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Lakshadweep, Meghalaya and Nagaland).
 - (b) States and Union Territories having large tribal population (Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Orissa, Rajasthan, Sikkim and Tripura).
 - (c) States and Union Territories having scattered tribal population (Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Goa, Daman and Diu).

(v) The States and Union Territories will prepare plans for the development of their tribal populations.

- (a) The States and Union Territories with more than 50 per cent tribal population, namely, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Lakshadweep and Dadra and Nagar Haveli are not included in the tribal sub-plan approach as their State plans are, in fact, plans for the development of the tribal people.
- (b) The States and Union Territories having large tribal population and those having scattered tribal population are expected to prepare sub-plans.
- (c) The sub-plans will represent the totality of effort of the State Government, Central Government, financing institutions, and other organizations like the Khadi and Village Industries Commission or voluntary organizations.
- (d) The sub-plan areas will be divided into viable project areas taking into consideration administrative boundaries, topography level of economic development, ethnic composition, natural resources and potential for development. Each such viable area so defined will be the area covered by an Integrated Tribal Development Project.
- (e) Part - II will deal with sectoral programmes. Higher priority is to be given to the protective measures and the programmes which are time-bound in nature. The sectoral programme should start with this most important administrative-cum-economic activity. The next priority is to be given to programmes covering the maximum number of persons in the shortest time. Obviously these programmes are agricultural and allied activities, irrigation, cottage industries, etc. Single-line administrative structure with built-in coordination, synchronization, delegation of authority with clear indication of responsibility, and flexibility to introduce modifications and innovations is considered to be of crucial importance. People's participation is to be spelt out in the light of attitudes, social and community organisation, and the level of sophistication of the tribals in the micro, macro and meso regions of an Integrated Tribal Development Project. The objectives should be to bring the tribal areas on par with the adjoining non-tribal areas and to improve the quality of life of the tribal populations.

In order to achieve these objectives, elimination of all forms of exploitation of tribals particularly in land, money-lending, malpractices in the exchange of agricultural and forest-produce was given high priority. The tribal sub-plans envisaged total physical and financial efforts for integrated development of the tribal areas. The investments in the sub-plan area flow from the State Plan, Central outlays from Central Ministries and Departments, institutional finance, and special Central assistance.

Check your progress

1. When, how many and in which areas were the Special Multi purpose Tribal Blocks opened?

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2. How many Tribal Development Blocks did Andhra Pradesh operate by the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan ?

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3. Which States and Union Territories have more than 50 per cent tribal populations ?

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4. Which States and Union Territories have large tribal populations ?

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5. Which States and Union Territories have scattered tribal populations ?

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33.3.5 The performance and achievements

For the uplift of the tribes, the Central Government and the Government of Andhra Pradesh have spent several crores of rupees between the First and the Sixth Five Year plans. Community Development Blocks, Tribal Development Blocks and Integrated Tribal Development Projects have been entrusted with the task of tribal development.

In the first Plan the Community Development Blocks envisaged economic and educational development, improvement of roads and communications and provision of medical and public health facilities. In the Second plan, the emphasis was on economic development in the fields

of agriculture, cottage industries, forest co-operatives and setting up of Special Multi-Purpose Tribal Blocks. In the Third Plan, priority was given to starting of Tribal Development Blocks as units of development. The Fourth Plan came up with another emphasis in which programmes like communication, irrigation, forestry, processing industries and vocational and secondary education were planned and executed in terms of larger areas. Therefore the emphasis was on an area development approach.

In the Fifth Plan, a new strategy for tribal development was evolved. Accordingly to this strategy, Agency Areas with 50 or more per cent of tribal population were delineated, and tribal sub-plans were prepared. As a result Integrated Tribal Development Projects were opened. The broad objectives of the Integrated Tribal Development Projects are : to narrow the gap between the levels of development of tribal areas and non-tribal areas and to improve the quality of life of the tribal communities. The Sixth Plan strategies for tribals development are the same as those of the Fifth Plan. The tribal development programmes will be so directed as to ensure flow of benefits to a targeted number of families to enable them to cross the poverty line and reach the level of development almost equal to that of their non-tribal neighbours. The Community Development Blocks continue to serve the needs of the tribals living in the Plains Areas of Andhra Pradesh.

The achievements of these various Blocks and Projects with regard to the tribal development in the last 35 years are not in accordance with the expectations of the Government and the tribal populations of Andhra Pradesh.

In the field of agriculture and allied sectors concerned with tribals of Andhra Pradesh, the results of development programmes are not encouraging. Coffee plantation in some tribal areas has become successful to some extent. Shifting cultivation is yet to be restricted. Iron ploughs were introduced in many Tribal Development Blocks of Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam Agency Areas only to be rusted through disuse. Similarly bullock carts introduced in some tribal areas were not accepted by the tribals. The Tribal Development Blocks of Araku in Visakhapatnam district introduced small-sized bullock carts in many tribal villages. It was prompted by good reasoning that it would suit the small-sized cattle and the uneven terrain.

In the field of minor irrigation, there are several failures even though there are a few successes. In all the Agency Areas, springs, small brooks and streams comprise the best sources of irrigation. But in many villages minor irrigation either failed to cater to the needs of tribal cultivators or ceased to be a source of water supply to the agriculture fields.

In the field of land and land alienation, the problem of illegal transfers of land from the tribals to money-lenders continues to be a serious one. The evil persists even after the introduction of several legal measures between 1970 and 1975

In the field of forest exploitation, a big federation of forest co-operatives is helping the tribals. The Forest Regulation of 1952 allows the local tribes certain concessions like use of the forest for agricultural purposes, free grazing, removal of stones and earth, timber, bamboo, etc., for collection of firewood, for fishing and hunting, for shifting cultivation and for collection of minor forest produce for domestic consumption and for local sale. Although the Forest Regulations are liberal to the tribals in granting them certain rights for the exploitation of the

forest, the non-tribals seem to have deprived the tribals from enjoying these rights. For example, at Marriguddem village near Sileru in Chintapalli taluk of Visakhapatnam district, there is a sand quarry. The tribals quarried sand whenever they required and utilized it for various purposes. This quarry along with others was utilized by the Government for the construction of Upper Sileru Hydroelectric Project. After the construction of this Project was completed, non-tribal parties started claiming ownership of the quarry and depriving the tribal from enjoying their rights over the quarry.

In the field of co-operative there is some success. Andhra Pradesh has started the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Tribe Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation with four objectives: (a) to protect the tribals from middlemen, (b) to provide credit facilities, (c) to procure for them their daily requirements, and (d) to arrange for the marketing of their agricultural and minor forest produce. However in 1970s the performance of this Corporation was not satisfactory due to various reasons. Even to this day this Corporation is not able to provide adequate credit facilities to the tribal people in the Agency Areas.

In the field of cottage industries and major industries, only little benefits accrued to the tribals. The cottage and village industries have been an integral part of the tribal welfare and development programmes in the first three Five Year plans. Demonstration-cum-training centres such as carpentry centres, cane weaving centres, rope-making centres and fruit canning centres were opened at the headquarters of several Tribal Development Blocks and Community Development Blocks. None of these centres were successful for more than ten years after their opening for several reasons.

In the field of education much has been done to remove the illiteracy in the tribal people of Andhra Pradesh. Still not more than 5 per cent of them are literates. While much has been done much more remains to be done if the tribals are to be brought on par with the non-tribals. The tribals have been given special educational facilities right from the primary education to university education. Primary education is not yet satisfactory among the tribals of Andhra Pradesh. The work patterns, the economic conditions and the demands of child care by young children in the absence of their parents have influenced the tribal children to abscond from the school. There is lot of stagnation and wastage in the education of tribals. The teachers coming from the Plains Areas, generally think that it is a punishment for them to be appointed in Agency Areas and hence cannot evince much interest in their work. Several Ashram schools or residential type of schools under a group of teachers have been started in all the Agency Areas. These schools proved more successful than the single-teacher schools. Secondary education among the tribals shows much less progress than the primary education. The coverage of Middle schools, and High schools in the Agency Areas is very low. Regarding College and University education, the progress is much less than secondary education. Even though manifold efforts have been made in tribal education in different directions such as primary education, middle school education, Ashram type of schools, single-teacher schools, girls education, post-matric education, overseas scholarships for education abroad, vocational and technical education, industrial training with tuition facility, the achievements are not satisfactory.

33.4 WELFARE AND ADVISORY AGENCIES

33.4.1 The Ministry of Tribal Welfare

The Central Government and the State Government of Andhra Pradesh are making incessant efforts for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. The State Government of Andhra Pradesh has a separate ministry known as Ministry of Tribal Welfare to look after the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes as prescribed in Article 164 of the Constitution.

The Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, is the modal ministry for overall policy, planning and coordination of development programmes through Community Development Blocks, Tribal Development Blocks, Integrated Tribal Development Projects and so on. Each Central Ministry and Department is the modal ministry or department concerning its sector such as agriculture, irrigation, education social welfare, communication, industries, works and housing, forests and health and family welfare. These ministries individually earmark some funds for tribal welfare in each Five Year Plan. Likewise the Ministry of Home Affairs itself contributes some finances for tribal welfare. Thus the Central assistance for various tribal welfare programmes will be the totality of the assistance provided by all the ministries.

33.4.2 The Directorate of Tribal Welfare

The Ministry of Tribal Welfare, Government of Andhra Pradesh, operates its activities through the Directorate of Tribal Welfare headed by a Director. Under the Director of Tribal Welfare there are several District Tribal Welfare Officers in different districts of the State of Andhra Pradesh.

The Director of Tribal Welfare will take of the implementation of various programmes through the Tribal Development Blocks, the Community Development Blocks, and the Integrated Tribal Development Projects. The District Tribal Welfare Officers will assist the Director of Tribal Welfare. They look after the various tribal welfare programmes at the District level and supervise certain tribal welfare programmes undertaken by the various Blocks in the District. Through the District Tribal Welfare Officers, the Ministry of Tribal Welfare and the Directorate of Tribal Welfare disburse the pre-matric and post-matric scholarships and finances to the various hostels for tribal children.

33.4.3 The Committee, Advisory Council and Research Institute

The State of Andhra Pradesh has set up a State Legislature Committee on the pattern of Parliamentary Committee at the Centre, Government of India.

Apart from the State Legislature Committee, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has also set up State Advisory Council as per the provision in the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution to advice on matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

Keeping in view the need for meeting the exigencies of the tribal problems and the strength of tribal population, the State of Andhra Pradesh has started the Tribal Cultural Research and

Training Institute in the year 1963 in Hyderabad. This Institute has two wings, namely Training wing and Research wing. The Training wing attached to the Institute arranges short-term courses for staff members working in the State Secretariat and officers of different Heads of Departments connected with tribal welfare and development.

Check your progress

6. What are the functions of the Directorate of tribal welfare.

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33.5 SUMMING UP

The policy of the State of Andhra Pradesh towards its tribal population is the same as the policy of India. The process of planning for the tribal development in the State of Andhra Pradesh and in the other States of India began in 1950 special multipurpose tribal blocks were started in Agency Areas of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and Adilabad. At the time of formulating the Fifth Five year Plan a new strategy for tribal development was evolved which was called integrated tribal Development Project.

33.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS

1. Furer-Haimendorf, C.Von : The Chenchus : Jungle Folk of Deccan. Macmillan Co., London, 1943.
2. Furer-Haimendorf, C.Von and Furer-Haimendorf, Elizabeth Von.C : The Reddis of Bison Hills : A Study in Acculturation 2 Volumes. Macmillan Co., London, 1945.
3. Furer-Haimendorf, C.Von and Furer-Haimendorf, Elizabeth Von.C : The Raj Gonds of Adilabad : A Peasant Culture, Deccan, Macmillan Co., London, 1948.
4. Rabinandan Pratap. D : Tribes of Andhra Pradesh, World Telugu Conference Office, Hyderabad, 1975.
5. Rabinandan Pratap. D : Andhra Pradesh Adima Jaatulu (in Telugu), Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad, 1980.
6. Dube, S.C. The Tribal Problem in India, 1960.
7. Reddy, N.S. The Official and the Tribal, 1971.
8. Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes 1973-74 (Twenty second Report) Integrated Area Development Plans for Tribal Areas, 1975.
9. Roy Borman, B.K. Respectives for Administration and Development of the Scheduled Tribes, 1975.
10. Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

33.8 MODEL EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following in 30 lines each :

1. Describe the policy and programme of the State of Andhra Pradesh towards the welfare of tribals.
2. When did the process of planning for tribal development in the State of Andhra Pradesh begin ? Explain how this planning has resulted in the formation of Community Development Blocks.
3. Give an account of Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks opened in the Agency Areas of Andhra Pradesh.
4. What was the core economic programme of Tribal Development Agency ?
5. What are the salient features of Integrated Tribal Development Projects ?
6. What was the performance of Tribal Development in the Agency Areas of Andhra Pradesh in helping the tribals in the field of cottage industries ?

II. Answer the following in 15 lines each :

1. What are the main features of Community Development Blocks ?
2. On What aspects of development did the Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks opened in selected parts of the Agency Areas of Andhra Pradesh emphasize ?
3. What was the objective of the Tribal Development Agency projects located in selected States including the State of Andhra Pradesh ?
4. What are the objectives of Integrated Tribal Development Projects ?
5. How are the objectives of Integrated Tribal Development Projects achieved ?

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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

SOCIOLOGY

Course-II Social Anthropology

- Block I Anthropology as a study of Man**
- Unit 1 Definition and Meaning of Anthropology
- Unit 2 Scope of Anthropology
- Unit 3 Divisions of Anthropology and their Relationship
- Block II Social Anthropology**
- Unit 4 Origin, Development and Methods of Social Anthropology
- Unit 5 Social Anthropology - Nature, Scope and its relationship with other Social Sciences
- Block III Concept of Culture**
- Unit 6 Definition, Characteristics and aspects of Culture
- Unit 7 Culture Process - Evolution, Diffusion, Acculturation, Trans-culturation and Enculturation
- Block IV Society**
- Unit 8 Characteristics of Tribal, Peasant and Urban Society
- Unit 9 Differences between Tribe and Caste
- Unit 10 Race and Culture
- Block V Family, Marriage and Kinship**
- Unit 11 Definition, Characteristics and functions of Marriage
- Unit 12 Ways of Acquiring Mates and Forms of Marriage
- Unit 13 Definition, Characteristics and Functions of Family
- Unit 14 Type of family
- Unit 15 Definition of kinship and kinship terminology
- Unit 16 Kinship groups-lineage, clan, phratry and moiety

Block VI Tribal Economy

- Unit 17 General features of Tribal Economy
- Unit 18 Forms of Tribal Economy
- Unit 19 Reciprocity, Redistribution and Exchange

Block VII Political Organisation

- Unit 20 General features of Tribal Polity-the Nature of Headship
- Unit 21 Forms of Tribal Political Organisations
- Unit 22 Tribal Law and Justice

Block VIII Religious Organisation

- Unit 23 Definition, forms and functions of Religion
- Unit 24 Definition forms and functions of Magic
- Unit 25 Relationship between Religion, Magic and Science

Block IX Tribes of India

- Unit 26 Distribution of Tribes in India
- Unit 27 Racial and linguistic classification of Indian Tribes
- Unit 28 Socio-economic features of Indian Tribes

Block X Tribal Welfare

- Unit 29 Culture contact and Tribal Problems
- Unit 30 Policy towards Tribes in pre-independent India
- Unit 31 Constitutional Safeguards to Tribes
- Unit 32 Tribes in Andhra Pradesh-A broad outline
- Unit 33 Tribal Welfare in Andhra Pradesh

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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

SECOND YEAR (3 YEAR DEGREE COURSE) EXAMINATION

MODEL QUESTION PAPER

SOCIOLOGY - COURSE-II

SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

TIME : 3 Hours

Max. Marks : 100

Section - A

Note : Answer any FOUR of the following eight questions in about 30 lines each.
Each question carries 15 marks.

4 × 15 = 60

1. Discuss the scope of social Anthropology.
2. Describe the various perspectives of Anthropology.
3. What are the different cultural processes?
4. What is clan? Explain its types and features.
5. What are the problems faced by tribals due to culture contact?
6. Give an account of the population of the tribes of Andhra Pradesh.
7. Define culture and give the anthropological meanings of the term culture.
8. Describe the various forms of distribution system in tribal societies.

Section - B

Note : Answer any five of the following ten questions in about 15 lines each.
Each question carries 8 marks.

5 × 8 = 40

1. State the difference between the methods of Sociology and social-cultural Anthropology.
2. What are the objectives of the integrated Tribal Development Projects.
3. Describe the typologies of the families each utilizing a single criterion.
4. What are the broad features of the directive principles of the State policy towards tribals in India?
5. What are the characteristics of uncentralized political system?
6. Explain the prospective, prescriptive and preferential rules that regulate the Selection of Spouse.
7. Discuss the holistic perspective of Anthropology.
8. Describe the administration of Scheduled Areas.
9. What do we mean by brachycephaly and dolicocephaly?
10. Which physical criteria are used for classifying human populations into races.

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UNDERGRADUATE COURSES II YEAR

SUBJECT : SOCIOLOGY

COURSE II : SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

ASSIGNMENT-I

N.B.

1. Do not copy the answer directly from any of the books.
 2. As far as possible try to answer the questions independently in your own words.
 3. If it is necessary to quote from any source give the correct reference.
 4. Use your own foolscap pages for writing the assignment.
 5. Leave sufficient margins for the comments of the evaluator.
 6. Completion of this assignment should not take more than two hours time.
-

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

1. Explain the scope of Social Anthropology.
2. Give an account of the divisions of early modern and contemporary Anthropology.
3. What are the views of scientists on the question of relationship between race and culture?

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

1. State the differences between the methods of Sociology and Social-Cultural Anthropology.
2. What are the most common characteristics of tribal societies?
3. Define culture and give the anthropological meanings of the term culture.

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COURSE II : SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

ASSIGNMENT-II

N.B.

1. Do not copy the answer directly from any of the books.
 2. As far as possible try to answer the questions independently in your own words.
 3. If it is necessary to quote from any source give the correct reference.
 4. Use your own foolscap pages for writing the assignment.
 5. Leave sufficient margins for the comments of the evaluator.
 6. Completion of this assignment should not take more than two hours time.
-

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

1. Describe the different ways of acquiring a mate.
2. Briefly explain the different characteristics of tribal economy.
3. What are the problems of the tribals who come into contact with non-tribals?

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

1. Describe balanced reciprocity system of exchange.
2. What is moiety? Explain its role in dual organization.
3. How can you classify the kin terms by their mode of use?

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UNDERGRADUATE COURSES II YEAR

SUBJECT : SOCIOLOGY

COURSE II : SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

ASSIGNMENT-III

1. Do not copy the answer directly from any of the books.
 2. As far as possible try to answer the questions independently in your own words.
 3. If it is necessary to quote from any source give the correct reference.
 4. Use your own foolscap pages for writing the assignment.
 5. Leave sufficient margins for the comments of the evaluator.
 6. Completion of this assignment should not take more than two hours time.
-

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines.

1. What are the differences between magic and religion?
2. What are the differences between Primitive Law and Modern Law?
3. What constitutional safeguards are provided for the employment of Indian tribes?

II. Answer the following in about 15 lines.

1. Which physical criteria are used for classifying human population into races?
2. What are the objectives of Integrated Development Projects?
3. What are the various types of religious rituals.

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