EUROPEAN MODERNITY, COLONIALISM AND ANTHROPOLOGY AND ITS SUB DISCIPLINES

Unit Structure

1.0 OBJECTIVES

- To explore the development of different Schools of Sociology in India.
- To learn about the historical development of Bombay School
- To learn about the different approaches followed in Indian Sociology.

1.1 EUROPEAN MODERNITY

Sociologists have dealt with Modernity as a subject more than Anthropologists. As Sociologists often are associated with the study of industrial society where as Anthropologists often study the simple

societies. The reason for sociologists to be more interested about modernity or its consequences lies within the inception of the subject itself. Sociology developed from the background of French revolution, industrialization etc. To use Auguste Comte's words, Sociology was advanced to understand and develop laws of the social phenomena [1](1). On the other hand Anthropology was established with the background of curiosity, understanding of religion, culture and evolution of human being. Though in the later period Anthropology has evolved far from the observing traditional societies to study a larger group and using news methods and areas like visual anthropology, visual ethnography etc.

1.1.1 Meaning of Modernity:

Modernity can be seen as phenomena with several characteristics. It is a distinctive constellation of intellectual tendencies, including the propensity to subject established norms and practices to critical reflection, to seek physical causes for disease, to believe both in universal human rights and in cultural specificity, and to affirm oneself as an individual even while lamenting the lack of community. The condition of modernity also refers to a set of institutional structures, including popular elections, rule by law, secular bureaucracy, an independent judiciary and free press, public education, capitalism, and monogamous marriage (3).

1.1.2 History:

Modern societies began to emerge in Europe from about 15th century. However, the clear formation of modernity can be said after the enlightenment period. Enlightenment was described as the age of reason, science, progress. Before modernity came in the west, there was renaissance followed by enlightenment. Both these movements were based for a fight for social justice and development. The importance given to the religious practices, monarch and feudalism had declined. Modernization came with the processes of urbanization and industrialization. Modernity took over two centuries to develop.

Check Your Progress
1. List out few historical factors which led to the Modernity in Europe?

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2. Discuss the meaning of Modernity?

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[1] Comte's sense, meant abandoning absolute for relative truth, and the search for the real nature or cause of things, in favour of discovering laws, defined as predictable regularities in the behaviour of observable phenomena.

1.1.3 Modernity and Social change:

Modernity in the West in the first half of the 20th century meant new formats for new thoughts—innovative ways of writing and thinking, new fields of inquiry, the infusion of women into historically male-dominated workforces, the emergence of new art forms (e.g., jazz and silent film), and the development of new products and technologies. The rationalization of processes led to schemes such as the intensification of the division of labour, which improved work efficiency and provided work opportunities for semiskilled individuals. Ford's manufacturing system greatly influenced the modern economy. Likewise, technological innovations such as the telegraph and the advent of photography also altered modes of inhabiting environments and daily living for entire populations. Some scholars even go so far as to locate modernity with the advent of the printing press and the mass circulation of print information that brought about expanded literacy in a middle class during the 15th century (9). Modernity is also associated with several fields, processes like Industrialization and urbanisation, Development, Democracy, Capitalism, Superiority of power, free market and optimism. The search for the knowledge in science, technology, society and politics and Rationality (2).

1.1.4 Sociologists view on Modernity:

Marx, Durkheim, Weber witnessed the consequence of modernity but all of them viewed it differently. For Marx modernity was a process of industrialization in terms of production relations. According to Durkheim modernity creates differentiation in society. This differentiation would help the mechanical society to transform into organic society. In other words for Marx Modernity was commodification. For Weber it was rationality and for Durkheim it was differentiation and stratification for Simmel it was city life and money economy which created change in human behaviour. Today modernity, has become a global phenomenon and has developed some parts of the world while has developed in equality in others (2).

1.2 COLONIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

1.2.1 Understanding Colonization:

The oxford dictionary defines colonization as 'the act of taking control of an area or a country that is not your own, especially using force, and sending people from your own country to live there' (6). Colonization can be said where people from specific races started to travel to other countries. Thereafter they started ruling the other civilizations. They exploited the natural resources, human too. This started around the 15th century whereby people from Europe, Britain, Portuguese started controlling the native inhabitants of Asian and African countries.

1.2.2 Literature produced:

Colonizers had deep interest in the countries in which they colonised. Colonizers encouraged research, writing monographs, translation works and even sponsored scholars to a large extent. This was done to understand the local customs, traditions, norms etc. so that it would help them to rule the country which they made as colonies. Secondly, to understand one's own past as the ancient traditions, civilization gives answers to problems of the modern world. This interest where the Whites study the colonies continues even today. Even today several scholars continue to study India and there are departments outside the country which still produces a body of literature about India. For e.g. South Asian Studies in Heidelberg.

1.2.3 Problems with their work:

One of the pioneering works where a researcher W.H. Whyte from west studies about western world is that of 'Street corner society'. Several colonial writings about people from different parts of the world have some form of euro centrism in their work. The proximity between those who are researched and researcher is always seen in the work. In a way it was studying the 'other'. However, with times language too has changed. For e.g. In the old texts like that of the father of Anthropology E.B. Tylor uses the word 'Primitive' in his book titled 'Primitive culture' but now this term is replaced with indigenous. Though it cannot be denied that colonizers have contributed in creating a large amount scholarly work both from the first hand field experience or as an Arm chair anthropologist. The impact of colonial anthropology though can be still seen from the amount of western theories which we still continue to use while studying the subject.

Lewis points out that Anthropology emerged from the colonial expansion of Europe. Colonialism structured the relationship between anthropologists and non-Western peoples in the past. Fieldworkers conducted their studies as a form of privilege as a dominant group. This had a deep effect on the methodological and conceptual formulations in the discipline. For example, the role of "objective outsider" resulted in professional exploitation of subject matter which can be seen as an **academic manifestation of colonialism**. Hence, the biases in the literature produced by colonizers needs deeper examination. In some way, Anthropology and colonial racism can be seen as era of violence. In this context, the advantages of a "native anthropology" are examined as one possible alternative. Native should be encouraged, trained to conduct research (Lewis, 1973).

Check Your Progress
1. Write a note on the Sociologists view on Modernity?

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2. Discuss in few lines what were the problems with work produced by Colonizers??

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1.3 ANTHROPOLOGY AND ITS SUB DISCIPLINES

Human beings have been always curious. This curiosity has led to progress and search. Several disciplines have emerged out to understand the human beings and its creation. For e.g. Political science which studies power, politics; history which study's past; economics which focuses on demand, supply market etc. but all these disciplines study a specific area connected to human beings. Anthropology on the other hand studies human being from its origin to present form. In other words, it studies human beings in its totality. This makes this Anthropology stand out completely from other disciplines.

1.3.1 Understanding Anthropology:

Anthropology is the systematic study, science of nature of human beings. The term is derived from two Greek words- anthropos which means human and logos which means thought, reason and study. Anthropology often studies simple societies. The subject of anthropology ranges from tribal studies to languages, folklore; social behavior and even physical structure of human beings (11). Anthropologists investigate the whole range of human development and behavior, including biological variation, geographic distribution, evolutionary history, cultural history and social relationships (10). Hence it is can be called as the science of humanity.

1.3.2 Origin:

The Greeks and the Romans can be said to have laid the foundation of anthropology. They also have developed other disciplines like ethics aesthetics; logic history. The origin of anthropology can be seen as associated with the growth of the civilization of Europe and Middle East.
The earliest statement of anthropology was made by Xenophanes in the fifth century BC. He was a Greek philosopher who believe that society was created by human beings themselves. Another important person who had contributed to anthropology is Herodotus. He described the lifestyle of about home he visited during his Travels he discussed the physical characteristics and language.

Three sets of people who wrote about people from different parts of the world were traders, missionaries; travellers. They recorded the differences of the other culture that travel accounts is also so and important document for the anthropologist. The writings however cannot be seen as anthropological work purely but to some extent it has been used.

The background of the development of the discipline were also several traditions like enlightenment, French revolution, the idea of progress and the development of natural science. In other words the scientific and technological revolutions had begun in the Europe in the 18th century which focus on achievement was towards individualism.

1.3.3 Key scholars and schools:

In the second half of the nineteenth century anthropology became a separate discipline. The colonizers who visited and other countries very curious about the indigenous cultures. They started to collect data regarding Technology language kinship religious practices of the other culture in in which they visited. They also sponsored several scholars.

The first British anthropologist was E W Tylor 1832 -1917. He in his book primitive culture discuss about the religious beliefs and culture of different society she was an. He was an evolutionist. There were also another anthropologist Scholars like Tylor, Morgan who developed universal patterns of development of culture. These anthropologists were arm chair (referred books and came to conclusion) as well as they used the comparative method for or observing the culture of different societies.
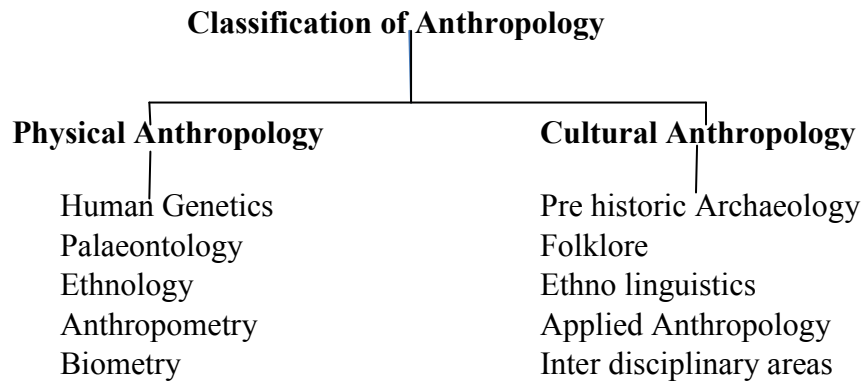
Evolutionary theory was criticized by the diffusionist and functional school of thought which developed in the twentieth century. the definition is to believe that culture diffused from one place to another through migration extra the functionalist there are more focused on observing the functions of the society than the historical nature of it the functionalist anthropology emphasized the concept of social system.

Check Your Progress
1. List out the few dominant schools in Anthropology?

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2. According to you what is Anthropologists key areas of study?

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There are two disciplines within anthropology. The first one is called as Physical anthropology and the second one is called as Cultural anthropology.

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Classification of Anthropology

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Physical Anthropology	**Cultural Anthropology**
Human Genetics	Pre historic Archaeology
Palaeontology	Folklore
Ethnology	Ethno linguistics
Anthropometry	Applied Anthropology
Biometry	Inter disciplinary areas

1.3.4 Physical anthropology sub divisions:

1. **Human Genetics:** This field studies the genesis of man, human heredity. It looks into the physical characteristics that are transmitted from one generation to another through heredity. This field studies the old human skeletons of different stages. It also looks into the history of earth evolution. For e.g. It studies fossil humans.

2. **Ethnology:** This field looks into the races and cultures of mankind and compares it from one society to another. It classifies human races and studies their physical characteristics. Ethnology is based upon anthropometry, biometrics as both measure racial characteristics.

3. **Anthropometry :** This field measures observes as well as measures human beings. It looks into the physical structures of living human beings as well as human fossils. For e.g. Length of nose, hair breadth of head, texture of skin, eyes, hair etc.

4. **Biometry :** Biometry is the statistical study of biological aspect of human beings like disease, birth, growth death etc. (2).

In other words, as the name studies physical anthropology looks into the physical characteristics of human beings both past and present. In the Bombay School of sociology, we study more of cultural anthropology. If you were studying at medicine then that would be a subject of physical anthropology. Several universities have a separate department of Anthropology but in our University we have it together. So, let us now look into the Cultural Anthropology sub divisions.

1.3.5 Cultural Anthropology sub divisions:

1. **Prehistory and Archaeology**: Prehistoric studies refers to the study of human beings, a period of human history before written records

existed. Archeology focuses on reconstructing, describes the human behavior and cultural patterns through the material remains.

2. **Folklore**: Folklore focuses on the oral traditions narrated among people. It could be proverbs, stories, myths, rituals, customs or any other form of expressions like art forms. Understanding and recording these symbols are very important to understand the timeline of growth of culture itself.

3. Ethno linguistics: Linguistic Anthropologists study language in its social and cultural context, in space and through time (4).

4. **Applied Anthropology**: Uses knowledge to identify, assess and solve practical problems. It focuses on application, implications. For e.g. Applied medical anthropology considers the sociocultural context and implication of a disease. Development funds are often wasted if an anthropologist is not asked to identity local needs, demands, priorities and constraints (4).

5. **Interdisciplinary areas**: There are several sub disciplines or inter disciplines like Urban Anthropology, Economic Anthropology, Medical Anthropology, Psychological Anthropology, Anthropology of Religion, Political Anthropology, Ecological Anthropology etc.

Check Your Progress
1. Write in brief about two sub disciplines of Physical Anthropology?

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2. Write in brief about two sub disciplines of Cultural Anthropology?

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1.3.6 Perspectives in Anthropology :

Two important dimensions through which Anthropology studies is comparison and holistic perspective. Comparison here refers to comparing one society with another. For e.g. New York being compared with Mumbai and drawing out certain common features or differences like both are metropolitan cities, over populated, fast moving economy etc. Holistic perspective refers to whereby the problem or community which is being studied is seen from its origin to the present form.

1.3.7 Research methods in Anthropology:

At the heart of anthropology is the field work tradition. Field work means where by the researcher him / herself visits the community under study and then records its practices and then comes to conclusions. The two-research method very popular in anthropology is that of Participant observation and that of Ethnography. In participant observation the researcher becomes a part of the event under study and then makes his notes and completes his work. For e.g. The researcher participates in a marriage of a particular tribal group like Warli and then records its rituals etc.

In Ethnography the researcher stays at a village/ tribal area for around a year and then observes its day to day practices and then records those observation and then publishes or submits his work.

1.4 SUMMARY

Thus, in this chapter we observed the European modernity which was an off shoot of French revolution, science, enlightenment period. We also looked into the problems of colonial anthropology like distance between the researched and researcher which is hierarchical. This chapter also gave an introduction to the field of anthropology, its sub branches like Physical anthropology and Cultural Anthropology. We also looked into what are the two perspectives through anthropology is studied i.e. Comparative and Holistic. The research methods popularly used for studying Anthropology i.e. Fieldwork – Participant observation, Ethnography. In the forthcoming chapters we would look into the different pioneering theories connected to Anthropology.

1.5 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Explain the concept of Modernity. Elaborate on sociologist view of modernity.
2. Explain the concept of colonial Anthropology.
3. What is Anthropology? Explain its link with other disciplines.
4. Explain the role of Research Methodology in Anthropology?

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2

CLAIMS TO HOLISM, THE COMPARATIVE METHOD AND THE ORIGIN OF FIELD WORK, DEBATES IN CLASSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Unit Structure

2.0 OBJECTIVES

- To explore the development of different Schools of Sociology in India.
- To learn about the historical development of Bombay School
- To learn about the different approaches followed in Indian Sociology.

2.1 CHAPTER FRAMEWORK

In this chapter we would look into these topics. Firstly, Holism which is looking the subjects from all perspective to get a complete picture. Second section talks about how comparative method helps in founding out the common grounds of different society. The third section talks about the fieldwork tradition its meaning and its origin. The last section discusses the classical debates in anthropology about culture, origin through the theories.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Every discipline grows with time, depending upon the need of the hour. In terms of Anthropology too such things happened. Several concepts have emerged; since its inception and has became a part of the subject. One such concept is that of holism or holistic perspective.

The holistic perspective looks human beings from all perspectives. It stresses the interrelationships among different aspects of life and emphasis that every culture has to understood not only in its local manifestation (context) but also from the global context or wider perspective [i].

2.2.1 Origin :

The term holism is associated with South African Statesman Jan Christian Smuts (Harrington 1966: xxii; Smuts (1999) in the early 1920s. Before the use of this word the earlier anthropologists used words like 'complex whole', the whole phenomenon' 'collective representations'. There is no clear definition of holism as such. Nanda and Warms (2009: 6) states that Anthropologists have been using this since long time. In other words anthropology combines the study of human biology, history, and several other disciplines. This is one of the most unique feature too which separates anthropology from other subjects which focus on only one aspect of human group. In other words, holism provides holistic view of humanity, it provides a vantage view point. The methods associated with holism perspective is that of ethnography, fieldwork, participant observation. To understand certain society at times we also have to give importance on the context of the study. In a way it would help to making it more meaningful, cultural and functional. This would even help to understand and compare societies. Holism is like camera which allows to capture "whole bodies, whole interactions, and whole people in whole acts (Heider 2006: 6)[ii]

Check your Progress
1. List out the points related to your understanding of Holism in Anthropology?

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2. Discuss the origin of holism?

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2.3 COMPARATIVE METHOD

The basic operation in the comparative method is an arrangement of social or cultural conditions observed among existing peoples into a series that is then taken to represent a process of evolution[iii].

The Comparative method was born in 1888 in a paper by Edward Burnett Tylor which he delivered to the Royal

Anthropological Institute. It was developed out of the concern towards Anthropological methods. To quote his words,

"For years past it has become evident that the great need of anthropology is that its methods should be strengthened and systematized.... Strict method has, however, as yet only been introduced over part of the anthropological field. There has still to be overcome a certain not unkindly hesitancy on the part of men engaged in the precise operations of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, to admit that the problems of anthropology are amenable to scientific treatment."

Tylor argued from a sample of 350 societies that the evolution of cultural complexity leads from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions[iv].

In the book 'The Methodology of Anthropological Comparison', Sarana (1975) talks about three types of comparative method- global sample comparison, controlled comparison and illustrative comparison. Anthropologist when he makes a comparative study, he/she makes three levels of comparison. 1. Comparison of a single society with other societies. 2. He compares two institutions of a society with similar institution of other societies. 3. He compares the institutions within single society. Several Indian Anthropologists have been using comparative method too like Karve, N.K. Bose, Srinivas etc.

The comparative method has two dimensions:
1. **Synchronic:** here the data is seen from a given point of time in a society i.e. Past is not given much importance. This approach was used by functionalists like Malinowski, Radcliffe Brown.
2. **Diachronic:** Observes society as they change through time in a specific geographical location. In this approach historical dimension is used, whereby old traditions, folklore is given lot importance to build the past. Diachronic approach is important to reconstruct the origin of mankind and his culture.

There is also cross cultural comparative perspective- A scientific approach in Anthropology which tries to find out the regularities, patterns, generalizations, rules or laws which deals with human and social behaviour. The aim is to make macro analysis and making generalizing things (Robben, Sluka, 2012)i.

Hammel, (1980) notes that by using comparative method Tylor thought of comparing nineteenth century and trace the history. The comparative method was initially used by the arm chair anthropologists. They tried to look into the parallels, similarity in different societies both in past and present. Till 19th century majority of comparative studies were based on secondary sources. Comparison method works on the basic idea of availability of basic notes and documents. Historians have been using archival materials since long. The early implementation of comparative method was accepted to draw human behaviour and the function and conclusions about

historical development. He also points out that Reliable comparisons cannot be made between data sets that are not governed by similar theoretical intent, techniques of collection and types of classification. So, following this method is difficult even with computation and technological development[v].

Boas (1896) on the other hand in his paper writes the problems with comparative method. We have in this method a means of reconstructing the history of growth of ideas with much greater accuracy than the generalization of the comparative method will permit. Boas also points out the processes of growth of small geographical areas should also be made rather than just comparing societies. Comparative method according to him won't be successful until we renounce the endeavour to make uniform history of evolution of culture[vi].

Through comparative method anthropologists try to develop the past and learn about the laws of the social processes. It also helps to make classification of the categories like caste, class and groups.

Check Your Progress
1. Write in brief about comparative method?

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2. Discuss the Diachronic and Synchronic concepts

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2.4 FIELDWORK MEANING

Powdermarker (1969) notes that fieldwork is the study of people and of their culture in their natural habitat. Anthropological fieldwork has been carried through the investigator who participated and observed the society. The aim was to get an insider view of the people and get an holistic perspective. Malinowksi's study of Trobriand Islanders, he stayed with people for almost three years. In short fieldwork is immersion in a tribal society- learning, speaking, thinking, seeing, feeling and acting as a member of the culture and at the same time being a trained anthropologists and recording the observations.

Difference between social sciences and nature science in terms of fieldwork[vii]

Humanities – Fieldwork as an art form	Science – Fieldwork as a scientific method
Humanistic	Scientific
Qualitative	Quantitative
Subjective	Objective

Participant (emic)	Observer (etic)
Postmodernism	Positivism/empiricism

Figure 1. The above figure describes the difference between fieldwork in anthropology and other natural science discipline. It also clearly shows the methodological differences for the same.

According to Malinowski, the fieldwork can be categorized into three ways. Firstly, the student must possess real scientific aims and know the values and criteria of modern ethnography. Secondly, he has to put himself in good conditions of work, i.e. to live without white men and live among the natives. Finally, he (she) has to apply a number of special methods of collecting, manipulating, and fixing his evidence[viii]. Malinowski cannot be completely taken into consideration as there is ethical issue here like he is viewing the researcher as only male when he uses the letter 'he' and researcher cannot be black or other racial colors (white men) however, let us take only the core intention of his words which is to guide the investigators.

2.4.1 Origin:

The pioneers of Anthropology like James Frazer were arm chair anthropologists. i.e. they drew their references based on existing books written by travellers, explorers, merchants, scholars who had travelled to remote place. Some of the scholars were also inspired by other thinkers from other disciplines like Charles Darwin. The first school of anthropology the evolutionists were arm chair anthropologists. After some time, the American scholar named Franz Boas insisted on understanding and studying a culture from its own point of view. He gave the theory called Cultural Relativism which states locating a culture in its own context. So, in order to understand and record the context and observing the practices one has to go through rigorous fieldwork. Franz also inspired his students to carry out fieldwork like Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict. With this fieldwork developing the methodology of ethnography was also born. Ethnography is a methodology where the researcher resides in a place for years and records everyday activities of the culture studied.

After Franz Boas, another renowned scholar named Malinowski who belonged to the functionalism school insisted on fieldwork in the place. He himself carried out fieldwork in different places and published several books.

Check Your Progress
1. Explain the origin of fieldwork tradition

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2. Discuss Powdermaker view of fieldwork?

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2.5 DEBATES IN CLASSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The science of anthropology developed as an outgrowth of contemporary studies of the classification of human races; of the comparative characteristics of human anatomy; of the history of human settlements; of the classification of languages and the comparison of grammars; of the comparison between primitive and ancient societies; and of the historical development of man's economy and industry. Finally, about 1840, a principle for the study of human facts was proposed: the concept of evolution. This was even before Charles Darwin had published his celebrated *Origin of Species* (1859). This concept, arising in strong debates, provided the starting point for anthropology.[ix] Anthropologists also enter the arena of theoretical debate with far more than 'data'. They come to it with a set of intuitions, sensibilities and orientations that have been decisively shaped by the field experience[x].

The debate in Anthropology start with understanding the origin of culture and origin of human kind. Several theories have been proposed for this. The first one to be proposed was that of Evolutionists who formulated a uni-linear evolutionary theory. According to this theory human being passed through different stages like barbaric, savagery, civilization. This theory was rejected by the scholars from diffusionist school of German and British. The diffusionists claimed that there are nine centers through which the society moved and some saw the origin from that of Egypt. This theory was also rejected by the American Anthropologist Franz Boas. So, the debates surrounds around understanding the origin of culture.

Check Your Progress
1. Explain the theoretical debate in Classical Anthropology?

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2.6 SUMMARY

In this chapter we started with understanding the holistic perspective which is looking a subject from multiple angles to get an overall picture. The next topic is that of comparative method which discusses that comparison should be made to understand patterns, commonalities. The third topic is that of fieldwork which talks about the tradition of anthropologist who reside in villages and study subjects for long duration. The last topic dealt with locating the theoretical

debates in the anthropology with origin, development and the different theories.

2.7 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by holism? Explain its origin?
2. Explain Comparative Method
3. Explain fieldwork and its origin.
4. What is Anthropology? Explain debates in Anthropology.

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3

EVOLUTIONIST PERSPECTIVES, DIFFUSIONISM : THE KULTURKREIS SCHOOL, BRITISH DIFFUSIONISM

3.0 OBJECTIVES

- To comprehend the earlier theories of Anthropology
- To understand the social and cultural evolution
- To examine the significance of contribution of Tylor and Morgan to Theory of Evolution
- To explain the concept of Diffusionism
- To know various theories of Diffussionism

3.1 EVOLUTIONIST PERSPECTIVES

3.1.1 Introduction:

In anthropology, as in any discipline, there is a continual addition and flow of ideas. Early evolutionism in the early years of anthropology, Darwinism had a strong impact on theory. The prevailing view was that culture generally develops (or evolves) in a uniform and progressive manner, just as Darwin argued species did. It was thought that most societies pass through the same series of stages, to arrive ultimately at a common end. The sources of culture change were generally assumed to be embedded within the culture from the beginning, and therefore the ultimate course of development was thought Although Darwin's idea of evolution by natural selection was strongly challenged when first published (particularly, as illustrated here, the idea that humans and primates shared a common ancestor), it has withstood rigorous testing and is the foundation of many anthropological theories.

3.1.2 Definition:

HERBERT SPENCER [1862] defined evolution as 'a change from an indefinite ,incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, through continuous differentiations and integrations'. Later he modifies his definition to means that evolution need not begin with absolute homogeneity or heterogeneity.

3.1.3 History of Cultural Evolution:

The most influential evolution school of 19th C was called 'universal evolution' associated with Tylor, Morgan and Spencer. According to this approach, the whole human society was understood in terms of a sequence of stages compromising of

1. First stage of hunting and gathering.
2. Development of agriculture.
3. Development of some form of govt. i.e. chiefdom, kingdoms and primitive stages.
4. Finally the emergence of industrial culture.

The German scholar **Klemn,** made a compilation of customs to show how man had passed through successive stages of **'savagery'** a **'tameness'** to **'freedom'**.

Auguste Comte has shown man advancing from **'theological stage'** to **'metaphysical stage'** to the **'positive or scientific stage'**.
Theorists like **Montesquieu** proposed an evolutionary scheme consisting of three stages.
1. hunting or savagery.   2. herding or barbarism.
3. civilisation.

3.1.4 Types/Faces of Evonlution:
1. Unilinear Evolution
2. Universal Evolution
3. Multilinear Evolution
4. Differential Evolution

3.1.5 Evolutionism of Tylor And Morgan:

Two 19th-century anthropologists whose writings exemplified the theory that culture generally evolves uniformly and progressively were Edward B. Tylor (1832–1917) and Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–1881).

Contribution of Tylor:

Edward B. Tylor was an English scholar who was associate of Darwin, Galton and other leading thinkers. He is often called as the 'father of ethnology'. his outstanding work, Primitive Culture [1871]offered the first full length explanation of evolutionary point of view. The evolutionary view point may he appreciated by quoting Tylor [1871]

By simply placing [the European] nation at one end of the social series and savage tribe at the other ,[and]arranging the rest of mankind between these limits……..ethnographers are able to set up at least a rough scale of civilization…….[representing] a transmition from the savage state to our own.

As it is undeniable that human have existed in a state of savagery, other portions in a state of barbarism, and still other portions in a state of civilization, it seems equally so that these here distinct conditions are connected with each other in a sequence of progress.

Tylor maintained that culture evolved from the simple to the complex and that all societies passed through three basic stages of development: from **savagery** through **barbarism** to **civilization**. "Progress" was therefore possible for all. To account for cultural variation, Tylor and other early evolutionists postulated that different contemporary societies were at different stages of evolution. According to this view, the "simpler" peoples of the day had not yet reached "higher" stages.

Tylor developed the theory of **'animism'**. He believed 'animism' to be a dominated form of religion among the simplest of primitive society. Polythetic religion implying belief in many gods characteristic of agricultural societies and monotheistic religion[belief in one god]of the most advanced societies.

Tylor believed there was a kind of **psychic unity** among all peoples that explained parallel evolutionary sequences in different cultural traditions. In other words, because of the basic similarities common to all

peoples, different societies often find the same solutions to the same problems independently. But Tylor also noted that cultural traits may spread from one society to another by simple diffusion—the borrowing by one culture of a trait belonging to another as the result of contact between the two.

Contribution of Morgan:

Another 19th-century proponent of uniform and progressive cultural evolution was **Lewis Henry Morgan**. A lawyer in upstate New York, Morgan became interested in the local Iroquois Indians and defended their reservation in a land-grant case. In gratitude, the Iroquois "adopted" Morgan. In his best-known work, Ancient Society, Morgan postulated several sequences in the evolution of human culture. For example, he speculated that the family evolved through six stages. Human society began as a "horde living in promiscuity," with no sexual prohibitions and no real family structure. Next was a stage in which a group of brothers was married to a group of sisters and brothersister matings were permitted. In the third stage, group marriage was practiced, but brothers and sisters were not allowed to mate. The fourth stage was characterized by a loosely paired male and female who still lived with other people. Then came the husband-dominant family, in which the husband could have more than one wife simultaneously. Finally, the stage of civilization was distinguished by the monogamous family, with just one wife and one husband who were relatively equal in status.

Morgans scheme places a lower stage of savagery as involving the 'infancy' of man. Middle savagery starts with acquisition of a fish subsistence and knowledge of the use of fire, upper savagery with the bow and arrow, lower barbarism with domestication of animals, upper barbarism with smelting iron and civilization.

Morgan, believed that there was no marriage in the earliest human society, where people lived in animal-like promiscuity; then there emerged group-marriages than polygamy [marriage of one man with more women] and polyandry marriage of one woman with more than one man and finally monogamy. Monogamy according to him was the highly involved form of marriage, characteristic of modern societies. As a matter of fact, some of the simplest societies like the Andamanes have had monogamy whereas polygamy has existed among the 60-called 'civilized or advanced societies.

However, Morgan's postulated sequence for the evolution of the family is not supported by the enormous amount of ethnographic data that has been collected since his time. For example, no recent society generally practices group marriage or allows brother-sister mating. (In the chapter on marriage and the family, we discuss how recent cultures have varied in regard to marriage customs.)

3.1.6 Conclusion:

There are two main assumptions embedded in social evolutionism: psychic unity and the superiority of Western cultures. Psychic unity is a concept that suggests human minds share similar characteristics all over the world. This means that all people and their societies will go through the same process of development. The assumption of Western superiority was not unusual for the time period. This assumption was deeply rooted in European colonialism and based on the fact that Western societies had more technologically sophisticated technology and a belief that Christianity was the true religion.

3.1.7 Critical Evaluation:

The evolutionism of Tylor, Morgan, and others of the 19th century is largely rejected today. For one thing, their theories cannot satisfactorily account for cultural variation. The "psychic unity of mankind" or "germs of thought" that were postulated to account for parallel evolution cannot also account for cultural differences. Another weakness in the early evolutionist theories is that they cannot explain why some societies have regressed or even become extinct. Finally, although other societies may have progressed to "civilization," some of them have not passed through all the stages. Thus, early evolutionist theory cannot explain the details of cultural evolution and variation as anthropology now knows them.

All evolutionary theories reflect the meaning of human history, growth and progress. Cultural evolutionary theories have been criticized on the ground of their ethnocentrism and their indifference to the cultural diversity .Most evolutionary theories are antievolutionary, antihistorical, antiadaptive and are essentially teleological and represent the continuation of 2000 years of western self-praise.

Evolution was seen by these scholars as single or unilinear thread throughout history. It was rooted in the psychic unity by which all human groups were supposed to have the same potential for evolutionary development, though some were further ahead than others because of climate, soil and other factors.

3.1.8 Summary:

Social evolutionists identified universal evolutionary stages to classify different societies as in a state of savagery, barbarism, or civilization. Morgan further subdivided savagery and barbarism into sub-categories: low, middle, and high. The stages were based primarily on technological characteristics, but included other things such as political organization, marriage, family, and religion. Since Western societies had the most advanced technology, they put those societies at the highest rank of civilization. Societies at a stage of savagery or barbarism were viewed as inherently inferior to civilized society. Spencer's theory of social

evolution, which is often referred to as Social Darwinism but which he called synthetic philosophy, proposed that war promoted evolution, stating that those societies that conducted more warfare were the most evolved. He also coined the phrase "survival of the fittest" and advocated for allowing societies to compete, thereby allowing the most fit in society to survive. With these ideas, Spencer opposed social policy that would help the poor. Eugenicists used Spencer's ideas to promote intellectual and ethnic cleansing as a 'natural' occurrence.

Nineteenth-century evolutionists contributed to anthropology by providing the first systematic methods for thinking about and explaining human societies; however, contemporary anthropologists view nineteenth-century evolutionism as too simplistic to explain the development of societies in the world. In general, the nineteenth-century evolutionists relied on racist views of human development that were popular at that time. For example, both Lewis Henry Morgan and E. B. Tylor believed that people in various societies have different levels of intelligence, which leads to societal differences, a view of intelligence that is no longer valid in contemporary science. Nineteenth-century evolutionism was strongly attacked by historical particularists for being speculative and ethnocentric in the early twentieth-century. At the same time, its materialist approaches and cross-cultural views influenced Marxist Anthropology and Neo-evolutionists.

3.1.9 Unit End Exercise:
1. Explain Evolutionist perspectives.
2. Explain the contribution of Tylor and Morgan to Evolutionism

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3.2 DIFFUSIONISM: THE KULTURKREIS SCHOOL, BRITISH DIFFUSIONISTS

3.2.1 Introduction:

Diffusionism refers to the diffusion or transmission of cultural characteristics or traits from the common society to all other societies. They criticized the Psychic unity of mankind of evolutionists. They believed that most inventions happened just once and men being capable of imitation, these inventions were then diffused to other places. According to them all cultures originated at one point and then spread throughout the world. They opposed the notion of progress from simple to complex forms held by the evolutionists. They also held that primitive or modern is also a relative matter and hence comparative method is not applicable. They looked specifically for variations that gradually occurred while diffusion took place.

3.2.2 Definition:

Diffusion may be simply defined as the spread of a cultural item from its place of origin to other places (Titiev 1959:446). A more expanded definition depicts diffusion as the process by which discrete culture traits are transferred from one society to another, through migration, trade, war, or other contact (Winthrop 1991:82).

Diffusionist research originated in the middle of the nineteenth century as a means of understanding the nature of the distribution of human cultural traits across the world. By that time scholars had begun to study not only advanced cultures, but also the cultures of nonliterate people (Beals and Hoijer 1959:664). Studying these very diverse cultures stimulated an interest in discerning how humans progressed from primeval conditions to "superior" states (Kuklick 1996:161). Among the major questions about this issue was whether human culture had evolved in a

manner analogous to biological evolution or whether culture spread from innovation centers by means of processes of diffusion (Hugill 1996:343).

This school of thought proposed that civilization spread from one culture to another, because humans are basically conservative and lack inventiveness (Winthrop 1991:83). An extreme example of this theory was the idea proposed by English scholar Grafton Elliot Smith. He considered Egypt as the primary source for many other ancient civilizations (Smith 1931:393-394). This form of diffusionism is known as heliocentric diffusionism (Spencer 1996:608). A wider concept, explaining the diffusion of culture traits, was formulated by Leo Frobenius, through the inspiration of his teacher, Freidrich Ratzel. This version is called "culture circles" or *Kulturkreise* (Harris 1968:382-83). An even more expanded version of diffusiionism was proposed in the United States, where diffusionist ideas culminated in the concept of "culture areas." A. L. Kroeber and Clark Wissler were among the main proponents of this version (Harris 1968:373-74).

Two schools of thought emerged in response to these questions. The most extreme view was that there were a very limited number of locations, possibly only one, from which the most important culture traits diffused to the rest of the world. Some Social Evolutionists, on the other hand, proposed that the "psychic unity of mankind" meant that since all human beings share the same psychological traits, they are all equally likely to innovate (see Social Evolutionism in this site for more on the psychic unity of mankind). According to social evolutionists, innovation in a culture, was considered to be continuous or at least triggered by variables that are relatively exogenous. This set the foundation for the idea that many inventions occurred independently of each other and that diffusion had relatively little effect on cultural development (Hugill 1996:343).

3.2.3 German School of Thought:

German anthropologists were considered to be extreme diffusionsists. This school of thought was dominated by the Catholic clergy, who attempted to reconcile anthropological prehistory and cultural evolution with the Book of Genesis. One of the best-known leaders in this attempt was Wilhelm Schmidt, who had studied and written extensively on the relationships between the religions of the world. Schmidt was a follower of Fritz Graebner, who was also working on a world-wide scale with "culture-circles" (Harris 1968:379-83).

German and Austrian diffusionists argued that there were a limited number of culture centers, rather than just one, in the ancient world. Culture traits diffused, not as isolated elements, but as a whole culture complex, due to migration of individuals from one culture to another (Winthrop 1991:83).

The *Kulturkreise* (culture circle) school of thought, even though inspired by Friedrich Ratzel, was actually created by his student, Leo Frobenius. This concept provided the criteria by which Graebner could study Oceania at first and, two years later, cultures on a world-wide basis (Harris 1968:383). The "culture circle" concept proposed that a cluster of functionally-related culture traits specific to a historical time and geographical area (Spencer 1996:611) diffused out of a region in which they evolved. Graebner and Schmidt claimed that they had reconstructed a "limited number of original culture circles" (Harris 1968:384).

3.2.4 British School of Thought:

Diffusionism occurred in its most extreme form in the ideas of the British school of thought. W. H. R. Rivers was the founder of these ideas. He confined his studies to Oceania, where he tried to organize the ethnography according to nomothetic principles and sought to explain the contrasts between Melanesian and Polynesian cultures by the spread of original complexes, which supposedly had been spread by successive waves of migrating people (Harris 1968:380). Rivers states that "a few immigrants possessed of a superior technology can impose their customs on a large autochthonous population" (Lowie 1937:174). He also applied this extreme concept of diffusionism to Australian burial practices. The obvious problem with Rivers' explanations appears when questioned as to why the technology of the "newcomers" disappeared if it was superior. Rivers solves the problem with a rather fantastical flare. He claims that because the "newcomers" were small in number, they failed to assert their "racial strain" into the population (Lowie 1937: 175).

G. Elliot Smith (1871-1937) was a prominent British anatomist who produced a most curious view of cultural distribution arguing that Egypt was the source of all higher culture. He based this on the following assumptions: (1) man was uninventive, culture seldom arose independently, and culture only arose in certain circumstances; (2) these circumstances only existed in ancient Egypt, which was the location from which all culture, except for its simplest elements, had spread after the advent of navigation; (3) human history was full of decadence and the spread of this civilization was naturally diluted as it radiated outwardly (Lowie 1937:160-161).

Smith and W. J. Perry, a student of W. H. R. Rivers, hypothesized that the entire cultural inventory of the world had diffused from Egypt. The development began in Egypt, according to them, about 6,000 years ago (Harris 1968:380; Smith 1928:22). This form of diffusion is known as **heliocentrism** (Spencer 1996:608). They believed that "Natural Man" inhabited the world before development began and that he had no clothing, houses, agriculture, domesticated animals, religion, social organization, formal laws, ceremonies, or hereditary chiefs. The discovery of barley in 4,000 B. C. enabled people to settle in one location. From that point invention in culture exploded and was spread during Egyptian migrations

by land and sea. This account was similar to the Biblical version of world history (Harris 1968:389-381).

3.2.5 Cultural diffusion:

Cultural diffusion is the spread of cultural beliefs and social activities from one group of people to another. Through cultural diffusion, horizons are broadened and people become more culturally rich.

Let's expand our horizons beyond those sushi dinners and daily tweets with some examples of cultural diffusion in society today:

- The spread of music throughout the world also illustrates cultural diffusion. For example, jazz started in the US as a blend of <u>African and European</u> musical traditions. Now, it's enjoyed across the globe, taking on many different variations within the genre.
- Many people in European cities and former colonies speak both their native tongue and English. In fact, almost 80 percent of English speakers in the world are non-native speakers due to the spread of the language through imperialism and trade.
- Japanese culture has often fascinated foreigners. The popularity of sushi around the world, a traditional Japanese dish, exemplifies the spread of Japanese culture and cuisine.

3.2.6 Cultural Diffusion in Technology:

They say knowledge is power. And, when one group of people develops an important element of technology that can benefit people across the globe, it's nice to see that information-sharing take place. Of course, in today's world that can happen at lightning speeds.
Let's take a look at technological diffusion through the years.

- Paper was first made in China, eventually spreading to the Middle East and Europe.
- Gunpowder also originated in China. Of course, nations all across the globe went on to produce gunpowder, too.
- The fax machine was invented by Scottish inventor <u>Alexander Bain</u>, but certainly didn't remain in the UK alone.
- The anti-lock brake system was developed in the United States, despite many claims that the German manufacturer, Mercedes, got there first. The Germans then perfected it.

3.2.7 Economics and Cultural Diffusion:

Even before the Middle Ages, when merchants traded their goods by traveling from region to region, the benefits of cultural diffusion were apparent. If one region didn't have the climate to produce one crop, another did, and those goods were diffused across countries and nations. One good was traded for another and communities enjoyed the benefits of

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varied products. Sure enough, that benefit remains today, as world trade continues to boom.

Let's take a look at the economics behind cultural diffusion.

- Trade has been a means of cultural diffusion for centuries, dating back to the Silk Road and beyond, when caravans would travel and exchange goods between Europe and Asia.
- People learn of new products in other countries, like personal computers or cell phones, demand increases, the product becomes more affordable, and the product is spread around the world.

3.2.8 Exchanging Ideas, Increasing Knowledge:

In the end, cultural diffusion can be life-changing. When an American woman in Wisconsin enrolls in salsa classes taught by an Argentinian man, they might forge a lifelong friendship that would've never happened if cultural diffusion wasn't a part of our reality.

As a man living in Los Angeles watches YouTube videos on how to make his own sushi, he reaps the benefits of a healthy lifestyle offered by the Japanese culture. One remark in the comments section might introduce him to a Japanese chef, and there you have it. A new friendship is formed and added morsels of knowledge are exchanged.

They say travel expands our minds and introduces us to undiscovered worlds. Cultural diffusion, however, is a little more permanent and steadfast. The learning opportunities continue, as entire communities of people exchange ideas, goods, and knowledge. If America's a melting pot, then we're sure to be on the winning side of cultural diffusion.

3.3 SUMMARY

The German School of Diffusionism has chief proponents like Friedrich Ratzel, Leo Frobenius, Fritz Graebner and William Schmidt. There approach was through the analysis of culture complexes identified gepgraphically and studied as they spread and developed historically. It has both time and space dimensions. The first dimension of space was explained in terms of culture circles and the second dimension of time was explained in terms of culture strata.

The main proponents of British school of Diffusionism were G.Elliot Smith, William J Perry and W.H.R Rivers. They held the view that all cultures originated only in one part of the world. Egypt was the culture centre of the world and the cradle of civilization. Hence human culture originated in Egypt and then spread throughout the world. They pointed to the Pyramid like large stone structures and sun worship in several parts of the world.

The leading proponent of this extreme diffusionist school was Sir G. Elliot Smith. He claimed that Egypt was the source of culture and that every other culture in the world diffused from there, but that a dilution of this civilization occurred as it spread to increasingly greater distances. His theoretical scheme claimed that man is uninventive, so culture only arises under favorable circumstances. These favorable circumstances only existed in ancient Egypt (Lowie 1937: 161).

The Diffusionist thought in America centered on Culture areas which referred to relatively small geographical regions containing the contiguous distribution of similar cultural elements. The term culture area was first used by O.T Mason who identified 18 American Culture Areas. His ideas were elaborated by scholars like Clark Wissler and Alfred Kroeber and Robert Lowie.

3.4 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1 Explain in detail the evolutionary perspective as early theoretical perspective of Anthropology.
2 Critically examine evolutionism in context of psychic unity of mankind.
3 Briefly elaborate on contribution of Tylor and Morgan to Evolutionary perspective.
4 Define Diffusionism. Examine various theories of Diffusionism.
5 Write a detail note on British and German School of Thought on Diffusionism.

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4

HISTORICAL PARTICULARISM, STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM

4.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the concept of historical particularism and Contribution of Franz Boas
- To analyse the concept of functionalism and its significance in the field of Anthropology
- To evaluate the contribution of Malinowski and Radcliff Brown to functionalism

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Particularism, also called **historical particularism**, school of anthropological thought associated with the work of Franz Boas and his students (among them A.L. Kroeber, Ruth Benedict, and Margaret Mead), whose studies of culture emphasized the integrated and distinctive way of life of a given people. Particularism stood in opposition to theories such as cultural evolution, Kulturkreis, and geographical or environmental determinism, all of which sought to discover for the social sciences a series of general laws analogous to those in the physical sciences (such as the laws of thermodynamics or gravity).

The idea of **historical particularism** suggests all cultures have their own historical trajectory and that each culture developed according to this history. This idea was popularized by the anthropologist **Franz Boas**, who is widely considered a founder of the discipline of anthropology.

4.1.1 Historical Particularism:

The term historical particularism refers to the idea that each culture has its own particular and unique history that is not governed by universal laws. This idea is a big component of Boasian anthropology because it is where Boasians put their focus on when studying cultures. Historical particularism was developed in contrast to Boas' rejection of Lewis Henry Morgan's idea of an evolutionary path and the use of the comparative method. The evolutionary path used generalities and universal themes to explain cultural similarities, but Boas "contended that cultural traits first must be explained in terms of specific cultural contexts rather than by broad reference to general evolutionary trends". Boas and his followers would argue that cultures cannot be compared or be subjected to generalities because each culture experienced a different and unique history, even if it led to a similar cultural aspect. Historical particularism and the concept of diffusion actually go quite hand in hand. Traits that are similar between cultures may have diffused through interaction between various cultures. However, while these traits are similar, they will develop different and unique histories from their movement through various societies.

This approach claims that each society has its own unique historical development and must be understood based on its own specific cultural and environmental context, especially its historical process. Its core premise was that culture was a "set of ideas or symbols held in common by a group of people who see themselves as a social group" (Darnell 2013: 399). Historical particularists criticized the theory of the nineteenth-century social evolution as non-scientific and proclaimed themselves to be free from preconceived ideas. Boas believed that there were universal laws that could be derived from the comparative study of cultures; however, he thought that the ethnographic database was not yet robust enough for us to identify those laws. To that end, he and his

students collected a vast amount of first-hand cultural data by conducting ethnographic fieldwork. Based on these raw data, they described particular cultures instead of trying to establish general theories that apply to all societies.

4.1.2 Contribution of Franz Boas:

Franz Boas and his students developed **historical particularism** early in the twentieth century. The Historical particularists valued fieldwork and history as critical methods of cultural analysis. At the same time, the anthropologists in this theoretical school had different views on the importance of individuals in a society. For example, Frantz Boas saw each individual as the basic component of a society. He gathered information from individual informants and considered such data valuable enough for cultural analysis. On the other hand, **Alfred Kroeber** did not see individuals as the fundamental elements of a society. He believed a society evolves according to its own internal laws that do not directly originate from its individuals. He named this cultural aspect superorganic and claimed that a society cannot be explained without considering this impersonal force.

Boas's own work emphasized studies of individual cultures, each based on its unique history. He held that the anthropologist's primary assignment was to describe the particular characteristics of a given culture with a view toward reconstructing the historical events that led to its present structure. Implicit in this approach was the notion that resolving hypotheses regarding evolutionary development and the influence of one culture on another should be secondary to the careful and exhaustive study of particular societies. Boas urged that the historical method, based on the description of particular culture traits and elements, supplant the comparative method of the evolutionists, who used their data to rank cultures in an artificial hierarchy of achievement. He rejected the assumption of a single standard of achievement to which all cultures could be compared, instead advocating cultural relativism, the position that all cultures are equally able to meet the needs of their members.

Boas responded to a particular school of thought in anthropology, known as the **social-evolutionary** perspective. This approach saw cultures as following a linear trajectory. In other words, more traditional cultures will eventually 'catch up' to the more developed cultures of Western Europe.

The problem with the social-evolutionary perspective, according to Boas, was that this led us to believe that Western European countries should be the model for what culture should look like. This led to ignoring the particularities of different cultures. This is where historical particularism comes in.

Boas felt that the only way to really understand cultures was through in-depth research into their individual histories. We can't assume any universal laws about cultures. This blinds us to the important ways that cultures are different from one another. So historical particularism is kind of like a research method, in a way.

Boas urged anthropologists to go directly to the place they wanted to study, as opposed to trying to examine it from afar. This was a response to a tendency at the time to simply write about cultures rather than engaging with them. This lead to what many termed **armchair anthropology**. Imagine it like this: a professor in the ivory tower making judgments about cultures he never really explored.

Also, Boas didn't think that comparison was a very good way to understand other cultures. Instead of trying to find similarities and differences between two cultures, we should try and understand the aspects of each of them in depth.

4.1.3 Conclusion:

Under Boas's influence, the particularist approach dominated American anthropology for the first half of the 20th century. From World War II through the 1970s, it was eclipsed by neo-evolutionism and a variety of other theories. However, the particularist approach, if not the term itself, reemerged in the 1980s as scholars began to recognize that distinctive historical processes differentiate peoples even in the era of globalization.

4.2 STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM

4.2.1 Introduction:

Structural functionalism was a theoretical school in Great Britain originally formulated to move away from evolutionism and diffusion. As a new paradigm, functionalism was presented as a reaction against what was believed to be out dated ideologies. It was an attempt to move away from the evolutionism and diffusionism that dominated American and British anthropology at the turn of the century (Lesser 1935, Langness 1987). There was a shift in focus from the speculatively historical or diachronic study of customs and cultural traits as "survivals" to the ahistorical, synchronic study of social "institutions" within bounded, functioning societies (Young 1991:445).

Structural-functionalism's core concepts are, in harness, structure and system. Structural-functionalism emphasized the formal ordering of parts and their functional interrelations as contributing to the maintenance needs of a structured social system. The function of any institution (or 'recurrent social activity') was the part it played in the maintenance of the

larger structural whole. This assumption attributed to social systems an internal integration of parts similar to that found in organisms.

Modern sociological and anthropological theory has been profoundly influenced by functional analysis. Its history can be traced to Comte's consensus universals; Spencer`s organic analogy, Pareto`s conception of society as a system of equilibrium and Durkheim`s causal functional analysis.

Functionalism was a reaction to the perceived excesses and deficiencies of the evolutionary and diffusionist theories of the nineteenth century and the historicism of the early twentieth (Goldschmidt 1996:510). Functionalists seek to describe the different parts of a society and their relationship by means of an **organic analogy**. The organic analogy compares the different parts of a society to the organs of a living organism. The organism is able to live, reproduce and function through the organized system of its several parts and organs. Like a biological organism, a society is able to maintain its essential processes through the way that the different parts interact. Institutions such as religion, kinship and the economy were the organs and individuals were the cells in this social organism. Functionalist analyses examine the social significance of phenomena, that is, the function they serve a particular society in maintaining the whole (Jarvie 1973).

The term 'Functionalism' cannot be explained easily for the simple reason that the term 'function' and 'functional' have been used to mean different thing by different thinkers. The functional approach is much older in biology, psychology and cultural anthropology than sociology. Earlier, the term 'function' was commonly used in a positive sense of contribution made by a part for the whole. Today it is used to mean 'consequences' which may or may not to be intended or recognized.

Functionalism, as a school of thought in anthropology, emerged in the early twentieth century. Functionalism in anthropology is generally divided into two schools of thought, each associated with a key personality. **Bronislaw Malinowski** and **A.R. Radcliffe-Brown** had the greatest influence on the development of functionalism from their posts in Great Britain and elsewhere. Two versions of functionalism developed between 1910 and 1930: Malinowski's **biocultural (or psychological) functionalism**; and **structural-functionalism**, the approach advanced by Radcliffe-Brown.

Psychological functionalism is linked to Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942). Malinowski`s method was based on extensive in-depth fieldwork during which he gathered evidence to support his theoretical position.

The second school, structural functionalism, is associated with A.R. Radcliffe Brown (1881-1955). He sought to understand how cultural institutions maintained the equilibrium and co-hesion of a society.

4.2.2 Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942):

Malinowski is considered as one of the founding fathers of British Social anthropology. He was trained in physical sciences and received a Ph.D in physics and mathematics in 1908. He was influenced by Durkheim and Wilhelm Wundt at Leipzig. In 1910 he studied anthropology at London School of Economics. Later at LSE he trained many of the finest English Anthropologists including E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Isaac Schapera, Raymond Firth, Fortes and Nadel, etc. He built the anthropological program at the LSE and Cambridge.

Malinowski was interested in religion and folklore. He breached the boundary between fieldwork and theory through his field work revolution. His famous books are.
- Argonauts of the Western Pacific (1922)
- Sex and Repression in Savage Society (1927)

Malinowski`s concept of culture was most stimulating contribution to the anthropological thought of his day but his contribution has been undervalued. His ethnographic concerns were with how culture met the needs of the individual. It contradicted with the views of A.R. Radcliffe brown who emphasized how culture met the needs of society. In order to understand this difference and to evaluate Malinowski`s contribution one must begin with his theory of needs.

4.2.2.1 Theory of Needs:

Malinowski`s theory of need is central to his functional approach to culture. Through his theory he tried to link the individual and society. According to him culture exists to meet the basic biological, psychological, and social needs of the individual.

Malinowski viewed function in physiological sense. He defined function as the satisfaction of an organic impulse by the appropriate act. He developed his physiological analogy further. For e.g. he argued that if we have to describe how normal lung operates we would be describing the form of the process, but if we attempt to explain why the lung is operating in a manner then we are concerned with its function.

Malinowski wrote that cultural institutions are integrated responses to a variety of needs and to outline those needs he used a variant of his synoptic chart.

Basic Needs	Cultural Responses
1. Metabolism	Commissarial

2. Reproduction	Kinship
3. Bodily Comfort	shelter
4. Safety	Protection
5. Movement	Activities
6. Growth	Training
7. Health	Hygiene

Malinowski described each of these needs are cultural responses in detail, but few examples are as follows:

The first human need, "metabolism" refers to
- the process of food intake
- digestion,
- the collateral secretions,
- the absorption of nutritive substances, and
- the rejection of waste matter.

The cultural response "commissarial" (the military unit that supplies food to an army) include.
1. How food was grown, prepared and consumed.
2. Where food was consumed and in what social unit.
3. The economic and social organization of distributing food.
4. The legal and customary rule for food distribution.
5. The authority that enforces those rules.

The basic need, safety, simply "refers to the prevention of bodily injuries by mechanical accident, attack from animals or other human beings" but the cultural response, protection, may include different behaviour as placing houses on piling away from potential tidal waves the organisation of armed responses to aggression, or the magical recruitment of supernatural forces.

And growth which in human is structured by long dependency of the infants leads to the cultural response of training by which humans are taught language, other symbols and appropriate behaviors for different stages unless they are socially and physicogically nature.

Malinowski summarized his theory of need with two axioms.
1. Every culture must satisfy the biological systems of needs.
2. Every culture achievement that implies use of artifacts and symbols, enhance human anatomy and thus directly satisfies bodily needs.

In short, culture is utilitarian, adaptive and functionally integrated and explanation of culture involves the delineation of function. A classic example is Malinowski`s approach to magic.

4.2.2.2 The Function of Magic:

Magic was an integral element to Malinowski`s theory because magic was central to Trobriand life. Magic was used to kill enemies and prevent one being killed to ease birth of a child, to enhance beauty of a dancer. Magic always appeared in those phases of human action where knowledge fails man.

Malinowski argued that magic has a profound function in exerting human control over those dimentions that are otherwise outside of our control. Primitive man cannot manipulate the weather. Experience teaches him that rain and sunshine, wind, heat and cold, cannot produced by his own hands, however much he might think about or observe such phenomena. He therefore deals with magic. He hypothesized that limited scientific knowledge of illness and disease led "primitive" man to conclude that illness are caused by sorcery and countered by magic.

Magic is organised in fishing too. In contrast, the magic is associated with ocean fishing, sailing, and canoes is complex and pervasive, because the dang and risks are greater.

Similarly magic surrounding gardening is extensive and is considered an indispensible part of cultivation garden magic is public , direct and extensive ,the village garden magician is either the headman, his hier, or closest male relative , and therefore he is either the most important or neat most person in a community Magic is an indispensible to the success of garden as competent and effective husbandry it is essential to the fertility of the soil The garden magic utters magic by mouth , the magical virtue enter the soil Magic is to them an almost natural element in the growth of the gardens.

Malinowski believed that the essential function of religion is an attempt to extend control over the uncontrollable elements of nature. In this sense, his analysis of magic reflects his functional approach to culture.

4.2.2.3 Psychological functionalism:

Malinowski`s psychological functionalism is represented by "The Essentials of the Kula" in Chapter 3 of his ethnography, Argonants of the Western Pacific (1922). In this Malinowski offers a description of trade in Kula. This chapter showcases Malinowski`s skill as an ethnographer and also illustrates many of his fundamental ideas.

Example: The Kula Exchange of Trobriand Islanders. Malinowski`s classic case of the Kula relates to an exchange of ceremonial goods among a series of ethnically different communities at east end
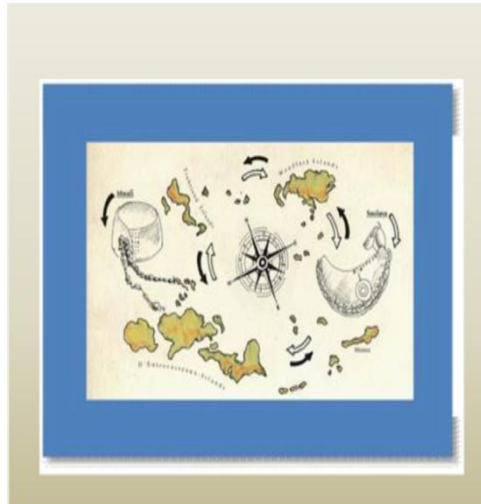
of New Guinea and on adjacent island groups. These form geographically a rough "ring". On every island and in every village, a more or less limited number of man take part in the Kula- that is to say, receive the goods, hold them for a short time, and then pass them on. Therefore every man who is in Kula, periodically though not regularly, receives one or several Ynwali (arm-shells), or a Soulava (necklace of red shell discs), He than had to hand it on to one of his partners, from whom he receives the opposite commodity in exchange. Thus no man ever keeps any of the articles for any length of time in his possession. The partnership between two man is a permanent and lifelong affair. And any given Ynwali or Soulave is always found travelling and changing hands and there is no question of its ever setting down. Thus the principle "once in a Kula, always in a Kula" applies also to the valuable themselves.

Kula Exchange in Southeast New Guinea. Objects ceremonially exchanged are armlets made of spiral tronchus shell (left) and necklaces primarily of pink spondylus shell discs. After Malinowski Surrounded by elaborate social and magical activities of traditional character, the transactions are called 'Kula'. The ceremonial exchange of articles like armshells and necklaces is the fundamental aspect of Kula, but side by side the natives carry on ordinary trade, bartering from one island to another. Thus "Kula ring" ties all these people by way of such ceremonial gift between neighbours into a system of mutual interrelationships.

Kula activities tend tend to penetrate all aspects of their life: visiting, feasts, ceremonies, art display, religious activities, the status of Kin groups and individuals, opportunities for trade. An inquiry, therefore into the function of the Kula i.e. what it does, calls for an examination of its total meaning and content as regards each of the culture concerned and also the intellectual relations involved.

4.2.2.4 Criticism:

Malinowski`s work has been criticized on numerous grounds. His theory is considered as a rude theory in which all sorts of behavior are

reduced to simplistic notion of utility. Yet Malinowski has been very influential as he emphasised the adaptive significance of culture. Malinowski`s most enduring contribution was his effort to understand the subjective experience of another culture through the immersive strategy of ethnographic research.

4.2.3 A.R. Radcliffe Brown (1881-1955):

Radcliffe Brown was a British social anthropologist. He studied anthropology at Cambridge under Haddon and Rivers. He was greatly influenced by the work of Durkheim. Although he did his fieldwork in the Andaman Islands and Australia, he was more interested in comparative study of different cultures than in field work in one culture. By deriving his concept from Durkheim he tried to show how cultural systems function to maintain a society`s equilibrium. His book The Andaman Islanders (1922) become the vehicle through which French comparative sociology shaped the course of British anthropology. Brown occupied a number of academic positions and frequently established new anthropology departments including University of Cape town, Sydney, Chicago, Oxford, Cairo and South Africa.

4.2.3.1 Structure and Function:

Brown used the concept of social structure as early as 1914. The notion of structure made his comparative approach possible. This was his unit of comparison. According to him structures are the relations of association between individuals, and they exist independently of individual members who might occupy different positions, much in the way that "hero", "heroine", and "villain" define a set of relationships in a melodrama regardless of the actors who play the roles.

Although he used the term culture in his early work, he rejected the concept later in his career. He believed that culture was an abstract concept. As the values and norms of a society couldn`t be observed, a science of culture was impossible. He preferred to study social structures and principles that organize person in a society and the roles and relationships that can be observed first hand Social structure includes all interpersonal relations.

Radcliffe Brown considered social structure to be empirically knowable and concrete. He used the term "Social structure" in a different way to make discussion difficult. For many, social structure has nothing to do with reality but he regarded social structure as reality. For e.g. he picked up a particular sea shell on the beach to recognize a particular structure. He may find other shells of the same species which have similar structure so that he could say there is a form of structure characterize of the species.

Thus, we can identify certain social structures exogamous moieties, joking relationships, cross cousin marring an so on to compare structures of different societies to understand principles of these social structures

4.2.3.2 Organic Analogy and Functionalism:

Inevitably, Radcliffe- Brown`s explanation of social structure leads to consideration of function. He believed the function of culture to be maintenance of society rather satisfaction to individual needs as Malinowski argued. His theory was based on organic analogy, referring to activities meeting the needs of structure. And the continuity of structure is based on the process of social life. The social life of the community is defined as the functioning of the social structure. The function of a crime or a funeral ceremony is the part it plays in the social life as a whole and therefore the contribution it makes to the maintenance of structural continuity.

This view implies that social system has a kind of unity which can be called as functional unity. We may define it as a condition in which all parts of the system wrote together with a sufficient degree of harmony or internal consistency i.e. without producing any conflict.

Radcliffe Brown illustrated the concept of social structure by citing example from the tribes of Western Australia. He said that tribes are divided into number of territories and men, thus, connected with a particular territory formed a distinct social group. One may speak that this was the unit of fundamental importance in social structure. Among the Australian tribes, class is known as Lorde. The internal structure of the Lorde was a division into families each composed of a man with his wife or wives and their young children. There is a continuous existence of a Lorde, as the members of the death of the old ones the newly born members enter the Lorde. Thus, continuity of the social group is an important factor for the existence of the social structure. And this continuity of the structure is maintained by the process of social life.

4.2.3.3 Joking Relationships and Functionalism:

The goal of Radcliffe Brown was to provide a scientific understanding of joking relationships. Following Durkheim and Spencer, Brown`s main concern was to maintain social order. He understood society as made up of institutions, which could be understood in terms of its function (hence functionalism). Its function was the role it played in maintaining social order.

Radcliffe Brown sees a critical contradiction at the core of marriage. A husband does not be part of his wife`s family but neither is he entirely separated from them. A wife doesn`t become a part of her husband`s family, and her family of origin continues to have interest in her

and her children. This contradiction creates the preconditions for conflict between the two families. For society to function smoothly there must be an institution to resolve this conflict.

What is true within a group is also true between groups. Just as potential conflict between husband and wife`s family can be resolved, so too the conflict between tribes and clan can also be resolved by avoidance and joking.

The social function of this is obvious. The social tradition is handed down from one generation to the next. This results in organizing a definite and stable system of social behaviour.

Thus Brown argues that structural relations between people in certain position in kinship system lead to conflict of interest. Such conflict could threaten the stability of society. However, this problem is solved through ritualized joking or avoidance between people in such positions. Thus when conflict threatens stability, society develops social institutions to mediate oppositions and preserve social solidarity.

4.2.3.4 Exogamous Moieties:

Exogamous Moieties are kin system in which a population is derived into two social divisions and a man of one moiety must marry a woman of another moiety. He began his analysis with aboriginal groups in New South wales where moieties were matrilineal, exogamous and were name after their respective totems – eagle hawk (Kilpara) and the crow (Makwara). Radcliffe Brown argued that neither conjectural history nor diffusion provides satisfactory explanation and turned to comparison of structure.

He examined cases from Australia and found many cases of exogamous moieties, some patrilineal, others matrilineal named after birds. Further other form of organization (such as generation division) are also named after birds.

Radcliffe Brown analysed stories of eagle hawk crow and other moiety to gain insight into native thinking. The similarity and differences of animal species are translated into terms of friendship and conflict, solidarity and opposition. In other words the world of animal life is represented in terms of social relations similar to human society. Eagle hawk and crow steals. Other example of oppositions are black cockatoo versus while cockatoo, Coyote versus wildcat (in California), upstream versus downstream and so on. They are all associated with exogamous moieties. Thus brown concluded that whatever, in Australia, Melanesia or America, there exists a social structure of exogamous moieties who can be in "opposition".

4.2.3.5 Andaman Islander`s ritual:

Radcliffe Brown contrasted between totemism and ancestor worship. He defined ancestor worship as the worship of a deceased ancestor or ancestors or clan. Offerings of food and drink are made to ancestors, which are usually conceived of as sharing a meal with an ancestor. The rite of ancestor worship also reflects a sense of dependency between the worshiper and ancestor who will give him children and well-being, provide blessings and illness.

For the individual, his primary duties are those of lineage. These include duties to the members now living, but also to those who have died and who are not yet born. In carrying out of these duties he is controlled and inspired by the complex system of lineage itself, past, present and future. The social function of rites is obvious by solemn and collective expression rites reaffirm, renew and strengthen the sentiments on which social solidarity depends. He also produced a broader theoretical statement about "the social function of religions. i.e. the contribution they make to the formation and maintenance of a social order".

4.2.3.6 Conclusion:

Radcliffe Brown`s analysis of social structure and function redirected anthropological inquiry to the institution of human life and to the role such institutions play in the maintenance and reproduction of society.

4.3 COMPARISION BETWEEN MALINOWSKI AND RADCLIFFE- BROWN

While Malinowski emphasized on individual need Radcliffe Brown explained phenomena in terms of social structure specially its 'need' for solidarity and integration.

For Malinowski culture was the instrument by which human needs were met. Brown emphasized more on social function rather than individual function.

Malinowski`s method was based on extensive fieldwork whereas Brown believed in comparative study of various cultures and societies.

Both Malinowski and Radcliffe Brown had much in common in their early writing as they were both influenced by Durkheim. But later Malinowski fell out of Durkheim influence whereas Radcliffe Brown remained loyal to Durkheimian tradition.

4.4 SUMMARY

Historical particularism was a dominant trend in anthropology during the first half of the twentieth century. One of the achievements of the historical particularists was that they succeeded in excluding racism from anthropology. The nineteenth-century evolutionists explained cultural similarities and differences by classifying societies into superior and inferior categories. Historical particularists showed that this labeling is based on insufficient evidence and claimed that societies cannot be ranked by the value judgment of researchers. Historical particularists were also responsible for showing the need for long-term, intensive fieldwork in order to produce accurate descriptions of cultures. One important part of doing that was to learn the language of the study group.

Boas stressed the apparently enormous complexity of cultural variation, and perhaps because of this complexity he believed it was premature to formulate universal laws. He felt that single cultural traits had to be studied in the context of the society in which they appeared. In 1896, Boas published an article entitled "The Limitation of the Comparative Method of Anthropology,"[19] which dealt with his objections to the evolutionist approach. In it, he stated that anthropologists should spend less time developing theories based on insufficient data. Rather, they should devote their energies to collecting as much data as possible, as quickly as possible, before cultures disappeared (as so many already had, after contact with foreign societies). He asserted that valid interpretations could be made and theories proposed only after this body of data was gathered. Boas expected that, if a tremendous quantity of data was collected, the laws governing cultural variation would emerge from the mass of information by themselves. According to the method he advocated, the essence of science is to mistrust all expectations and to rely only on facts. But, the "facts" that are recorded, even by the most diligent observer, will necessarily reflect what that individual considers important. Collecting done without some preliminary theorizing, without ideas about what to expect, is meaningless, for the facts that are most important may be ignored whereas irrelevant ones may be recorded. Although it was appropriate for Boas to criticize previous "armchair theorizing," his concern with innumerable local details did not encourage a belief that it might be possible to explain the major variations in culture that anthropologists observe.

Functionalism: In Europe, the reaction against evolution was not as dramatic as in the United States, but a clear division between the diffusionists and those who came to be known as functionalists emerged by the 1930s. Functionalism in social science looks for the part (function) that some aspect of culture or social life plays in maintaining a cultural system.

Two quite different schools of functionalism arose in conjunction with two British anthropologists—Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942) and Arthur Reginald Radcliffe Brown (1881–1955). Malinowski's version of functionalism assumes that all cultural traits serve the needs of individuals in a society; that is, they satisfy some basic or derived need of the members of the group. Basic needs include nutrition, reproduction, bodily comfort, safety, relaxation, movement, and growth. Some aspects of the culture satisfy these basic needs and give rise to derived needs that must also be satisfied. For example, culture traits that satisfy the basic need for food give rise to the secondary, or derived, need for cooperation in food collection or production. Societies will in turn develop forms of political organization and social control that guarantee the required cooperation. How did Malinowski explain such things as religion and magic? He suggested that, because humans always live with a certain amount of uncertainty and anxiety, they need stability and continuity. Religion and magic are functional in that they serve those needs. Unlike Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown felt that the various aspects of social behavior maintain a society's social structure rather than satisfying individual needs. By social structure, he meant the total network of existing social relationships in a society. The phrase structural-functionalism is often used to describe Radcliffe-Brown's approach. To explain how different societies deal with the tensions that are likely to develop among people related through marriage, Radcliffe-Brown suggested that societies do one of two things: They may develop strict rules forbidding the people involved ever to interact face-to-face (as do the Navajos, for example, in requiring a man to avoid his mother-in-law). They may also allow mutual disrespect and teasing between the in-laws. Radcliffe-Brown suggested that avoidance is likely to occur between in-laws of different generations, whereas disrespectful teasing is likely between in-laws of the same generation. Both avoidance and teasing, he suggested, are ways to avoid real conflict and help maintain the social structure. (American mother-in-law jokes may also help relieve tension.) The major objection to Malinowski's functionalism is that it cannot readily account for cultural variation. Most of the needs he identified, such as the need for food, are universal: All societies must deal with them if they are to survive. Thus, although the functionalist approach may tell us why all societies engage in food-getting, it cannot tell why different societies have different food-getting practices. In other words, functionalism does not explain why certain specific cultural patterns arise to fulfill a need that might be fulfilled just as easily by any of a number of alternative possibilities.

4.5 CRITICAL EVALUATION

A major problem of the structural-functionalist approach is that it is difficult to determine whether a particular custom is in fact functional in the sense of contributing to the maintenance of the social system. In biology, the contribution an organ makes to the health or life of an animal

can be assessed by removing it. But we cannot subtract a cultural trait from a society to see if the trait really does contribute to the maintenance of that group. It is conceivable that certain customs within a society may be neutral or even detrimental to its maintenance. Moreover, we cannot assume that all of a society's customs are functional merely because the society is functioning at the moment. Even if we are able to assess whether a particular custom is functional, this theoretical orientation fails to deal with the question of why a particular society chooses to meet its structural needs in a particular way. A given problem does not necessarily have only one solution. We must still explain why one of several possible solutions is chosen.

4.6 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Explain Historical Particularism
2. Explain Structural Functionalsim with special reference to Malinowski / Reginald Radcliffe Brown

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5

CULTURE AND PERSONALITY, CULTURE HISTORY

Unit Structure

5.0 OBJECTIVES

- To help learners to understand to get a basic understanding about culture and personality school.
- To know about the key thinkers of the culture and personality.
- To know about culture history and its importance for the society and understanding the concept too.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The present chapter deals with two topic the first one is Culture and Personality an important school/tradition of Anthropology. Second topic is an concept called Culture history. Let us now look into the first one.

5.2 CULTURE AND PERSONALITY

Culture and personality is also seen as psychological anthropology is an important field in anthropology (ii). This field of study emerged in 1930s in United States. It is an interdisciplinary field of study (1).

5.2.1 Methods:

Culture-and-personality studies apply the methods of psychology to the field of anthropology, including in-depth interviews, role playing, elaborate biographies, studies of family roles, and dream interpretation. Ethnography, participant observation, long span of fieldwork were also some of the methods of scholars (1).

5.2.2 Scholars:

The Culture Personality study was predominantly dominated by students of two scholars namely Franz Boas and Kroeber. The pioneers of this school were Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Cora Du Bois, Edward Sapir (2). There are other scholars like Sigmund Freud who have also carried out work merging anthropological concepts and psychology. For example – Totem and Taboo. However, several anthropologists tried even testing Freud in their own field and they disproved it. In this chapter we would focus on two important scholars which is Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict.

Check Your Progress
1. Discuss the few scholars associated with Culture and Personality school.

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2. State some of the methods used in the Culture and Personality school.

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5.2.3 Ruth Benedict:

Patterns of Culture:

One of her important work was Patterns of Culture. In the book she argues that every culture selects along an 'arc of traits,' choosing from a universal span pieces that at once fit together and create a distinct character: the Apollonian Pueblo Indian, the paranoiac, Dobu Islander, and the megalomaniac Kwakiutl. Her own society constituted the fourth character, subject of a stern critique for rampant greed and overweening ego, and intolerance of the individual who lacks those traits. The last chapters of Patterns offer a brilliant analysis of the relativity of 'abnormality' and the production of deviance through the imposition of rigid demands on conformity (3).

The Chrysanthemum and the Sword:

The book is a model of national character studies, beautifully written and persuasive. For Benedict, Japan exemplified a 'high synergy' society, in which institutions fit together coherently and personality coincides with culture. Benedict indicates the methods by which 'integrity' comes about, the details of behavior that reinforce the pattern and the methods of childrearing that guarantee successful integration of individuals into social institutions. She maintains the crucial tenet of her anthropology: bringing contrasting cultures into illuminating relation, in this case Japan and the US. The contrast was explanatory: one culture was driven by shame, the other by guilt. A book written to help the US understand its enemy established a comparative approach in the discipline premised on the diversity of emotional drives across cultures (3).

Benedict and other proponents of culture-and-personality studies directed the attention of anthropologists to the symbolic meanings and emotional significance of cultural features that had hitherto been considered primarily through functional analysis; at the same time, they led psychologists to recognize the existence of an inevitable cultural component in all processes of perception, motivation, and learning (1).

5.2.4 Margaret Mead:

Mead pioneered fieldwork on topics such as childhood, adolescence, and gender and was a founding figure in culture and personality studies (4). Mead was well known for her studies on nonliterate people of Oceania, on psychology, culture, cultural conditioning of sexual behavior, natural character, cultural change. She not only studied but frequently gave lectures on a range of serious topics like women's rights, child rearing, sexuality morality, nuclear proliferation, race relations, drug abuse, population control, environmental pollution and world hunger (5). Coming of Age in Samoa, Growing Up in New Guinea, and Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies are some of the important works of Mead.

Coming of Age in Samoa:

This book is one of the important work of Margaret Mead. Mead conducted her study among a small group of Samoans in a village of six hundred people on the island of Tau, Samoa. She got to know, lived with, observed, and interviewed 68 young women between the ages of 9 and 20, and concluded that the passage from childhood to adulthood (adolescence) in Samoa was a smooth transition, not marked by the emotional or psychological distress, anxiety, or confusion seen in the United States. Portraying a society characterized by a lack of deep feelings and by a lack of conflict, neuroses, and difficult situations, the book offered Samoa as a clear example supporting the thesis that teenagers are psychologically healthier if they engage in sexual activities with multiple partners before

marriage. The book was much more than a report of research conducted. It included an insightful introduction, a popularized opening chapter on "A Day in Samoa," and two popularized concluding chapters drawing lessons from the Samoan culture that Mead thought could be applied to improve the adolescent experience in the U.S. (6)

After her death Mead's account of Samoa was challenged by Derek Freeman's book, Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth (1983) stating that the account of Mead was only one version of Samoa.

Thus, culture and personality school had made an important contribution to the field of anthropology.

Check Your Progress
1. Explain in brief the work of Margaret Mead?

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2. Explain in brief about Ruth Benedict and her work?

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5.3 CULTURE HISTORY

5.3.1 Understanding Culture:

The history of a culture reconstructed through comparison with closely-related cultures. The idea was prominent among diffusionists and students of Franz Boas (7). Jacob Burckhardt and John Huizinga, two founding figures are the two people associated with the founding of the concept Culture history. Although studies on culture and history has been existing since long. However, merging these two individual disciplines has brought new ideas and fields of study. Let us now look into both of them individually first.

Culture in lay person terms can be associated with two simple categories. Firstly, Agriculture – in a way meaning growth, fertility. The second is culturing in the lab again signifying growth. So, in other words some of the characteristics of culture since long is – Culture is cumulative, Culture is learnt Culture is shared etc. Tylor said that culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."

5.3.2 Understanding History:

Some important questions can be raised like whose history? History from below or from top? History can be seen from two areas one recorded in terms of written and another which exists in forms of oral. Even today due to multiple reasons the written tradition is seen as more reliable than the oral tradition. There are several issues with the history too like the powerful generally constructed and sponsored the writing of history. So, the authenticity of the historical information about a given population is too biased in several cases.

Figure 1 This is a crown made out of clay. The image has been captured from Indonesia, Bali. There are hands in the top of the crown which can be seen as symbols of people approval towards the king. This also shows that before the advent of minerals like gold, diamond mud was being used.[i]

Figure 2 This image is that of Meghalaya double decker root bridge. This is an example of culture history. This bridge is more than three hundred years old. The villagers gave the rubber tree direction and thereafter the trees grew on its own. These bridges were then used by locals to go from one village to another. It stands as a symbol of nature, culture and history passed on to generation after another. The best part it is it is indigenous, nature friendly. Earlier the bridge was only one level, when the flood came into the village Figure 2

the second level was also constructed. So now it is popularly called as Double Decker Root Bridge[ii].

The record of history and the existence of culture goes hand in hand. For example- The symbols, artifacts, languages gives us a picture of cultural history of a given time period. It helps us to draw a picture of the society. However, in this too for several generations there is the other factor which is involved which is the colonizer or the first world countries have been studying the other (third world countries like India, Africa etc. to a large extent. This pattern is even today continued. Although the third world countries researchers have also been writing about their own land too.

The contribution of the European and Western scholars however cannot be denied in documenting several important customs, traditions like some important contributions are like by Sonthemier Folk Culture, Folk Religion, and Oral Traditions as a Component in Maharashtrian Culture (1995).

Check Your Progress
1. State the definition of Culture as given by Tylor.

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2. Why is it important to record History according to you?

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5.3.3 Material and Non material culture and history:

Culture can be studied from both material and non-material objects. For example – oral stories, proverbs they act as important rich heritage which talks about multiple things like flora, fauna of a given time, symbols of a given time. Example of material culture are pots, records inscribed in stones, temples etc. For example – If you visit Leh / Ladakh there exists a museum where there is a 19th century momo steaming utensil. This utensil helps us understand that momos have been existing since long. There are also photograph of different nomads, traders who have walking from the silk routes. The leather bags images which they used for carrying water, the purse made on animal leather etc. All these traditions have vanished today however it explains the beauty of evolution of culture.

Documenting cultural history becomes very essential as it gives a sense of identity, togetherness, affiliation, heritage to our roots. In the changing globalization this becomes even more important.

Check Your Progress

1. Give some examples of culture history from your own villages or observation.

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5.4 SUMMARY

In this unit we started with understanding the culture and personality school. The key prominent thinkers associated with the school are that of Ruth Benedict and that of Margaret Mead. The school had begun from the year 1930s and its popularity was till 1960 and 1970. The scholars some important works were Coming of Age in Samoa and Patterns of Culture. The second part of the chapter was that about Culture History. Culture History we looked into the understanding of culture which starts from agriculture and the culturing in lab. Culture definition of Tylor we also looked in this chapter. In addition, we learnt how importance of culture exists as it acts as a record, historical evidence, a proof of how society has grown and as an identity of one selves or group.

5.5 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Explain relationship between culture and Personality
2. What is culture? Explain Material and Nonmaterial aspects of culture.

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[i] Photo – Personal collection captured during travel by the author.
[ii] Source - http://northeasttourism.gov.in/cherapunjee.html#sthash.Lr1t8RQ1.dpbs image, story collected during personal visit by the author.

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ETHNOLINGUISTICS, VILLAGE STUDIES

6.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the field of ethnolinguistics
- To learn about the importance of ethnolinguistics and its role in the culture and Anthropology.
- To explore the background of village studies.
- To learn about the growth of village studies in India from start to present.

6.1 MEANING OF ETHNOLINGUISTICS

The term ethnolinguistics comprises of two words ethno derived from Greek language meaning nation, people and linguistics which means the scientific study of the structure and development of language in general or particular languages[i]. Ethno linguistics is a part of anthropological linguistics which is concerned with the study of the

interrelation between a language and the cultural behaviour of those who speak it. This field of knowledge raises several important questions like - Does language shapes culture or vice versa? What influence does language have on perception and thought? How do language patterns relate to cultural patterns?

6.2 HISTORY OF ETHNOLINGUISTICS

The founder of Ethnolinguistics was that of Edward Sapir he suggested that man (human) recognizes the world principally through language. He wrote many articles on the relationship of language to culture. A thorough description of a linguistic structure and its function in speech might, he wrote in 1931, provide insight into man's perceptive and cognitive faculties and help explain the diverse behaviour among peoples of different cultural backgrounds[ii].

6.3 IMPORTANCE OF ETHNOLINGUISTICS

Ethnolinguistics try to find out the underlying patterns and structures of cultural characteristics (such as language, mythology, gender, roles, symbols and rituals etc.) especially with regard to their historical development, similarities, and dissimilarities. (3).

Bartmiński (2009:10) views ethnolinguistics as a discipline which deals with manifestations of culture in language. "It attempts to discover the traces of culture in the very fabric of language, in word meanings, phraseology, word formation, and syntax and text structure. It strives to reconstruct the worldview entrenched in language as it is projected by the experiencing and speaking subject". (3)

Documenting language is very important as it has a close relation to culture. For example- A folklorist in one of his interview said this point, if certain words are not documented the history behind it would vanish. For example, in Indian society earlier before the tap water systems, and water bottle. This was used for drinking, cleaning. So, there was a time when a caste group was involved and they had specific name to the profession. With time, these things have vanished in practice. However, the words and terms used can explain the growth of society.

Check Your Progress
1. Discuss the origin and history of Ethnolinguistics in few lines?

2. State the importance of ethnolinguistics? You can add your own examples.

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6.4 VARIABLES OF ETHNOLINGUISTIC STUDIES

6.4.1 Life Style:

Different communities have different styles of living. The type of houses, dwellings, food habits, and living habits constitutes the basic question when it comes to an ethno linguistic study. Thus, a study of life style will include the study of sources of income, the standard of life, the type of houses where they live, the kind of food they take, etc. For example – Britishers funded lot of scholars for translating the ancient Indian texts into English so that they could understand the lifestyle, psychology of Indians.

6.4.2 Rituals:

The study of different rituals which are practiced in a given community is one of the variable of ethnolinguistics. It includes a study of both religious and secular rituals. It is sometimes very difficult to separate a religious ritual from a secular one as many of the rituals have both religious as well as secular dimensions. Rituals form an important part of the lifecycle of an individual, and different rituals constitute a part of the essential basic setup of different communities e.g. birth ritual, marriage ritual and death ritual. All have their unique features in each and every community. By focusing on different rituals one can get a lot of information about the ethno linguistic setup of a community. Similarly, a study of religious rituals will foreground a lot of information about the ethno linguistic setup of a community.

6.4.3 Communicative Acts:

Communicative acts in different communities are carried in different ways depending on a number of other factors. In some communities silence form an important part of communicative act whereas in others noise is important. The way people interact with each other, the way people provide linguistic respect varies from one community to another community and this study of speech acts, conversation implicates provides a rich source of information[iii]

6.5 SAPIR–WHORF HYPOTHESIS

American anthropological linguists Edward Sapir and Benjamin L. Whorf noticed, that Eskimo had many words for snow, whereas Aztec

employs a single term for the concepts of snow, cold, and ice. With this they developed the hypothesis that the structure of a language conditions the way in which a speaker of that language which is known as the Whorfian hypothesis.[iv] This hypothesis is also called as linguistic relativity; in other words, it proposes that the language in which one speaks influences the way one thinks about reality[v].

Check Your Progress

1. Explain the Sapir and Whorf hypothesis?

2. Explain rituals as a variable of ethnolinguistics?

Let us know look into the section of the chapter i.e., Village studies.

6.6 VILLAGE STUDIES

6.6.1 Introduction:

In India still more than 70 percent of population resides in villages. So, studying villages has becomes very much important. Studying villages will give a larger perspective of the Indian society. Villages are the lifeline of the Indian society. Beteille states that Indian village are not merely a place where people live, it has a design in which the basic values of Indian civilization gets reflected (Beteille, 1980: 108)[vi].

The origin, development, and functioning of the various customs and traditions, the Hindu systems of caste and joint family, and the economy and polity of the village/tribal community were some of the prominent themes of study by the British administrators and missionaries as well as other British, European, and Indian intellectuals[vii]. To rule the country the colonizers had to understand the customs so they sponsored, invested on the translation of work.

The situation with regard to village studies underwent a radical change after the end of World War II when Indian social anthropologists, trained abroad, and their foreign counterparts, began making systematic studies of villages in different parts of the country (Srinivas, 1975)[viii]. There were even debates in journals by scholars like: (i) whether or not a village in India has a "sociological reality", (ii) can such a village be satisfactorily comprehended and conceived as a whole in itself, and (iii) can

understanding of one such village contribute to understanding of the universe of Indian civilisation?[ix] Such discussions also have periodically emerged in the context of Village studies.

Check Your Progress
1. Write in brief the background of Village studies carried out India?

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6.6.2 Importance of Village study:

Dube explains the importance of village study. He points out village communities all over the Indian sub-continent have a number of common features. The village settlement, as a unit of social organizaiton, represents a solidarity different from that of the kin, the caste, and the class. Each village is a distinct entity, which has some individual more and usages. Different castes and communities live in the village and are tied together through economic , social, ritual patterns through mutual and reciprocal obligations. To an outside world it looks like a compact whole, organised[x].

6.6.3 Themes:

In the 1950s and 1960s, several micro-level studies of caste, joint families, and village communities, mostly from the viewpoint of structural-functional aspects and change, were carried out (encylopedia). Studies were in the area of marriage, family, and kinship. The village studies focused on stratification and mobility, factionalism and leadership, the jajmani (patron–client) relationship, contrasting characteristics of rural and urban communities, and linkages with the outside world (ii).

6.6.4 Caste:

Several villages studies brought the caste and location dimension too. For example- Beteille in her study of Tamil Nadu village points out, it is possible to study within the framework of a single village many forms of social relations which are of general occurrence throughout the area. For example the relations between Brahmins, non- Brahmins and Adi-Dravidas and between landowners, tenants and agricultural labourers[xi].

6.6.5 Methodology:

River explains the importance of fieldwork in village. According to him, a typical piece of intensive fieldwork was one in which the worker lived for a year or more among a community of perhaps four or five hundred people and studied every detail of their life and culture; in which he came to know every member of the community personally; in which he was not content with

generalized information, but studied every feature of life and custom in concrete detail and by means of the vernacular language (River in Beteille and Madan, 1975: 2)[xii]

There are several important works by Sociologists on Indian villages like Village India by Marriot, Rural Sociology by A. R. Desai, Religion among Coorgs by M.N. Srinivas, Indian village by S.C. Dube. Several universities which had also started training students of sociology with field work with UG and PG.

Check Your Progress
1. Write in brief the different themes in the village studies carried out in India?

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2. State the dominant methodology in village studies?

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6.6.6 Interdisciplinary and Present times:

Since the early 1950s, government and other institutions have been encouraging and sponsoring research in the field of population and family planning (Visaria and Visaria 1995, 1996). Policies and programs concerning urban and rural community development, Panchayati Raj, education, abolition of untouchability, uplift of weaker sections (scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and other backward castes), and rehabilitation of people affected by large-scale projects (constructions of large dams, industrial estates, capital cities, etc.) have been some of the other important areas of research by sociologists. Interdisciplinary research has also been encouraged and sponsored by Indian Council of Social science research. In 1975–1976 the Indian Space Research Organization conducted a one-year satellite instructional television experiment in 2,330 villages spread over twenty districts of six states (Agrawal et al. 1977); the ICSSR sponsored a nationwide study of the educational problems of students from scheduled castes and tribes (Shah 1982) (ii, [xiii]).

6.7 SUMMARY

In this chapter we looked into two topics. First was Ethnolinguistics and second was Village Studies. Ethnolinguistics comprises of two words ethno derived from Greek language meaning nation, people and linguistics which means the scientific study of the

structure and development of language. The founder was Edward Sapir he suggested that man (human) recognizes the world principally through language. The importance of ethnolinguistics studies are many and it acts as a historical symbol for the society. It's a rich heritage. There are different variables in ethnolinguistics like lifestyle, rituals, communicative acts. An important discussion with ethnolinguistics even today is whether language influences culture or vice versa, this is called as Saphir-Whorf Hypothesis.

The second section of the chapter is that of Village studies. Even today, more than 70 percentage of our population resides in villages. The earlier studies were sponsored by Britishers for their own purpose so that they could understand the customs. Through that they could rule the population. There were several scholars who were also initially trained abroad but continued their fieldwork and documented several important works. Field work has been the methodology used by scholars. Several important aspects of Indian society like Caste, Gender, Tribes have been studied even today. Indian government, ICSSR has been sponsoring such studies. Even the Indian space research organization has observed 2,330 villages this shows the importance of village studies even today. As it is the essence of Indian society.

6.8 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. What are Ethnolinguistics? Explain its importance.
2. Explain variables of Ethnolinguistics studies
3. Explain Saphir-Whorf Hypothesis.

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7

CLASSICAL STUDIES IN KINSHIP AND STRUCTURALISM

Unit Structure

7.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the history of kinship studies in anthropology
- To explore the importance of kinship studies.
- To know the origins of structuralism

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Kinship is the system of social organization based on family ties. By 1850s, the modern study of kinship was prevalent, which by the end of nineteenth century, came to be a full-fledged field in anthropology. However the field of kinship has been very confusing as well as controversial from the beginning. Kinship can refer to blood relationships, consanguine relationships and those that are established by marriage. Within all cultures, we see this form of organization that is, categories of kins and affines, and its association with certain rights and obligations, make up what anthropologists call kinship system.

Kinship thus remained the most universal and basic underpinning of all human relationships, that are known by various names. According to Encyclopaedia Britannica, if the study of kinship was defined largely by anthropologists, it is equally true that anthropology as an academic discipline was itself defined by kinship and that until the last decades of the 20th century, for example, kinship was regarded as the core of British social anthropology, and no thorough ethnographic study could overlook the central importance of kinship in the functioning of so-called stateless, nonindustrial, or traditional societies.

Lewis Henry Morgan, the American ethnologist and anthropologist, is regarded as the founder-cum-principal investigator for the kinship systems. His approach and studies laid the foundation of the system of kinship studies in anthropology. He states different types of kinship systems, in his book, '*Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*'. Other famous theorists and scholars include the English scholar Radcliff Brown, Evans Pritchard, Fortes, G.P. Murdock and Levi-Strauss.

According to Encyclopedia Britannica, Structuralism as a school of thought developed by the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, in which cultures, viewed as systems, are analyzed in terms of the structural relations among their elements. According to Lévi-Strauss's theories, universal patterns in cultural systems are products of the invariant structure of the human mind. Structure, for Lévi-Strauss, referred exclusively to mental structure, although he found evidence of such structure in his far-ranging analyses of kinship, patterns in mythology, art, religion, ritual, and culinary traditions.

7.2 CLASSICAL STUDIES IN KINSHIP

The nineteenth century American anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881) was interested in the evolution of culture as a general human phenomenon and held a strong belief that there were universal evolutionary stages of cultural development that characterized the transition from primitive to complex societies and because of this belief, Morgan is known as *unilineal* evolutionists (McGee *et al.*, 2017). He is thus best regarded for his contribution on the human social institutions, known as the kinship system.

Morgan's theoretical insights, Barnard *et al.* (2002) highlights, rest principally on the comparative study of North American Indians, and most especially on his work on the Iroquois, the tribal confederacy in the northeastern United States among whom he conducted both field and archival research. Morgan's studies, principally published between 1851 and 1877, provide landmark accounts of systems of kinship and marriage in general, and in particular the shape of matrilineal descent structures. Thus the Iroquois matrilineal system, though not matriarchal, was revealed by Morgan 'as permitting women to exercise exceptionally high levels of political influence'.

The Iroquois kinship system surprised Morgan. For example, as mentioned in Moore (2004), collateral kin were classified as lineal kin—the same terms are used for "father" and "father's brother," for "mother" and "mother's sister," and for siblings and parallel cousins. Descent among the Seneca was reckoned through the mother's line, and thus a child is a member of his or her mother's lineage, not his or her father's. Morgan further observed that Iroquois political organization was an extension of kinship.

In 1859 Morgan discovered that similar kinship systems were used by the Ojibwa of upper Michigan and possibly among the Dakota and Creek (White 1959:6–7). This led Morgan to a new approach to ethnographic data. Rather than solely document the folklore of the Iroquois, Morgan began to explore the relationships between different societies as reflected in shared systems of kinship. Morgan's greatest discovery, as anthropologist Leslie White put it, was "the fact that customs of designating relatives have scientific significance" (1957:257).That discovery was documented in Morgan's (1871) magnum opus, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (Moore, 2004).

Morgan's studies of kinship were based on extensive questionnaires. Morgan sent a printed questionnaire requesting information about kinship terms to consular officials, missionaries, and scientists around the world This cross-cultural survey, combined with Morgan's own field research, resulted in kinship data from 139 different groups in North America, Asia, Oceania, and ancient and modern Europe (Moore, 2004).

While in Fiji in 1869, Lorimer Fison (1832-1907), a missionary, journalist, and anthropologist, received one of these questionnaires. It drew his interest to anthropology and he became an ardent follower of Morgan, with whom he corresponded extensively. Fison's research into Australian aboriginal kinship systems, based on interviews with European settlers, provided important data for E. B. Tylor, J. G. Frazer, and Emile Durkheim as well as Morgan (McGee & Warms, 2017).

The landmark publication in the twentieth century studies of social organization, *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes,* edited by Fred Eggan (1937), developed Morgan's approach to the study of North American Indians, though it eliminated its evolutionary dimension. Influenced by the British structural functionalist, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, the contributors attend mainly to the social and political organization of a large variety of societies, especially the various Plains Indian societies of the north-central United States (e.g. Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho). The focus is principally on kinship organization, although other types of relationship, such as the 'joking relationship' famous among many North American Indian peoples, are considered as well (Barnard & Spencer, 2002).

Morgan's goal was to trace the connections between systems of kinship and to explore their "progressive changes" as man developed through "the ages of barbarism" (Morgan 1871:vi). At this point, Morgan had not outlined the evolutionary scheme that forms the explanatory structure of his *Ancient Society*. Rather, Morgan approached kinship systems as if they were languages and modeled his analysis on the comparative method (Moore, 2004).

Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, a British social anthropologist famously associated with structural functionalism, who drew heavily on Durkheim's work, sought to understand how cultural institutions maintained the equilibrium and cohesion of a society. Al-though he did fieldwork in the Andaman Islands and Australia, Radcliffe-Brown was more interested in deriving social laws governing behavior from the comparative study of different cultures than in cultural description based on intensive fieldwork in one culture (McGee & Warms, 2017).

According to Encyclopedia Britannica, Radcliffe-Brown's theory had its classic formulation and application in *The Social Organisation of Australian Tribes* (1931). Treating all Aboriginal Australia known at the time, the work cataloged, classified, analyzed, and synthesized a vast amount of data on kinship, marriage, language, custom, occupancy and possession of land, sexual patterns, and cosmology. His later works include *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* (1952), *Method in Social Anthropology* (1958), and an edited collection of essays entitled *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (1950), which remains a landmark in African studies.

Radcliffe-Brown's study of kinship began in 1904 under Rivers, who himself followed the method of conjectural history, first under the influence of Morgan and later in the form of what he called ethnological analysis as exemplified in his *History of Melanesian Society*, in which Rivers highlighted the importance of investigating the behaviour of relatives to one another as a means of understanding a system of kinship (Radcliffe-Brown, 1941).

Radcliffe-Brown conducted ethnographic research among the Kariera and other aboriginal groups in western Australia from 1910 to 1912. Radcliffe-Brown's impact is evident in the writings of his students. When he left the University of Chicago, his students presented Radcliffe-Brown with a volume titled *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes* (Eggan 1962). That group—including Fred Eggan, Morris Opler, and Sol Tax—all became important figures in American anthropology (Moore, 2004).

According to Radcliffe-Brown (1941), the unit of structure from which a kinship is built up is the group which should be identified as an 'elementary family', consisting of a man and his wife and their child/children, whether living together or not. Children may be made members of an elementary family by adoption or by birth. Further, there also exists compound families such as polygynous and monogamous.

The existence of the elementary family creates three special kinds of social relationship – that between parent and child, between children of the same parents, and that between husband and wife as parents of the same child/children. These three relationships that exist within the elementary family constitute as the first order, whereas the relationships of

the second order depend on the connection of the two elementary families through a common member such as father's father, mother's brother, or wife's sister and so on. In the third order, relationships are such as father's brother's son and mother's brother's wife. Thus, with the genealogical information, one can trace relationships of the fourth, fifth or n^{th} order (Radcliffe-Brown, 1941).

An important figure in kinship literature is, no doubt, Claude Lévi-Strauss a French anthropologist and ethnologist, a significant contributor to the theory of structuralism. Lévi-Strauss's work on cross-cousin marriage clearly owes a considerable debt to Radcliffe-Brown's work on Australia. He both adopts Radcliffe-Brown's three types of cross-cousin marriage as the three possible elementary structures of kinship, and re-analyses Australian material in the first of the ethnographic sections of *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. While Radcliffe-Brown regarded kinship as an extension of familial relationships to the tribal community in such a way as to achieve progressively higher levels of social integration, Lévi-Strauss regarded kinship as the product of a mode of thought which operated at a global (tribal) level, ordering people into opposed relationship categories such as 'father's father' and 'mother's father' (Barnard & Spencer, 2002).

Lévi-Strauss argues that "social anthropology is devoted especially to the study of institutions considered as systems of representations" (1963a:3). Lévi-Strauss uses "representations" as Durkheim did, to refer to beliefs, sentiments, norms, values, attitudes, and meanings. Those institutions are cultural expressions that are usually unexamined by their users; in that narrow but fundamental sense anthropology examines the unconscious foundations of social life. This search for the underlying structures of social life led Lévi-Strauss to explore three principal areas: systems of classification, kinship theory, and the logic of myth (Moore, 2004).

Levi-Strauss used the notion of the binary structure of human thought to analyze kinship, applying the work of Marcel Mauss, who in *The Gift (1967,* orig. 1925) had tried to demonstrate that exchange in primitive societies was driven not by economic motives but by rules of reciprocity upon which the solidarity of society depended. In *Elementary Structures of Kinship* (1969, orig. 1949) Levi-Strauss took Mauss' concept of reciprocity and applied it to marriage in primitive societies, arguing that in those societies women were a commodity that could be exchanged. Levi-Strauss contended that one of the first and most important distinctions a human makes is between self and others. This "natural" binary distinction then leads to the formation of the incest taboo, which necessitates choosing spouses from outside of one's family (McGee & Warms, 2017).

Check Your Progress
1. What is the contribution of Lewis Henry Morgan?

7.3 STRUCTURALISM

According to Pettit (1975), 'Structuralism' claims to provide a framework for organizing and orientating any semiological study, any study concerned with the production and perception of meaning. This school of thought has developed through many theorists and scholars across disciplines and its thus become very complicated, with a variety of it available in sociological and anthropological discourses. It is important to understand that these are not with neat boundaries and therefore are likely to be overlapping.

Most accounts of Structuralism tend to portray it as the radical enemy of any philosophy of consciousness, therefore of phenomenology, a study of the way in which consciousness constitutes a world (Sturrock, 1993). Under the influence of structural-functionalism and structuralism, material culture had ceased to be a focus of serious interest for most sociocultural anthropologists (Barnard & Spencer, 2002).

As Lechte (1994) highlights, the structuralist movement was set in motion by factors including the works of Marcel Mauss or Georges Canguilhem had already begun to de-stabilize the presuppositions of phenomenology and positivism. It has also been stated that two aspects of the structural approach stand out: (1) the recognition that differential relations are the key to understanding culture and society; and, (2) that, as a result, structure is not prior to the realization of these relations. Although one can easily see structuralism as a universal philosophy in the tradition of the philosophes, with its emphasis on the global nature of human thought, it also can be seen as a version of Boasian diffusionism (Wiseman, 2009).

'Structuralism' is associated more with a set of names: Lévi-Strauss, Althusser, Foucault, and Lacan (and, perhaps, Barthes, Derrida, *Tel Quel)*, than with a clearly defined programme or doctrine. It is indeed the case that there are many differences between these thinkers, and that each has developed the basic ideas of structuralism in his o w n way. However there is a basic theme at the heart of structuralism and it is largely from the work of Lévi-Strauss that this theme comes (Clarke, 1981).

Lévi-Strauss's structuralism opened the door again to European ethnology. From the New School of Social Research in New York city, where he spent his wartime exile, Lévi-Strauss launched the structuralist movement that was to sweep the discipline in the 1950s and early 1960s (Barnard & Spencer, 2002). For structuralism any attempt to understand

the human world must be based on an implacable opposition to the evils of 'positivism' ('naturalism' or 'realism') and 'humanism', marked by the naive belief in the existence of a reality independent of human apprehension or in the existence of a humanity that could create its own world (Clarke, 1981).

Louis Pierre Althusser, a French Marxist philosopher, was also famously known as a structural Marxist. According to Encyclopedia Britannica, For Althusser, historical change depended on "objective" factors such as the relationship between forces and relations of production; questions of "consciousness" were always of secondary importance. His emphasis on the historical process over the historical subject in Marx complemented efforts by French structuralists—including Claude Lévi-Strauss, Roland Barthes (1915–80), Michel Foucault (1926–84), and Jacques Lacan (1901–81)—to vanquish the "subjectivist" paradigm of existential phenomenology represented by Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–80) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–61).

Claude Levi-Strauss (b. 1908) almost singlehandedly founded the field of structuralism. He began with the assumption that culture was, first and foremost, a product of the mind. Since all human brains are biologically similar, he reasoned, there must be deep-seated similarities among cultures. The goal he set for anthropology was to discover the fundamental structure of human cognition, the underlying patterns of human thought that produce the great variety of current and historical cultures. Pursuing this quest, he has spent his career conducting cross-cultural studies of kinship, myths, and religion (McGee & Warms, 2017)

Lévi-Strauss was mystified by the intense popularity of structuralism in the 1960s and 1970s. Part of the intensity was created by the verbal jousting between Lévi-Strauss and Jean- Paul Sartre, a debate that began in the last chapter of *The Savage Mind* (Lévi-Strauss 1966) but quickly spilled into the pages of intellectual journals and personified the conflicts between existentialism and structuralism as reigning systems of thought (Moore, 2004).

Examination of Lévi-Strauss' work not only has the advantage of directing our attention to the foundations of structuralism in this sense. It has two other advantages as well. Firstly, the work of Althusser, Lacan and Foucault is often extremely ambiguous, if not obscure, and is full of the most sweeping generalizations that make their claims very difficult to pin down. Lévi-Strauss, by contrast, developed the structuralist approach in the examination of particular symbolic systems, above all those of kinship and of myth, that makes his claims concrete and specific, and so amenable to rational evaluation (Clarke, 1981).

After his structural approach to kinship , as seen in the previous section, Lévi-Strauss expanded his search for structure, Moore (2004) notes, by turning to the study of myth because "the elements of mythical

thought . . . lie half-way between precepts and concepts" (1966:18), relying on both concrete situations and the notions to which they refer. Mythical thought "builds up structured sets, not directly with other structured sets," but by using the odds and ends of experience, building "ideological castles out of the debris of what once was a social discourse" (Lévi-Strauss 1966:21–22). For Lévi-Strauss, if basic unconscious structures were found in myth, then that might reflect the existence of fundamental mental structures that provide the organizing categories of cultural phenomena.

Check Your Progress:
1.What is 'Structuralism'?

7.4 SUMMARY

For modern anthropology the most influential of the evolutionary theorists was Lewis Henry Morgan. While other 19th-century anthropologists generally based their work on library research, Morgan carried out fieldwork among the Iroquois and other Native American peoples. Morgan's theories thus suggested a mechanism for the evolution of the family: technological developments and the concomitant changes in the ownership of property drove the development of new kinship institutions.

Inspired by Morgan, Eggan and others, the social organization of the North American Indians has continued to fascinate anthropologists. In particular, the matrilineal societies, though not numerically preponderant, have received considerable attention. As well as the Iroquois, examples range from the Tlingit and Haida, hunters and fishermen of coastal and island southeast Alaska, through to the Hopi, pueblo dwellers of Arizona, and also the Navajo, a people noted for having taken up livestock herding in place of hunting and agriculture (Barnard & Spencer, 2002).

According to Encyclopedia Britannica, the rise of feminist and Marxist scholarship in the 1960s and '70s was among several developments that challenged the basis of earlier kinship scholarship. The American Marxist-feminist anthropologist Eleanor Leacock and others brought to the fore the extent to which supposedly holistic practices of ethnography were actually concerned with men only, often to the point of excluding most or all information on the lives of women. The relative foregrounding of men in anthropological studies became less acceptable, and women's experiences became a legitimate topic of scholarship. Meanwhile, materialist studies of so-called traditional and industrial

societies were increasingly able to show the political and economic inflections of the "private," "domestic" domain of the family.

The anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (b. 1908) occupies a unique position in the development of anthropological theory and the intellectual life of the twentieth century. In anthropology Lévi-Strauss is known as the founder of structuralism, an approach that emerged uniquely in his work. In *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, Lévi-Strauss provides an encyclopedic summary of kinship systems but focuses on a central theme: kinship systems are about the exchange of women, defining the categories of potential spouses and prohibited mates (Moore, 2004).

The unconscious mediating between us and the world - creating the twin illusions of reality and subjectivity – is a theme that pervades structuralism and is developed rather differently in the work of different structuralists. Althusser has developed the structuralist arguments largely in epistemological terms, recapitulating the neo-positivist critique of naturalism and of humanism. Foucault has developed it in a sustained relativist critique of the ideological pretensions of contemporary society. Lacan has developed it in a linguistic idealist reinterpretation of Freud. A comprehensive critical examination of structuralism would therefore require several volumes. However these different variations are developments of a common theme, and it is a theme that was introduced, at least in the structuralist form, in the work of Lévi – Strauss (Clarke, 1981).

7.5 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Write a brief note on various classical studies in kinship.
2. What has been the contribution of *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, to the kinship studies?
3. Explain 'structuralism' vis-à-vis kinship systems.
4. What has been Lévi-Strauss's contribution to 'Structuralism'?

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8

STRUCTURALISM IN INDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY
AND
DIVERSIFICATION OF ANTHROPOLOGY: WORLD ANTHROPOLOGY

Unit Structure

8.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the structural approach in the anthropological studies in India.
- To understand how anthropology got diversified globally.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Structuralism, as a school of thought, has remained influential in the various anthropological contributions of various scholars. However, its application and interpretation has differed from one scholar to another. Within the Indian society, anthropological studies have has a niche in the pre-independence as well as post-independence periods. 'Structuralism' as a tag largely fits the contribution of the French anthropologist, Louis Dumont, for his single major work known as *Homo Hierarchicus*.

Dumont's contribution, as we shall see ahead, has left a mark on the Indian anthropology forever. As Berger (2012) puts it, Dumont's theory of hierarchy and his view of Indian society provided the ground for a great deal of debate in the 1970s. Not only were Dumont's daring arguments discussed and many weak points in his theory exposed, his contribution also served as a foil for new theoretical developments. An indicator of the continuing relevance of Dumont's work—not only of *Homo Hierarchicus*, but also beyond the anthropology of India—is the

ongoing flow of publications dealing with his theory of value, which has been put into dialogue with many new ethnographic contexts.

While the strand that reached India with Dumont was that of French structuralism, anthropology has indeed spread globally. The 'the study of man' – anthropology – that gained currency in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, became increasingly elaborate and relevant to human living. The major exponents of anthropology – the intellectual tradition – came mainly from France, Germany, Britain and America.

Since the beginning, anthropology has witnessed grand diversification in its focus and specializations. This diversification includes structuralism, evolutionism, neo-evolutionism, hermeneutics, neo-Marxism, feminism, and so on, with many new minute specializations coming up globally. Anthropology thus remains an importance science of humankind.

8.2 STRUCTURALISM IN INDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY

Mainly since its independence in 1947, trained anthropologists have conducted ethnographic research in all corners of India, though anthropological attention has not been distributed evenly (Berger, 2012). While doing ethnographic and anthropological research in India, scholars employed certain general perspectives, the analysis and interpretation of the data then, depended highly on these perspectives adopted.

Apart from the study of what were variously termed "scheduled tribes," "aborigines," "adivasis," "animists," or "backward Hindus," anthropologists did not pay much attention to Indian society prior to Independence; it was not, in fact, until the 1950s that the discipline adapted its field techniques and theories to the study of a "civilization" such as India (Clark-Decès, 2011). Structuralism, as a theoretical approach or perspective, was imported and adapted to understand Indian social structure and culture.

The profound contribution for bringing the structural approach to the Indian society can be credited to Louis Dumont, a French anthropologist and Indologist. Himself a student of Marcel Mauss, Dumont was further tremendously influenced by Lévi-Strauss's Structuralism. The entire Indian social structure was eventually reworked with the advent of Dumont on its anthropological research's scene.

According to Parkin (2002), although a structuralist, Dumont was far from being a slavish imitator of Lévi-Strauss, even though this equally great figure was an early influence on Dumont's work on both kinship and India. But also, however structuralist and ideologically focused his anthropology may have been, Dumont kept a place for the empirical as well as the ideological: indeed, his model of hierarchical opposition can be

seen as a means of relating the two. A significant part of Dumont's achievement has therefore been to retain and develop structuralism by incorporating rather than excluding the empirical, as Lévi-Strauss often does quite explicitly.

Homo Hierarchicus, Dumont's classic analysis of caste and the book for which he is best known, followed in 1966-7 and marked a turning-point in his research. For this, Dumont had been outlining his approach to the Indian society from the mid-1950s. Although Dumont's book was taken being analytic, deductive, theoretical, and at times difficult to digest, it nonetheless signaled the end of the village studies era of 1950s and 1960s (Berger, 2012). From 1950s onwards, anthropological developments took new turns. Till then, it was the American and British anthropologists that were influential, but after 1950s, the French Structuralists, particularly through works of Levi-Strauss, became highly influential.

For Dumont, caste – not the village – was to be the focus of the anthropology of India. As early as 1957, he and the Indian anthropologist D. F. Pocock explained: "Whether a man is speaking of his own village or of another village, unless he positively specifies another caste by name, he is referring to his caste fellows" (1957:26). To these two scholars, the Indian village did not even have a "sociological reality" (1957:26). The dwelling-place of diverse and different castes, it was more an "architectural and demographic fact" than a strictly social one (1957:23). Having thrown the village out of anthropology, Dumont (1980) went on to raise the debate about caste and Indian civilization to an entirely new level (Clark-Decès, 2011).

For Dumont, by contrast, caste is not an observable reality in the first place but a "state of mind" (Dumont 1980: 34, original emphasis). This means that caste cannot be explained merely as a particular form of social structure or a particular type of social behaviour but primarily in terms of ideas and values. Like Durkheim's "collective representations," such ideas and values are basic categories of thought that are social in nature. Moreover, adopting Lévi-Strauss' structuralism, Dumont stresses the relational properties of such ideas and values, which are integrated into the general cognitive systems he calls ideology. He therefore speaks of "hierarchy" as a structuring principle, which he claims to have detected in classical Vedic texts dealing with the fourfold societal model of the varna (Berger, 2012).

Religious status as expressed in the opposition of pure/impure is for Dumont the key value of Indian society, and it is represented by the Brahman priest in the varna model. Within the ideology, this value does not merely stand in opposition to its antithesis—power, represented by the kshatriya varna or the king—rather it encompasses the latter. Religion, the pure, and the Brahman thus represent society as a whole. While, according to Dumont, on the ideological level the religious is thus always superior to

power, on the empirical level the reverse may be the case: the king being—in terms of power— superior to the materially dependent Brahman priest (see Dumont 1980, esp. introduction, chs. 2 and 3).

Dumont situated anthropological understanding of Indian civilization at the confluence of ethnography and classical Indology. Since key Sanskrit texts promoted the Brahman priest as the center of the social order, Dumont saw the "value" of the caste system to be what the Brahmans embodied and stood for: purity. He suggested that all of Indian society actively supported and surrendered to this purity, and that even those castes that had secular power (like the ancient Khastriyas) willingly subordinated themselves to the Brahmans. For Dumont, then, the continuity of Indian civilization was not a function of geographical networks between various localities and far-flung "culture areas." Continuity was in the heads of Indian people, consisting of categories that were ideological, structured, and, of course, internalized (Clark-Decès, 2011).

In identifying non-modern societies as those which fuse fact and value and modern ones as those which separate the two, Dumont was clearly following this Durkheimian trend. Dumont's dichotomy differs, however, in that it is ultimately resolved as another hierarchical opposition, because even modern societies, though thinking of themselves as egalitarian, are ultimately compelled to recognize the hierarchies that are inevitably contained within them. This is partly because modern societies are themselves not entirely free from all manifestations of non-modern thought. This is also one respect in which Dumont recognizes the empirical as distinct from, though valued less than, the ideological (Parkin, 2002).

The superior encompassing value of purity and the clear distinction between religious status (Brahman) and power (the king) are the main conclusions Dumont draws from his analysis of the varna model. Having postulated this ideological structure as basic for understanding the caste system, he confronts his theory with ethnographic findings relating to marriage, commensality, and local authority. Not only does Dumont argue that all these social fields and relationships can be explained as manifestations of ideological structure, he also claims that hierarchy, as defined by him, is a general feature of systems of ideas. As such, he claims to have added another dimension to Lévi-Strauss' model of binary opposition (Berger, 2012).

Clark-Decès (2011) further states that Dumont's anthropology (1970; 1980) was also deeply structured around the imagination of difference – that is, engaged with differing conceptions of religion, self, kinship, political authority, morality, and worldview in East versus West. As he methodically and tirelessly repeated: "The castes teach us a fundamental social principle, hierarchy" (1980:2). Indian social categories and groups are framed in terms of either "superiority" or "inferiority" to

one another. Dumont, however, insisted that these hierarchical classifications were made with regard to rank, importance, and seniority, but not power status or authority, as is the case for Western structures of stratification. The opposition of the pure and the impure "encompassed" the social and the political, a fact that explained why in Indian tradition the king (less pure) ranked below the Brahman (more pure).

As Parkin (2002) puts it, for Dumont, Hierarchy thus refers to the articulation of the fundamental values of a society's ideology, not to their expression in social forms *per se*, though this also occurs. In non-modern societies, ideology is the unity of fact and value. Modern man, conversely, habitually separates them (Dumont 1979: 809; 1980: 244) and thus 'equates ideology with "false consciousness"' (1971a: 61-2). In Dumont's own words:

I call ideology a system of ideas and values current in a given social milieu. […] What is a predominant ideology? It is not exactly the ideology of a majority of the people nor something stable that would be seen to underline historical changes. It is rather something that comes spontaneously to the mind [*sic*] of people living in the cultural milieu considered, something in terms of which those people speak and think, and which is best revealed by comparison with other cultures. (1992: 259).

The composition of *Homo Hierarchicus* suggests that the argument is deductive in nature—a general theoretical hypothesis being confronted with empirical data— which might also lead to the assumption that theory comes first and ethnography, the empirical, second. There is much in Dumont's writings that supports such a view, for instance the way in which he delegates empirical aspects to the "residual level." However, *Homo Hierarchicus* was the end product of three to four years of ethnographic research in South and North India and a consequence of an intensive engagement with the ethnographic literature of his time. As the successor of Srinivas at Oxford in the early 1950s, Dumont became a close associate of Evans-Pritchard and David Pocock, and closely aligned with the British empirical tradition of anthropology in general (Berger, 2012).

It is fair to say that throughout the 1970s and much of the 1980s American anthropologists working in India devoted themselves to the project of rebuking Dumont's "*Homo Hierarchicus*." In his review, Gerald Berreman, for example, wrote: "The characterization of caste in this book accords well with accounts provided in the written traditions of India's elites and reported by their contemporary representatives but not with the experiences and understanding of the lowly (1971b:515). For their part, anthropologists McKim Marriott and Ronald Inden (1977) contended that Dumont's comparative sociology was ethnocentric and that dualistic categories of purity and pollution, status and power, did not do justice to the cognitive assumptions prevalent in South Asia. Thus the Judeo-Christian notion of a unity of body, soul, mind, and conscience, thought,

and action, which is summed up in the concept of the person that Dumont calls the "individual," does not apply in India.

Check Your Progress:
1. What is *Homo Hierarchicus*?

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8.3 DIVERSIFICATION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

With reference to the rise of anthropology, Harris (1968) states that the anthropology began as the science of history. As the scientific method became successful in the physical and organic domains, the nineteenth century anthropologists started believing in the discoverable laws or principles of sociocultural phenomena. This interest, together with earlier aspiration of Enlightenment and the vision of a universal history of mankind, was carried forward that resulted in significant contributions. However, with the twentieth century, efforts were made to alter the strategic premise upon which the scientism of anthropological theory was based. Almost simultaneously, there arose in England, France, Germany and the United States, schools of anthropology that in one way or another rejected the scientific mandate. it Hence came to be widely believed that anthropology could never discover the origins of institutions or explain their causes.

The diverse trajectories of anthropology, subsuming fields such as ethnology and ethnography, as well as folklore, museum studies, and so on, have indeed been deeply marked by their "national" settings, that is, by different intellectual contexts as well as different social and political environments. German scholars developed pioneering research agendas and coined numerous key terms in the eighteenth century, long before the forging of a unified German state. Here, as elsewhere in Europe, the anthropological field has been strongly marked by nationalism. Even where this legacy was later modified by the imposition of Soviet Marxist theories, the continuities remain substantial (Barth *et al.*, 2005).

Currently, as we look at it, anthropology has diversified and specialized in diverse fields such as political, economics, ecological, psychological amongst others. Its association with sociology is but obvious and hardly needs any explanation. With this diversification, anthropological sub-divisions tend to concentrate on specific human living conditions and experiences. This specialization has helped anthropology gain focused understanding of human action and thought. As modern human culture as well as human behaviour undergoes changes, the anthropologists of diverse fields, remain occupied in understanding and interpreting them.

The ambition of anthropological thought – to think humankind in its unicity and variation – has historically placed anthropologists in the midst of cosmopolitan ideologies and utopias. It is difficult to know whether people are attracted to anthropology because they are cosmopolitans or whether abstract notions such as culture(s), society, kinship, and humankind turn them cosmopolitans. In fact going to faraway lands has played a central role in the discipline's constitution and consolidation, especially after ethnography, in the first half of the twentieth century, became central tenets (Ribeiro, 2014).

Indeed, since the nineteenth century, and more so in the past three decades, when the discipline increasingly globalized itself, anthropologists have woven innumerable transnational webs of scholarly exchange and influence. Anthropological cosmopolitanisms are sometimes set in motion, and anthropologists attempt to deploy their international agency. International conferences, for instance, are opportunities to connect with colleagues from countries and to set international agendas (*ibid*).

Within the purview of British anthropology, Barth et al. (2005) state that this field arose on the fringes of a scholarly world that regarded other topics as far more important and interesting than the study of human social and cultural diversity. To the extent that curricula in the humanities looked beyond British topics, their focus was overwhelmingly on the Greco-Roman tradition, as part of a conscious effort to make that tradition foundational to British thought and civilization. Inevitably, Britain's role in exploration, overseas trade, and colonial expansion during the nineteenth century led to a growing scholarly and public curiosity and interest in more global knowledge.

From early days, British anthropology liked to present itself as a science which could be useful in colonial administration (Kuper, 1983). In fact with the rise of anthropology in Britain, we come across works of scholars such as Edward Tylor, Andrew Lang, Sir James George Frazer, Bronislaw Malinowski and Claude Levi-Strauss, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Raymond Firth, Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard, Max Gluckman, Edmund R. Leach, moving on to Victor Turner, and so on, all of which together have left a lasting mark on the British anthropology.

With this, one must add the effects of Marxism and feminism that have inspired anthropology in Britain to reach varied heights. However, with reference to colonialism, a strong internal criticism has come from the British cultural anthropologist, Talal Asad, who talks about the unequal power interaction between the West and those that became its colonies – in the ways that anthropology was used to make the colonizers more powerful in their quest to conquer more and more places (Asad, 1973).

Roughly between the 1780s and the 1980s, the anthropological legacies from the German-speaking countries have been highly influential.

Barth et al. (2005) argue that there was a strong current of intellectual Enlightenment in the German-speaking countries at first, both before and after the French Revolution. For political as much as for intellectual reasons, however, the Enlightenment legacy in German subsequently became confined to narrow limits. This nuanced general approach allows us to focus on the intellectual tension zone between Immanuel Kant and Johann Gottlieb Herder as one of the very first laboratory spheres for the formation of pre-academic, modern anthropology.

The work of the Forsters, that is, father Johann Reinhold Forster and son Georg Forster, usually is considered to be the outstanding empirical contribution from the German language zone to the travel-report side of Enlightenment anthropology. The overseas travel reports of Ida Pfeiffer, the first woman writing in this genre, who wrote a few years later, also belong to the late Enlightenment period. And last but not least, also belonging to the same Enlightenment genre are the subsequent works of Alexander von Humboldt, who had traveled with Georg Forster along the Rhine—that is, his monumental thirty-volume report on five years of travel (1799–1804) in Southern and Central America, and his less known travelogue on Russia and Siberia (*ibid*).

The study of universal history was also of great importance in the German Enlightenment. Here a new area of study came to the fore: *Völkerkunde,* or the science of peoples (in contrast to *Volkskunde* or the science of the people). In Germany the 'philosophy of history' (developed by Voltaire and others) divided into two branches. One studied the actual history of humankind and its diversity and customs in what could be called a 'culture conscious' manner; the other branch was more interested in principles of history at the level of humanity, instead of peoples, and worked with the concept of 'spirit' *(Geist)* instead of 'culture' *(Kultur)*. Kroeber and Kluckhohn claim that the first of these branches resulted in a 'somewhat diffuse enthnographic interest' (1952:19), but in fact it produced a genuine *Völkerkunde* that was not 'diffuse' but descriptive, historical and universal (Barnard & Spencer, 2002).

From the 1760s to the 1780s various authors in the German-speaking countries and in Russia formulated, classified and practiced a discipline called *ethnographia* (1767) or *Ethnographie* (1771). These terms appeared as neo-Greek synonyms of *Völkerkunde* (1771), in the works of German historians working mainly at the University of Göttingen. The term *ethnologia* came later, in the work of the Austrian scholar A.F.Kollár (1783), followed by *ethnologie* in the work of A.-C. Chavannes (1787). From the 1770s onwards, *Völkerkunde* (ethnography and ethnology) grew into a discipline that developed in relation to history, geography, natural history, anthropology, linguistics and statistics. In 1781 the first issue of the 27-volume journal *Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde* appeared in Leipzig. In 1787 a young scholar-translator, T.F.Ehrmann, published the first overview of aims and contents of *Völkerkunde* in a popular magazine for women (*ibid*).

No matter how critical one may consider the work of Marx and Engels today, a presentist approach to anthropology in German cannot deny the profound and profoundly ambivalent impact of Marx and Engels's work on our field in the decades subsequent to its completion. This ranged from the impact of their wider social theory to that of their narrower interests in core topics of anthropological concern. The effects of their work would later range from encouragement for the pursuit of critical research questions in new ways to quite the opposite, namely the legitimization of dictatorial state terror in the twentieth century (Barth et al., 2005).

For Barnard and Spencer (2002), It is almost impossible to treat the anthropological traditions of Germany, Austria, and the German speaking parts of Switzerland independently before the 1960s. To take a few examples, key figures in post-World War II Swiss anthropology were German or Austrian citizens; most leading members of the former 'Vienna school' (1924–57) were German priests, and R. Thurnwald, perhaps the most prominent 'German' anthropologist, was an Austrian by birth and academic education.

However, as Barth et al. (2005) presents a critical examination of the state of anthropology in German before World War I and asserts that Classical evolutionism had been largely marginalized from academia, while historical diffusionism and social Darwinism were on the rise, also academically. Folklore studies were about to become established as the historicist study of a superior, Germanic self, set apart from the study of the Herderian *Naturvölker*. German-language anthropologists' research was still strongly embedded in the objectifying forum of the exoticizing museums of an empire that was an aggressive colonialist newcomer.

Moving to the moderate positivists, significant names include Max Schmidt, Theodor Koch-Grünberg, Karl von den Steinen, Ernst Grosse, Eduard Hahn, Alois Musil, and Julius Lips. From a presentist perspective, the vast majority of sociocultural anthropologists in Germany were more or less active supporters of the Nazi regime. Assessment of the practices and discourses of anthropologists in the Third Reich reveals profound parallels to other academic fields of that period, though with a number of qualifications and modifications (Barth et al., 2005).

After 1945, financial constraints and political and intellectual factors were the main reasons why anthropology in these major parts of the German language zone took an extremely long time to reorient itself. It took anthropologists of the German language zone one or two decades to fully understand how much the post-1945 world had changed for them in terms of language and status. Anthropology from the German-speaking countries came to occupy a relatively self-contained world of its own, less isolated, of course, than it had been during the war years, but still cut off from the international mainstream to a greater extent than, say, sociology or philosophy in German (*ibid*).

The modern tradition of French anthropology, which dates from the beginning of this century, has always been stretched between the two poles of grand theory, on the one hand, and the minute and exacting study of data on the other. At the pole of specific data, French anthropology has been characterized by penetrating thoroughness of description, exhaustiveness, and craftsmanly care. At the theoretical pole, it has been centrally concerned with human societies as wholes, with a particular leaning towards the analysis of systems of social †representations. A characterization of the 'French school' before 1935 may be taken for the tradition as a whole: The French school maintained the primacy of the whole over the parts, the functional interdependence of the elements of a system, and the importance of establishing correlations among these elements' The central thrust of French anthropology has thus been quite distinct from that of both British and North American anthropology (Barnard & Spencer, 2002).

Barnard and Spencer (2002) further, also state a few characteristics of French anthropology that deserve particular mention. Firstly France possesses a general intellectual culture which involves the educated public in a way unknown in Britain or North America. Secondly, much of French anthropology, particularly that which has been most influential outside France, has been theory-driven and field research. Thirdly French scholarship takes place in a web of institutions, each with its own character, history, responsibilities, and centres of power, that is unique in the world.

However, Barth et al. (2005) opine that France has no parallel to Britain's Bronislaw Malinowski in Britain, who at a key point in the development of his adopted national anthropological tradition invented enduring fieldwork methods, generated less enduring theories at least partly on the basis of them, and taught anthropology through both. As far as teaching and inspiring fieldwork are concerned, the nearest parallels in France are the two Marcels, Mauss and Griaule. As a colonial power, of course, France had its share of amateur ethnographers — administrators, missionaries, military officers, and the like.

The nineteenth century was one of institutional foundation and consolidation. Until midcentury, new efforts were made to carry out an essentially philosophical agenda, incorporating the information coming in from around the globe. By mid-century, the philosophical agenda was being incorporated into a colonial one, requiring information that would be of use to administrators of empire. This shift is marked by that from the term *ethnologie,* the study of specific languages and cultures for the purpose of understanding humanity, to an *anthropologie générale,* an overall science that would include physical anthropology and human geography along with culture and language (Barnard & Spencer, 2002).

At the turn of the twentieth century, Émile Durkheim and his collaborators created a comparative sociology that was to become the

basis of modern French anthropology. The Durkheimian school was decimated by World War I. Marcel Mauss, the most important survivor, continued to promote sociology and particularly ethnology, playing a role comparable to that of Boas in North America. The institutionalization of French ethnology continued between the wars with the 1925 founding of the Institut d'Ethnologie by a philosopher Lévy-Bruhl, a sociologist Mauss, and an ethnographer/physical anthropologist Paul Rivet (*ibid*).

The structuralist paradigm that took shape in the 1950s, after Lévi-Strauss's return to France, linking his work in anthropology with that of Lacan in psychoanalysis and Barthes in literary studies. Currently, much of French anthropology is being carried out in regionally-defined research teams, which now exist for most parts of the world. The field is also undergoing a process of Europeanization and internationalization, with increasing collaboration in the context of multilingual conferences and publications. (*ibid*).

The American tradition is the youngest of our four traditions, with a shorter history and more to report on for the twentieth century. The American anthropologists come in at least four varieties: the subfields of cultural or social anthropology, today less often called ethnology; physical or biological anthropology; archaeology; and linguistic anthropology. With reference to the beginnings of American anthropology, its father was Franz Boas, who trained the major figures of the first half of the twentieth century. With Boas came the antievolutionist critique; historicism of the trait-distribution variety; and the institutionalization of anthropology in university departments, museums, and professional entities (Barth et al., 2005).

The fact that American anthropology has included sociocultural anthropology, linguistics, physical anthropology, and archaeology—the so-called four fields approach—is partly a reflection of Boas's broad interests. Eventually, the antievolutionary position would dominate American anthropology until the 1940s, when an evolutionary approach would be reformulated in the work of Leslie White and Julian Steward. Varying assessments of Tylor and his American contemporary, Lewis Henry Morgan, led Meyer Fortes (1969) to suggest that Morgan gave birth to British social anthropology, while the very British Tylor fathered American cultural anthropology (Moore, 2004).

A particular concern of American anthropology has been the study of complex societies. The term *complex societies* has long been used in anthropology to refer to state-organized systems, including those of pre-modern times (civilizations of the Old and New World), those of the modern industrialized era, and those whose states stem from postcolonial or other recent political transformations. Because American anthropology began with and for a long time remained concentrated on the American Indians, our venturing out onto new ethnographic terrain marked a definitive transition. Ethnicity studies blossomed in American

anthropology in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a period that some have described as A.B., "after Barth" (Barth et al., 2005).

Check Your Progress:

1. How did anthropology got diversified in the world?

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2. Explain the contribution of French anthropology

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8.4 SUMMARY

Dumont highlights the state of mind which is expressed by the emergence in various situations of castes. He calls caste system as a system of ideas and values which is a formal comprehensible rational system. His analysis is based on a single principle-the opposition of pure and impure. This opposition underlies hierarchy which means superiority of the pure and inferiority of impure. This principle also underlies separation which means pure and impure must be kept separate.

According to Dumont the study of the caste system is useful for the knowledge of India and it is an important task of general sociology. He focused on the need to understand the ideology of caste as reflected in the classical texts. He advocated the use of an Indological and structuralist approach to the study of caste system and village social structure in India. Dumont in his *Homo Hierarchicus* has built up a model of Indian civilization based on non-competitive ritual hierarchical system.

As we briefly saw the diversification of anthropology globally, it is clear that different scholars, in different contexts, emphasized on certain aspects more than others. Their emphasis and their focus thus became the defining characteristic of that tradition. In all, these four trends in anthropology continue to contribute heavily towards the postmodern understanding of the discipline, besides further encouraging and facilitating research elsewhere in the world.

8.5 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Explain briefly 'structuralism' as an anthropological approach in India.
2. What is Dumont's contribution to the study of Indian social structure?

3. Explain Dumont's binaries, while understanding the caste system in India.
4. What are the four major traditions in the world for the diversification of anthropology?
5. How has British anthropology been significant?
6. Anthropology in Germany has contributed heavily towards the understanding of human societies. Explain.

8.6 REFERENCES AND FURTHER READINGS

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MODEL QUESTION PAPER

PAPER 3

CLASSICAL PERSPECTIVE IN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Total Marks : 60   **Duration :2 Hours**

N.B
1) Attempt All Questions
2) All Questions carry equal marks

Q1. Explain the concept of Colonial Anthropology   15 marks
<div align="center">**Or**</div>
Explain Comparative Method   15 marks

Q2. Explain Diffusionism and its various theories   15 marks
<div align="center">**Or**</div>
Elaborate on Historical Particularism   15 marks

Q3. Explain the importance of Ethnolinguistics and various
variables of Ethnolinguistic studies   15 marks
<div align="center">**Or**</div>
Explain the relationship between culture and personality   15 marks

Q4. Write a note on Various Classical Studies in Kinship   15 marks
<div align="center">**Or**</div>
Explain Structuralism in Indian Anthropology   15 marks

<div align="center">****</div>