

## MEANING AND SCOPE OF ANTHROPOLOGY

### Unit Structure

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Meaning of Anthropology
- 1.3 Scope of Anthropology and Branches of Anthropology
  - 1.3.1 Physical Anthropology
  - 1.3.2 Cultural Anthropology
- 1.4 Summary
- 1.5 Questions
- 1.6 References

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### 1.0 OBJECTIVES

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- To understand the meaning, definition and scope of Anthropology
- To comprehend the branches of Anthropology and its application

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### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

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The study of Man and his varied aspects is comparatively a recent endeavor and has been known as Anthropology. It is a young science which is yet to be intimately familiar with the students of science.

It concerns us primarily with our own lives. It is a well-defined science which tells us about the various aspects of the life of man, which is both physical and cultural, from the time of his origin till the present day. It embraces a vast field of study which views man from different angles. Anthropology is probably the most comprehensive of the sciences dealing with man and his works.

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### 1.2 MEANING OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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The word "anthropology" has been derived from two Greek words, anthropos (man) and logus (study or science). Anthropology is, thus, the science of man. More precisely, anthropology may be called "the science of man and his works and behaviour". Anthropologists are interested in all aspects of the human species and human behaviour, in all places and at all times, from the origin and evolution of the species through its prehistoric civilizations down to the present situation.

Anthropologists study human behaviour and are not concerned with particular men as such but with men in "groups", with races and peoples and their happenings and doings. So, anthropology may be defined briefly as the "science of groups of men".

The anthropologist focuses his attention on men in groups and studies the total society consisting of different races or peoples of the world, both past and present. Kluckhohn points out that out of all other scientific disciplines that deal with various aspects of man, Anthropology is the science which comes nearest to the total study of man. It may be called a holistic or synthesizing discipline or a science of "man in its totality".

Anthropology is both a biological and a social science. **It deals on the one hand with man as a member of the animal kingdom and on the other with man's behaviour as a member of society.** Both the structural evolution of mankind and the growth of civilization are studied from the earliest times of which any record survives to the present. Similarly in his **concern with the contemporary human groups** and civilizations the anthropologist places **particular emphasis on comparative studies.**

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### 1.3 SCOPE OF ANTHROPOLOGY BRANCHES OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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The scope of Anthropology can be understood with the help of its branches

Anthropology has two main branches:

1. Physical Anthropology and
2. Cultural Anthropology.

#### 1.3.1 Physical Anthropology:

### Physical Anthropology



- Comparative study of humankind's physical attributes
- Comparison of *Homo (sapiens) sapiens*
- Among today's breeding populations ("races")
- With apes and monkeys (primatology)
- With fossil hominids (paleoanthropology)

Physical Anthropology deals mainly with:

- (i) Human biology
- (ii) Human evolution
- (iii) Human variation and
- (iv) Human genetics.

### **i. Human Biology:**

The Physical anthropologist studies human biology as he is interested in Homo sapiens alone. There is close relationship between the Physical Anthropology and the study of other living beings. The Physical anthropologist tells about the man's place in the animal kingdom by making a comparative study on the different groups of man and his near relations like apes, monkey, etc. whom we call primates.

### **ii. Human Evolution:**

In analysis of human evolution paleontology plays an important role. Anatomy is essential for studying different human forms especially in the study of racial differences, and no one can specialize Physical Anthropology without prior training in anatomy. On the basis of geological evidences it has become possible to find out the age of the different forms preserved under the earth.

### **iii. Human Variation:**

All men have some common characteristics and belong to the species - Homo-sapiens. However, it is generally found that the common hereditary does not resemble those of other groups in various ways. Each of these groups is designated as race.

### **iv. Human Genetics:**

In recent times the attention of physical anthropologist has been diverted to **Genetics** a branch of biology, which deals with descent, variation and heredity. They now study the blood types, difference in musculature etc. They also study the group differences in time of sexual maturation, in growth rates and various disease immunities. The physical anthropologist studies also the influences of the natural environment on man and tries to find out whether the physical traits of man are affected by environment. Moreover, he studies the problems associated with physical changes, effects of food and mode of life on racial and physical characteristics.

### **Other Studies of Physical Anthropology:**

Another aspect of study of Physical Anthropology is **demography** which is directly related to fertility and mortality. There are various factors including heredity and environment that influence fertility and mortality. These are studied by the physical anthropologists.

There is another subject called **pedagogical anthropology** which is directly concerned with education. In various educational fields pedagogical studies are utilised by many advanced countries. On the whole, the Physical Anthropology is highly a specialized branch of Anthropology.

### 1.3.2 Cultural Anthropology:

## Defining Cultural Anthropology: Topics



political anthropology



- Central concern is **kinship**, because marriage and family are our first institutions
- Reflected by this three generations of Native American females (upper left)
- Also includes **technology**, from hunting to housebuilding
- **Economic Anthropology**: how goods and services are produced and distributed
- **Political Anthropology**: The study of power and social control (lower left)
- **Other areas**: supernatural beliefs, psychology, culture change, arts and oral tradition

There are almost as many definitions of culture as there are scholars. Cultural Anthropology deals with learned behavioral characteristics of the past, present and future of human societies. Now, the main fields of studies under Cultural Anthropology are: Prehistoric archaeology, ethnology and ethno-linguistics. Under ethnology again economic anthropology, social anthropology, ethnography, religion, art, musicology, recreation, folklore etc. are studied.

#### i. Prehistoric Archaeology:

It is now a specialized branch of Cultural Anthropology. The prehistorians enlighten us with how the prehistoric people coped with the natural setting by making tools and implements, weapons and other necessary equipments in order to serve their biological and psychological needs such as food, clothing, art etc.

#### ii. Paleontology:

Paleontology is closely associated with prehistory and helpful to make a study on the extinct races from their fossilized forms. It tells us how the modern races have evolved from those extinct fossil races.

**Technology:** In order to satisfy his wants and to live by adjusting with the natural environment, man had to make some material objects such as tools and implements, weapons, utensils, clothes, houses, canoes etc. This is called the material culture of the people. The study of the techniques of making these objects of material culture is known as Technology. This aspect of culture in the past is being studied with the help of Prehistoric Archaeology.

#### iii. Ethnology:

It makes a comparative study of the cultures of the world and emphasizes the theory of culture. It is often called Cultural Anthropology and sometimes used as synonym for Anthropology also.

#### **iv. Ethnography:**

Ethnologic studies are essential for a cultural anthropologist to know the links between the different cultures and the principles guiding the socio-cultural systems. Ethnology includes in its fold Economic Anthropology, Social Anthropology, Religion, Art, Musicology and Recreation, Folklore etc.

Ethnography is the study of the cultures of the living peoples of the world through direct and indirect observation of behaviour. Ethnography is not the study of races, which is the work of the physical anthropologist. It involves the collection of data only, the raw materials for scientific analysis.

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### **1.4 SUMMARY**

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Anthropology has such a broad scope that it investigates every facet of human life. The mill of Anthropology grinds everything under the sun. The "science of humanity" is anthropology. Anthropologists study human beings in a variety of ways, from the biology and evolutionary history of Homo sapiens to the social and cultural characteristics that set humans apart from other animals. Because of the wide range of topics it covers, anthropology has evolved into a collection of highly specialized fields, particularly since the mid-twentieth century. Physical anthropology is the branch of science that studies humanity's biology and evolution. Cultural anthropology (or ethnology), social anthropology, linguistic anthropology, and psychological anthropology are the fields of anthropology that examine the social and cultural creations of human groups. Since anthropology became a self-conscious field in the later half of the nineteenth century, archaeology has been an intrinsic aspect of it as a technique of investigating prehistoric cultures.

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### **1.5 QUESTIONS**

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1. Explain the concept of sociology. Discuss its main branches.
2. Discuss the meaning and scope of anthropology

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### **1.6 REFERENCES**

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## **SUB-DISCIPLINES WITHIN ANTHROPOLOGY: PHYSICAL, CULTURAL, ARCHAEOLOGY, LINGUISTIC**

### **Unit Structure**

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Biological or Physical Anthropology
- 2.3 Cultural Anthropology
  - 2.3.1 Ethnography
  - 2.3.2 Ethnology
- 2.4 Archaeological Anthropology
- 2.5 Linguistic Anthropology
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 Questions
- 2.8 References

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### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

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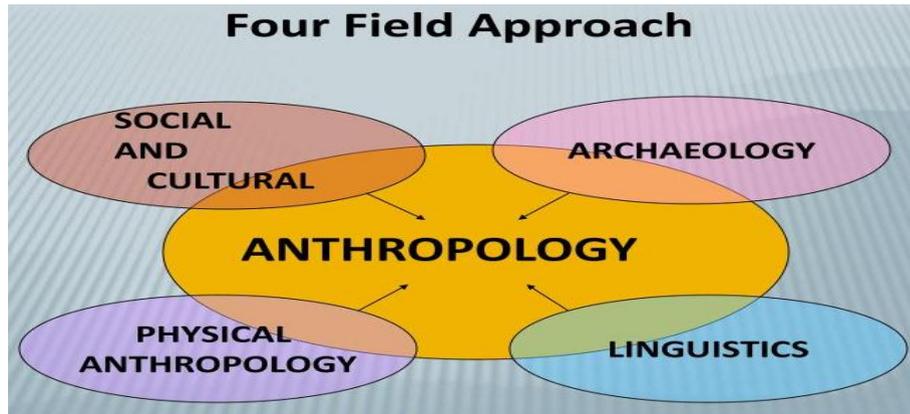
- To understand the various sub disciplines within anthropology
- To examine the subject matter of Physical anthropology
- To describe aspects of cultural anthropology
- To demonstrate the significance of Archeological anthropology
- To comprehend the diversity of languages through linguistic anthropology

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### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

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There are four subfields or sub-disciplines in anthropology viz; Biological or Physical Anthropology, Cultural Anthropology, Archeological Anthropology and Linguistic Anthropology. These variations support in totality of species. As we know anthropology is the holistic study of mankind which assists in better understanding of origin and development of human culture and society at large. The sub-disciplines of anthropology provide the theoretical and applied foundation for employing wide methodologies.



### Four Fields of Anthropology

Anthro Subfield	Interest	Data
Cultural	Culture: Shared, Learned, dynamic, adaptive, integrated, ideational	Behavior Ideas
Biological /Physical	Human evolution and variation	Bodies Genes/DNA
Linguistics	Language (verbal and non-verbal), communication	Sounds, words, grammar, movement, gestures, expressions
Archaeology	Cultural change over time	Artifacts Material culture

## 2.2 BIOLOGICAL OR PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Physical (or biological) anthropologists examine all elements of human biology, both current and history. Physical anthropologists examine the biology of modern humans as well as the evolution of humans and their primate cousins, both alive and extinct. Living monkeys, fossil hominines, human skeletons from ancient contexts, and present living humans are all studied by physical anthropologists. The subject matters of biological or physical Anthropology is human Biological diversity in time and space. A combination of genetic and environmental features produces this variation. Relevant environmental factors include heat and cold, moisture sunlight, altitude and diseases. Five special interest within biological Anthropology are:

1. Hominid evolution as revealed by the Fossil record (**palaeontology**).
2. Human Genetics
3. Human growth and development.
4. Human biological plasticity (the body's ability to cope with stress, such as heat, cold, and altitude)
5. The Biology, evolution, behaviour, and social life of monkeys, apes and other non human primates.

These interest link physical Anthropology to other fields Biology, Zoology, Geology, Anatomy, Physiology, Medicine, and Public Health.

1. **Osteology:** The study of bones --helps paleoanthropologist, who examines skull, teeth and bones, to identify hominid ancestors and chart changes in anatomy.
2. **Biological Anthropologist:** Collaborate with archaeologist in understanding biological and cultural aspects of human evolution. Fossils and tools are often found together. Different types of tools provide information about the habits, customs, and lifestyle of the hominids who use them.

Charles Darwin notice that the variety that exist within any population permit some individuals, to do better than others at surviving and reproducing. Genetics, enlightens us about the cause and transmission of this variety. However it isn't just genes that cause variety. During any individuals lifetime, the environment walks along with heredity to determine biological features. For example, people with a genetic tendency to be tall will be shorter if they are poorly nourished during childhood. Thus biological Anthropology investigates the influence of environment (nutrition ,altitude, temperature, and disease)on the body as it develops.

Biological Anthropology also includes **primatology**. The primate include are closest biological relatives -- Apes and monkeys. Primatologist study their Biology evolution, behaviour and social life, often in their natural environment. Primatology assists palaeoanthropology.

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## 2.3 CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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Cultural anthropology study society and culture, describing, analysing social and cultural similarities and differences. Cultural anthropologists examine all aspects of society and culture; culture is the learned behaviour that unites human cultures and is passed down from generation to generation. Economic, health, migration, governmental structure, environmental politics, and many other social dynamics are studied by cultural anthropologists in modern civilizations. In time and space, anthropologists, perceive the universal, the generalized and the particular. Certain biological, physiological, social, and cultural features are universal -- shared by all human populations. Others are merely generalised -- common to several but not all human groups still others a particular not shared at all.

**Cultural anthropology has two aspects:**

1. **Ethnography** (based on field work) and
2. **Ethnology** (based on cross- cultural comparison).

### 2.3.1 Ethnography:

It provides an “**ethnopicture**” of a particular group, society or culture. During ethnographic fieldwork the ethnographer gathers data, which he or she organises, describes, analyses, and interpret to build and present the ethnopicture (e.g. book, article, of film). Traditionally, ethnographers have lived in small communities, and studies local behaviour, beliefs, customs, social life ,economic activities ,politics and religion.

Anthropological perspective often radically differs from that of economics or political science. Those disciplines focus often on elites. However, the groups that anthropologist have traditionally studied have usually been relatively poor and powerless. Ethnographers often observe discriminatory practices directed towards such people who experience food shortages, dietary deficiencies, and other aspects of poverty. The anthropological perspective is different.

Cultures are not isolated. Franz Boas noted that contact between neighbouring tribes has always existed and has extended over enormous areas. “Human populations construct their cultures in interaction with one another and not in isolation”. Villages increasingly participate in regional, national and world events.

Exposure to external forces comes through the mass media, migration, and modern transportation. City and nation increasingly invade local communities in the growth of tourist, development agents, government and religious officials, and political candidate. Such linkages or interactions are prominent components of regional, national, and international systems of politics, economics, and information. These larger systems increasingly affect the people and places anthropology as traditionally studied. The study of such linkages and systems is part of the subject matter of modern anthropology.

### 2.3.2 Ethnology:

It examines, interprets, and compares the result of ethnography - the data gathered in different societies. Ethnologist try to identify and explain cultural differences and similarities, to distinguish between Universality, generality and particularity. Ethnology get data for comparison not just from ethnography but also from the other subdisciplines, particularly from archaeological anthropology, which reconstructs social systems of the past.

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## 2.4 ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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Archaeological Anthropology reconstructs, describes and interprets human behaviour and cultural patterns through material remains. Archaeology is the study of ancient human societies via the examination of the remnants of ordinary materials. Archaeologists investigate human human settlements, sculptures, and other features and combine this information with artefact examination in the lab. Archaeological research stretches from the dawn of human civilization to the present day. Although

archaeologist are best known for studying pre-history (the period before the invention of writing) , they also study historical and even living cultures .For example through a research project begun in 1973 in Tucson, Arizona , for example archaeologist William Rathje has learnt about contemporary life by studying modern garbage . The value of “**Garbology**” as Rathje calls it, is that it provides “evidence of what people did, not what they think they did ,what they think they should have done, or what the interviewer things they should have done”(Harrison,Rethje, and Hughes 1994 , p. 108 ). What people report may contrast strongly with their real behaviour as revealed by Garbology. For example the Garbologist discovered that the three Tuscon neighbourhoods that reported the lowest beer consumption had the highest number of discarded beer cans per household (Podolefsky and Brown,eds 1992 p.100).

Using material remains as primary data, and informed by ethnographic knowledge and ethnological theory, archaeologist analyze cultural process and patterns, several kinds of remains interest archaeologist. Garbage tells stories about consumption and activities. Wild and domesticated grains have different characteristics, which allow archaeologist to distinguish between gathering and cultivation. Examination of animal bones reveals the ages of slaughtered animals and provides other information useful in determining whether species were wild or domesticated.

1. Analyzing such data archaeologist answer several questions about ancient economies,
2. Did the group being studied get its meat from hunting, or did it domesticate and breed animals, killing only those of certain age and sex?
3. Did plant food come from wild plants or from sowing, tending and harvesting crops?

At site where people live or have lived, Archaeologist find artifacts, material items that humans have manufactured or modified. Did the residents make trade for, or buy particular items? Were raw materials available locally? If not, where did they come from? From such information, archaeologist reconstructs patterns of production, trade and consumption.

Archaeologists have spent much time studying potsherds, fragrance of earthenware. **Potsherds are** more durable than many other artifacts, such as Textiles and wood.

- i. **Ecology** is the study of interrelations among living things in an environment.
- ii. Human Ecology or **Cultural Ecology** studies ecosystem that includes people, focusing on the ways in which human use.

- iii. **Paleoecology** looks at the ecosystem of the past. In addition to the reconstructing ecology patterns, archaeologist in for cultural transformation, for example, from changes in the size and type of sights and the distance between them .

Archaeologists also documented cultural patterns and processes by excavating (digging through a succession of levels) at particular sites. To learn about prehistoric populations those without written records archeology is essential.

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## 2.5 LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY

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The study of language is known as linguistics. Despite the fact that linguistics is categorized as a sub-discipline of anthropology, it is frequently treated as a separate discipline, particularly at large academic institutions. We don't know (and probably never will) when hominids began to speak. We do know that the well-developed, grammatically complex languages have existed for thousands of years. Linguistic Anthropologists study language in its social and cultural context, in space and through time. Linguists' job is to figure out how a language works and what its rules are. As a technique of understanding the language, they look for diverse grammatical systems and different ways of making sounds, which could provide insight into cultural behaviour. Linguists can assist in tracing relationships between people in the present and past because language is frequently used to categorise people and is the major means of learning culture. Linguistics also aids archaeology by allowing old texts to be deciphered using present language standards.

1. Some make inference about Universal features of language, linked perhaps to uniformities in the human brain.
2. Others reconstruct ancient languages by comparing their contemporary descendants and in so doing make discoveries about history.
3. Studying linguistic differences to discover varied perceptions and patterns of thought in a multitude of cultures.

**Sociolinguists** examine diversity in a single language to show how speech reflects social differences.

**Descriptive linguistics** studies sound, grammar and meaning in particular languages.

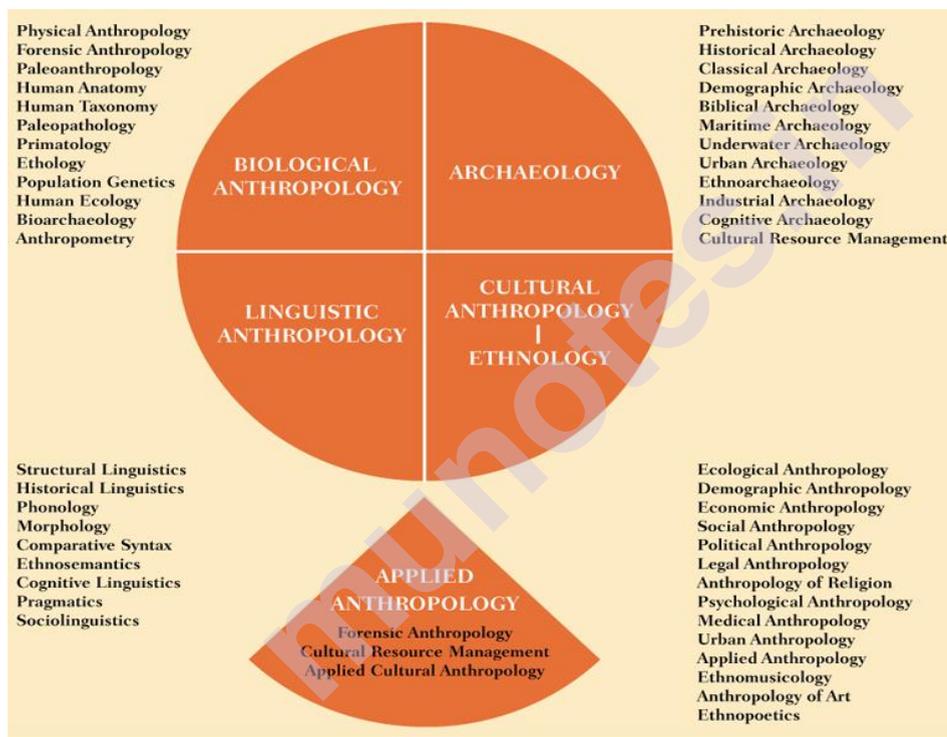
**Historical linguistics** considers variation in time, such as the changes in sounds, grammar and vocabulary between Middle English and Modern English.

There is also **variation** among the speakers of any language at any given time. One reason for variation is geography, as a regional dialects and accents. Linguistic variation is also associated with social division. Examples include the bilingualism of ethnic groups and speech patterns

associated with particular social classes. Linguistic and cultural anthropologists collaborate in studying links between language and other aspects of culture.

## 2.6 SUMMARY

There are 4 sub-disciplines of anthropology namely, physical, cultural, archeological and linguistics. All these sub-fields have developed its own strategy and methods to understand various changing aspects of human society and culture along with its origin and growth. Each of these distinct sub-disciplines of anthropology contributes to our understanding of humans in the past and today in different ways. Unlike history or biology, which focuses on a particular facet of being human, anthropology is unique in its holistic approach. This holistic approach is founded on these sub-disciplines.



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## 2.7 QUESTIONS

1. Explain the scope of Anthropology
2. Elaborate on various branches of Anthropology
3. Explain the major fields of Anthropology

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## RELATION WITH SOCIOLOGY AS A DISCIPLINE

### Unit Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 The Relationship between the Two Sciences
- 3.2 Similarities between Sociology and Anthropology
- 3.3 Differences between Sociology and Anthropology
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 Questions
- 3.6 References

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### 3.0 OBJECTIVES

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- To trace the nature and scope of sociology and anthropology
- To understand the relation between sociology and social anthropology
- To evaluate the similarities and differences amongst sociology and anthropology

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### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

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**The relationship between anthropology and sociology is dependent upon the human cultures that are studied in both disciplines.** Sociology looks at human beings during a specific time period, while anthropology looks at the overall growth and change of humans from ancestral times to present-day times.

Anthropologists often study fossils and look at human remains, while sociologists often look at more psychological facets or specific time periods. Sociology focuses on the relationships between humans, including their immediate families, extended families, work places and general community or society. Anthropology covers many aspects of humanity as possible, including evolutionary origins and changes in physiology.

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### 3.2 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO SCIENCES

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According to **Hoebel**, “Sociology and Social Anthropology are, in their broadest sense one and the same”.

**Evans Pritchard** considers social anthropology a branch of sociology. Sociology is greatly benefited by anthropological studies.

Sociology and anthropology are both concerned with the systematic investigation of social life and culture in order to comprehend the causes and effects of human behaviour. Sociologists and anthropologists study the structure and processes of both Western and non-Western cultures' traditional cultures and modern, industrial societies. They look at how culture, social structures (groups, organisations, and communities), and social institutions (family, education, religion, and so on) influence people's views, behaviours, and life opportunities.

In the study of society, sociology and anthropology combine scientific and humanistic viewpoints. Sociologists and anthropologists investigate topics such as culture, socialisation, deviance, inequality, health and illness, family patterns, social change, and race and ethnic relations using a variety of theoretical viewpoints. Students can gain new ideas and a distinct perspective on their own lives by combining theoretical perspectives with real study. This combination also aids students in comprehending everyday social life as a mix of both stable patterns of interaction and ever-present sources of social change.

Sociologists have to depend upon anthropologists to understand the present-day social phenomena from our knowledge of the past which is often provided by anthropology.

Sociological topics such as the origin of family, the beginning of marriage, private property, the genesis of religion, etc., can better be understood in the light of anthropological knowledge.

Sociology has borrowed many concepts like cultural area, culture traits, interdependent traits, cultural lag, culture patterns, culture configuration etc., from socio-cultural anthropology.

The knowledge of anthropology, physical as well as socio-cultural, is necessary for a sociologist. An understanding of society can be gained by comparing various cultures, particularly, the modern with the primitive.

Anthropology as a discipline is so closely related to sociology that the two are frequently indistinguishable. Both of them are fast growing. The socio-cultural anthropologists today are also making a study of the present peoples and their societies. In a number of universities anthropology and sociology are administratively organised into one department.

The conclusions drawn by sociologists have also helped the anthropologists in their studies. For example, anthropologists like Morgan and his followers have come to the conclusion regarding the existence of primitive communism from the conception of private property in our modern society.

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## 3.2 SIMILARITIES BETWEEN SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

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"Social anthropology" is described by Frazer as "the branch of sociology concerned with primitive societies."

Social anthropology, according to Radcliffe-Brown (1983), is a "comparative sociology." "A science that applies the generalising method of the natural sciences to the phenomena of man's social life and to everything that we include under the term culture or civilisation," he defines "comparative sociology" as "a science that applies the generalising method of the natural sciences to the phenomena of man's social life and to everything that we include under the term culture or civilisation."

While anthropology was conceived as a comprehensive study of humanity and its related characteristics, August Comte regarded sociology to be the overarching study of human society.

Following the scientific model, anthropology and sociology combined description and generalisation.

- 1) Sociology and Anthropology both study human society, how societies are organised and how human interact and behave within them.
- 2) Both fields are integrated into the other social sciences and are, in fact, provide the origins of many of them.
- 3) Both field share some detailed theory, methods, historical backgrounds, and scientific approaches.
- 4) Sociology and Anthropology are also understanding of the fact that some aspects of human life and society cannot be studied in the same way that is dictated by the "hard" scientific approaches.
- 5) Both field reject arguments that are solely based on human nature. The overall society, its cultural influence and it's impact are of the interest of sociologist and Anthropologists.

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## 3.3 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

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The first and most significant distinction is in the nature of the disciplines themselves. Sociology is the study (or science) of society, whereas anthropology (integrated anthropology) is the study of man and everything related to him, including physical and sociocultural aspects.

The historical foundations of the differences between sociology and anthropology may be traced. Anthropology is often thought to have "no philosophical origins," whereas "the former does." While the emergence of sociology can be attributed to the attempt to restore social order in society (in the European social context) following the great social transformations brought about by the industrial and French revolutions, its

influence on the emergence of anthropology was not as direct as that of sociology or other social sciences; rather, it was an indirect influence through the opening up of intellectual and geographical spaces to allow the Euro to emerge.

One of the main sources of variation has been the original focus of sociology and anthropology's areas of study (socio-cultural). Sociology began as a generalising social science focused on the study of society, particularly with a focus on a larger societal context to explain social events. It focuses on the study of industrialised societies (especially those in Western Europe) that are termed modern societies. On the other hand, anthropology's initial focus was on the study of 'other' foreign groups, such as non-European and/or non-western societies. As a result, their research and practise focused on simple, small-scale, and pre-literate communities outside of Europe and Western societies.

The other distinction between sociology and socio-cultural anthropology is in their approach, namely in their study methodologies and procedures. To collect data, sociologists mostly use quantitative approaches such as questionnaires, which are then analysed using statistical techniques. Anthropology originated as a science that was conducted in the field. Anthropologists mostly employ qualitative approaches, such as "participant observation," as well as other techniques and procedures.

Note withstanding their inter-dependence the two sciences differ from each other in many respects. The points of differences are as follows.

- (1) The primitive, pre-literate people and their culture form the subject matter of anthropology. The complete human society is the basis of its investigation. It not only studies, the physical characteristics of the human race but also studies the influence itself. On the other hand, sociology takes note of the influence of the human race exerts on social relations, and it deals with people and their culture in the present context.
- (2) The subject-matter of sociology is not the concern of anthropology. In respect of subject matter, both anthropology and sociology differ from each other.
- (3) Anthropology has for its subject matter the small and static culture of people who belong to the pre-literate period. In sharp contrast to anthropological concern with small and static cultures, sociology investigates the culture of society which, to say the least is very vast and dynamic in nature.
- (4) It is really curious that sociologists can easily manage with the second-hand information, while anthropologists cannot but depend upon the first-hand knowledge.
- (5) Anthropology is concerned with the past whereas sociology is concerned with the present.

- (6) Finally, Sociology and Anthropology have dissimilar methods since their subject matter differs. It has been seen that sociologists in their study of man and society make use of statistics, documentary evidences, etc. The anthropologists' especially social anthropologists use functional methods in their study of the primitive man and his culture.

It is not possible for an anthropologist to complete his research project without living with those people of a particular society whom he has chosen for his investigation. On the whole anthropology employs the methods used by natural sciences while sociology uses the methods of social science.

Sociology and anthropology differ from each other in following respects.

**Sociology:**

- Sociology studies the modern, civilized and complex societies
- Sociologists more often study parts of a society and generally specialize in institutions such as family, marriage or processes, such as social change social mobility.
- Sociologists study small as well as large societies.
- Sociology makes use of observation, interview, social survey, and questionnaire. They employ other methods and techniques in its methods and techniques in its investigation.

**Anthropology:**

- Anthropology concerns itself simple, uncivilized or primitive and non-literate societies.
- Anthropologists tend to study societies in all their aspects as whole. They concentrate their studies in each culture area.
- Anthropologists usually concentrate on small societies such as those of nomads.
- Anthropologists directly go and live in the communities they study. They make use of direct observation and interviews.

<b>Sociology</b>	<b>Anthropology</b>
1. It deals with the modern, civilized and complex society.	1. It deals with the simple, primitive and uncivilized society.
2. Sociologist study small as well as large society etc.	2. Anthropologist usually concentrates on small societies and communities such as Chepang, Raute etc.
3. Sociologist used social survey, questionnaire, interview method and technique in its investigation.	3. Anthropologist used participatory methods in research.

4. It gives importance in analysing quantitative data.	4. It gives importance in analyzing qualitative data.
5. It studies social relationship in groups. So the scope of sociology is narrow.	5. It studies biological as well as cultural development of man. So its scope is wide.

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### 3.4 SUMMARY

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Sociology and social anthropology have a very strong link. The breadth, interest areas, ideas, technique, and practice of the two disciplines are so similar that it's impossible to tell them apart. They were developed in a tradition that had a lot of convergence in its thrust areas of inquiry. This is because sociology and social anthropology both investigate human society and has many theoretical difficulties and interests in common. This is also why many scholars regard social anthropology to be a subfield of sociology or a branch of sociology. Despite their commonalities, there are certain distinctions between the two subjects that may be found from the early developmental stages to the latter stages in terms of the regions and thrusts of inquiry, the use of methodology, theories, and practice preferences.

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### 3.5 QUESTIONS

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1. Explain the Relationship of Anthropology with sociology as a discipline.

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## FIELDWORK IN ANTHROPOLOGY

### Unit Structure

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 ETHNOGRAPHY: Anthropology's Distinctive Strategy
- 4.3 Ethnography Techniques
- 4.4 Observation
- 4.5 Participant Observation
- 4.6 Example
- 4.7 Stages in learning a field language
- 4.8 The Genealogical Method
- 4.9 Well-informed Informants
- 4.10 Life Histories
- 4.11 Emic and Etic Research Strategies
- 4.12 Longitudinal Research
- 4.13 Summary
- 4.14 Questions
- 4.15 References

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### 4.0 OBJECTIVES

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- To describe ethnography as a field of study in anthropology
- To explain the emergence of ethnography as a source of data collection
- To understand the significance of observation and participant observation while collecting data
- To comprehend various steps and processes involved in fieldwork
- To compare between Emic and Epic approach
- To analyze the importance of genealogical method, and longitudinal research and oral histories in field work

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### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

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Anthropology developed into a separate field as early Scholars worked on Indian (native American) and travel to distant lands to study small groups. This type of first hand personal study of Local setting is called Ethnography. Traditionally, the process of becoming a cultural anthropologist has required of field experience in another society. Early

ethnographers lived in a small scale, relatively isolated societies, with simple technologies and economies.

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## **4.2 ETHNOGRAPHY: ANTHROPOLOGY'S INSTINCTIVE STRATEGY**

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Ethnography does emerge as a research strategy in societies with greater cultural uniformity and less social differentiation than are found in large modern industrial nation. Traditionally, ethnographers have tried to understand the whole of an alien culture. To pursue this Holistic goal, ethnographers adopt a free ranging strategy for gathering information. Demo from setting to setting, place to place in subjective subject to discover the totality and interconnectedness of social life. Ethnographers draw on a variety of techniques to piece together a picture of otherwise alien lifestyle.

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## **4.3 ETHNOGRAPHY TECHNIQUES**

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The characteristic field techniques of the ethnographer include the following:

1. Direct, firsthand observation of daily behavior, including participant observation
2. Conversation with varying degrees of formality, from the daily chitchat that helps maintain rapport and provides knowledge about what is going on to prolonged interviews, which can be unstructured or structured
3. Interview schedule to ensure that complete, comparable information is available for everyone of interest to the study
4. The genealogical method
5. Detailed work with well-informed informants about particular areas of community life
6. In depth interviewing, often leading to the collection of life histories of particular people
7. Emic(actor-oriented) research strategies that focus on local (native) beliefs and perception and Atic (observer-oriented) approach that give priority to the ethnographers perception and conclusions
8. Problem oriented research of many sorts
9. Longitudinal research- the continuous long term study of an area of sight.

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## 4.4 OBSERVATION

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1. Ethnographers must pay attention to hundreds of details of daily life, seasonal events, and unusual happenings.
2. They must observe individual and collective behaviour and they must observe individual and collective behaviour in varied settings.
3. They should record what they see as they see it.

Things will never see quite as strange as they do during the first few days and weeks in the field. The ethnographers eventually get used to, and accept as normal, cultural patterns that were initially alien.

Many ethnographers record their impressions in a personal diary, later; this record of early impressions will help point out some of the most basic aspects of cultural diversity. Search aspects include distinctive smells, noises people make, how they cover their mouths when they eat, and how they give at others these patterns, are part of what Bronislaw Malinowski called “**the imponderabilia of native life and of typical behaviour**” diseases of culture also fundamental there natives take them for granted. There are two basic event to talk about, but the un accustomed one for anthropologist who perceives them. Thereafter they are submerged in familiarity and fade to the edge of consciousness. This is why initial impressions are valuable and should be recorded. First and foremost, ethnographers should be accurate observers, recorders, and reporters of what they see in the field.

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## 4.5 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

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Ethnographers don't study animals in laboratory cages. Their subjects are not speechless animals but human beings. One of ethnography's characteristic procedures is participant observation, which means that we take part in community life as we study it.

As a human beings living with others, we can't be a detached observer. We must also take part in various events we are observing and try to comprehend.

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## 4.6 EXAMPLE

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1. During the fourteen months of Conrad Philip Kollah's stay in **Madagascar**, a large island on the southern coast of Africa, he observed and participated in many occasions in **Betsileo** life. He helped at the harvesting time, joined other people who climbed the top in order to stamp down and compact-accumulating stacks of rice stalks. Once he brought a silk shroud for reburial ceremony of the village ancestor. He entered the village tomb and watched people lovingly rewrap the bones and decaying flesh of their ancestors. He accompanied the peasant to town and market. He observed their dealing with outsiders and sometimes offered help in times of trouble.

2. In Arembepé, a fishing community in Bahia state, on Brazil's northeast coast, he sailed on Atlantic in simple boat with local fishermen. He gave jeep rides into the capital to malnourished babies, to pregnant mothers and once to a teenage girl possessed by spirit. All those people needed to consult specialist outside the village. He danced on Arembepé's festive occasions, drank libation commemorating new births and became a godfather to a village girl.

Most anthropologists have similar field experiences. The common humanity of the student and studied, the ethnographer and the research community, makes participant observation inevitable.

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## 4.7 STAGES IN LEARNING A FIELD LANGUAGE

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1. First naming phase. Asking name after name of the on change around us.
2. We are able to pose more complex questions and understand the replies.
3. We begin to understand simple conversation between two villagers.
4. If our language expertise proceeds far enough, we eventually become able to comprehend rapid-fire public discussion and group conversations.

**Liturgies**, set formal sequences of words can record for later analysis with a local expert involves an ethnographic survey that includes an interview schedule.

Interview schedule and survey gather comparable quantifiable information. This is for assessing patterns and exceptions in village life. Home visits also provided opportunities to do informal and follow-up interviewing. Schedule includes a core set of questions posed to everyone. Some interesting side issue often comes up during the interview.

**“Well-informed informant”** is the one who can be consulted later when one wants detail information. That person also serves as the **Candomblé expert**.

Interview schedule service provided a structure that directed but does not confine researches. It enables ethnography to be both quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative part consisted of the basic information gathered and later analyzed statistically. The qualitative dimension come from our follow up questions, open the discussion, pause for gossip, and work with well-informed informants.

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## 4.8 THE GENEALOGICAL METHOD

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Another ethnographic technique is the genealogical method. Only ethnographers developed genealogical notation to deal with principles of kinship, descent, and marriage in contemporary society. Most of our

contacts outside the home are with non-relatives. However, people in non-industrial cultures spend their lives almost exclusively with relatives.

Anthropologist even classified such societies as **kin-based** everyone is related to, and spends most of his or her time with, everyone else and rules of behavior attached to particular can relationship are basic to everyday life. Marriage is also crucial in organizing known industrial societies because strategic marriages between villages, tribes and clans create political alliances.

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## 4.9 WELL-INFORMED INFORMANTS

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Every community has people who by accident, experience, talent, or training can provide the most complete or useful information about particular aspects of life. They are well informed about the village history. Sometimes they even facilitate for a person who knows more about the subject and help in keeping track of everything.

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## 4.10 LIFE HISTORIES

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In non-industrial societies individual personalities, interest, and abilities vary. Some villagers prove to be more interested in the ethnographers work and are more helpful, interesting, and pleasant than others. Often when anthropologist unusually interested they collect his or her **life history**. This recollection of a lifetime of experiences provides a more intimate and personal cultural portrait. Life histories reveal how specific people perceive, react to, and contribute to change that affect their lives.

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## 4.11 EMIC AND ETIC RESEARCH STRATEGIES

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To study cultures, anthropologist have used two approaches

1. The Emic (actor-oriented) and the
2. Etic (observer-oriented)
  - An **Emic approach** investigate how native think. How do they perceive and categorize the world? What are their rules for behavior and thought? What has meaning for them? How do they imagine and explain things? The anthropologist seeks the “native viewpoint “and relies on the culture bearers—the actors in a culture—to determine whether something they do, say, or think is significant.
  - The **Etic (observer-oriented) approach** shifts the focus of research from native categories, expression explanation and interpretation to those of the anthropologist. The etic approach realises that culture bears are often too involved in what they are doing to interpret their cultures impartially. The etic ethnographer gives more way to what he or she notices and consider important.

In practice, most anthropologist combine emic and etic strategies in their field work. However, natives often fail to admit, or even recognise, certain

causes and consequences of their behaviour. To describe and interpret culture, ethnographers should recognise the biases that come from their own culture as well as those of the people being studied.

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## 4.12 LONGITUDINAL RESEARCH

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Longitudinal research is the long-term study of a community, region, society, culture or other unit usually based on repeated visits.

### **Example:**

One of the example of such is the longitudinal study of the interplay of social and economic forces of Gwembe District, Zambia. The study, planned in 1956 as a longitudinal project by Elizibeth Colson and Thyer Scudder, continues with Colson, Scudder and their associates of various nationalities. This research is both longitudinal and multisided (considering several local field sites). Four villages in different areas have been followed over four decades. Periodic village censuses provided basic data on population, economy and other variables which were chosen to monitor the changes in kinship and religious behaviour. Censuses people who have moved are traced and interviewed to see how their lives has changed in comparison to those who have stayed in the village.

1. Information on labour migration, linkage between town and city etc. shows the extent to which rural and urban belong to a single system.
2. Zambian assistants have kept record of local events and diaries of food brought and eaten. From field notes it's possible to reconstruct the price of different periods.
3. Shift in preferences for products are documented by shopping lists provided by the villagers.
4. Field notes also contain observation from attendance at court, village and district meetings, church services, funeral and ceremonies.
5. This information is supplemented by interviews with traders and officials, technical workers, political leaders and foreigners who work for religious mission and NGO's.
6. The anthropologists have also consulted government and other records both published and unpublished.
7. The Zambian social scientists working in the district also provided their insights on changes.

Successively different questions have come to the fore, while basic data also continue to be collected on individual and communities. The first focus was the impact of large hydroelectric dam, which flooded much of the Zambezi River plain and subjected the people for forced resettlement. However it also spurred road building and other activities which brought Gwembe mere close to rest of Zambia.

By 1960s education had become major concern for Gwembe and was playing an important role in changes taking place. Accordingly Scudden and Colson (1980) designed research to examine the role of education. At the same time alcohol consumption was a major problem.

A third major study then examined the role of changing markets, transportation and exposure to town values in the transformation of domestic brewing and radical changes in drinking pattern.

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### 4.13 SUMMARY

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Anthropology developed into a separate field as early Scholars worked on Indian (Native American) and travel to distant lands to study small groups. This type of first hand personal study of Local setting is called Ethnography. Ethnography does emerge as a research strategy in societies with greater cultural uniformity and less social differentiation than are found in large modern industrial nation. Many ethnographers record their impressions in a personal diary, later; this record of early impressions will help point out some of the most basic aspects of cultural diversity. Ethnographers don't study animals in laboratory cages. Their subjects are not speechless animals but human beings. One of ethnography's characteristic procedures is participant observation, which means that we take part in community life as we study it.

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### 4.14 QUESTIONS

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1. Explain the scope of fieldwork in Anthropology.

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## EVOLUTION

### Unit Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Definition
- 5.3 Types/faces of evolution
- 5.4 History of cultural evolution
- 5.5 Evolution
- 5.6 Contribution of Tylor
- 5.7 Contribution of Morgan (kinship and evolution)
- 5.8 Critical Evaluation
- 5.9 Summary
- 5.10 Questions
- 5.11 References

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### 5.0 OBJECTIVES

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- To define and understand the history of cultural evolution
- To analyze various theories of cultural evolution
- To evaluate the contribution of Tylor and Morgan
- To critically evaluate the concept of evolution in recent times

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### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

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Cultural evolution although an unfashionable concept, has commanded renowned in the last two decade. Evolution has been the guiding principal of anthropology since its emergence is a science 1860s. Early 19<sup>th</sup> C thinkers developed some ideas that could explain the panorama of human 'progress'.

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### 5.2 DEFINITION

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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 mean that evolution need not begin with absolute homogeneity or heterogeneity.

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## 5.3 TYPES/FACES OF EVOLUTION

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1. Unilinear Evolution
2. Universal Evolution
3. Multilinear Evolution
4. Differential Evolution

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## 5.4 HISTORY OF CULTURAL EVOLUTION

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The most influential evolution school of 19<sup>th</sup> 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 comprising 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.

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## 5.5 EVOLUTION

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Evolutionism proposed the "psychic unity of mankind", which argues that all human beings share psychological traits that make them equally likely to innovate. In the early years of anthropology, Darwinism had a strong impact on its 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 to be internally determined. 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).

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## 5.6 CONTRIBUTION OF TYLOR

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Tylor and Morgan are known for tracing the origin of religion and marriage respectively. They have tried to explain the beginning of these institutions from the earliest to modern societies in sequence of stages. Their studies are regarded as significant contribution to unilinear evolution.

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 be appreciated by quoting Tylor [1871]

Tylor is considered as the founding father of British anthropology. He maintained that culture evolved from the simple to the complex. Central to Tylor’s contribution is his definition of culture. In his major work *Primitive Culture* he defines culture as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the society”.

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.

[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 transition 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 in his work *Primitive Culture* sets out to reconstruct the history of human culture. He crafted his reconstruction on two principles: **uniformitarian’s** and the **concept of survivals**. According to him, culture was created by universally similar human minds and governed by the same laws of cognition. Hence the condition of culture among the various societies of mankind is capable of being investigated on general principles. Tylor’s key point is that the processes of culture are similar for all people regardless of where and when they lived because human minds are similar. This is the central logic of Tylor’s uniformitarianism.

This has three implications. **Firstly** race does not explain cultural differences. 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. If two societies have similar cultural traits, it could be independent inventions developed due to the similarly constructed human minds encountering similar situations. 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.

**Secondly**, it means that societies with similar cultural traits may represent analogous stages in the development of human culture. “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.

**Thirdly** Tylor’s uniformitarianism allowed him to reconstruct the specific processes leading to a set of cultural knowledge. This reconstruction of evolution of human culture relied on the comparative method and the doctrine of survivals. The comparative method is based on the logic that similar objects are historically related. Tylor defines survivals as processes, customs, opinions etc which have been carried by force of habit into a new state of society different from that in which they had their original home. They remain as proofs and examples of an older condition of culture out of which a newer one has evolved. For eg. saying God bless you when someone sneezes even though we do not believe that the soul is leaving the body. Thus survivals are not merely customs, but are the vestiges of previous culture. It helps the ethnographer to reconstruct earlier cultural patterns and ultimately define the evolution of culture. Similarly entire societies may reflect earlier stages of evolution.

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## **5.7 CONTRIBUTION OF MORGAN (KINSHIP AND EVOLUTION)**

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Another 19th-century proponent of uniform and progressive cultural evolution was Lewis Henry Morgan. The American, Lewis Henry Morgan, infuriated his British contemporaries, when his research demonstrated that social change involved both independent invention and diffusion. He agreed with British socio cultural anthropologists that human progress was due to independent innovation, but his work on kinship terminology showed that diffusion occurred among geographically dispersed people

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. 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 goal was to trace the connections between the systems of kinship and to explore their progressive changes as man developed through the ages of barbarism. Morgan argued that all kinship systems can be divided into two large groups – descriptive systems and classificatory system. Descriptive systems distinguish between lineal relatives and collateral kin. In contrast, classificatory system treat lineal and collateral kin as if they were the same. They use the same kinship term to address both types of Kins. According to Morgan, the difference between classificatory and descriptive kinship system marks the distinction between the uncivilized and civilized.

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 brother sister mating 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. 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.

For Morgan, the terms savagery, barbarism and civilization represented well defined stages of progress measured by four sets of cultural achievements.

1. inventions and discoveries
2. the idea of government
3. the organisation of family and
4. the concept of private property.

Based on these factors Morgan divided each stage into ‘Lower Status’, ‘Middle Status’ and ‘Upper 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.

Evolutionism also influenced another branch of anthropological theory, one that posited that the reason human cultures differed in their behaviors was because they represented separate subspecies of humans, or “races.” This idea was also influenced by the fact that, by the 19th century at least, it became clear that few cultures were being “civilized” in the way Europeans expected. Rather than attribute this to the strength of cultural tradition, some attributed it to the innate capabilities of the people—in other words, to their “race.” Members of “un-civilized-races” were, by their very nature, incapable of being “civilized.” Such ideas were widely held and supported during the late 19th and early 20th centuries and, as we shall see, American anthropology played a large role in showing that “race” theory was unsupported in a variety of contexts. Unfortunately, “race” theory persists in some disciplines.

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## 5.8 CRITICAL EVALUATION

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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, anti-historical, anti-adaptive 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.

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.

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## 5.9 SUMMARY

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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 mean that evolution need not begin with absolute

homogeneity or heterogeneity. Tylor and Morgan are known for tracing the origin of religion and marriage respectively. They have tried to explain the beginning of these institutions from the earliest to modern societies in sequence of stages. Their studies are regarded as significant contribution to unilinear evolution.

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## 5.10 QUESTIONS

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1. Explain the concept of Evolution with reference to the contribution of Tylor / Morgan.

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## **HISTORICAL PARTICULARISM - FRANZ BOAS**

### **Unit Structure**

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Franz Boas
- 6.3 Meaning of Historical Particularism
- 6.4 Critique of Evolutionism
- 6.5 Cultural Relativism
- 6.6 Summary
- 6.7 Questions
- 6.8 References

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### **6.0 OBJECTIVES**

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1. To understand about the contribution of Franz Boas
2. To learn about Historical Particularism

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### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

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In this chapter we are going to learn about one of the important topic called Historical Particularism. This was popularized by Franz Boas. As a critique to the earlier approaches like that of Evolutionism. Historical Particularism can be applied to everyday life too and Indian context too. Hence, studying about this topic becomes useful to you as students of Sociology, Anthropology. Often history has been used by several scholars (except few like Durkheim, Marx) both in Sociology and Anthropology. There is also a discipline called social history in the field of social sciences. History provides a detail into the topic beyond the surface level information. Historical particularism is one such approach which is unique which focusses not only on the present but the location under study. Historical particularism was created in the early twentieth century by Franz Boas and his pupils.

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### **6.2 FRANZ BOAS**

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Franz Boas was an American anthropologist who worked in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He is also known as father of American Anthropology. He founded the relativistic, culture-centred school of American anthropology that came to dominate in the 20th century. He was born July 9, 1858, Minden, Westphalia, Prussia and died December 22, 1942, New York, U.S. He established one of the top anthropology departments in the country while he was a professor at Columbia University in New York City (1899–1942). A.L. Kroeber, Ruth Benedict,

Margaret Mead, Melville Herskovits, Edward Sapir, and other scientists who contributed to the development of anthropology in the United States studied under Boas. He was an expert in North American Indigenous cultures and languages.

Boas' radical works can be best understood historically. Although most anthropologists have maintained that humans are a single species throughout history, few academics in the early 20th century thought that different races had comparable capacity for cultural evolution. From the middle of the 20th century onward, anthropologists and other social scientists came to conclude that race itself was a cultural construct and that racial variations were the outcome of historically specific events rather than physiological destiny. One of the thinkers who had such an opinion was Boas, who emphasised on history to study race.

According to Boas, an anthropologist must be able to comprehend any factor that could have an impact on a people's history. Therefore, to make the argument that cultural differences are not the result of biological differences, one must have a basic understanding of biology. Additionally, in order to see how humans and their environment interact, an anthropologist must be familiar with topics like migration, nutrition, childrearing traditions, disease, as well as the movements and interactions of different peoples and cultures. The study of anthropology then becomes comprehensive and interdisciplinary, engaging with any branch of knowledge that seems pertinent to a given issue (Britannica).

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### **6.3 MEANING OF HISTORICAL PARTICULARISM –**

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Boas' method of anthropology is known as historical particularism since he concentrated on the unique histories of many societies. Particularism, also known as historical particularism, is a school of anthropological thought that emerged from the work of Franz Boas and his students, including A.L. Kroeber, Ruth Benedict, and Margaret Mead. Particularism opposed theories like cultural evolution, Kulturkreis, and geographic or environmental determinism, all of which aimed to identify the social sciences through a number of general laws similar to those in the physical sciences (Britannica).

Historical particularism holds that every culture has its own unique historical journey and that each civilization has evolved in accordance with its history. According to this method, each community, group has a distinctive historical development that must be understood in light of the specific cultural and environmental contexts that surround it, especially with regard to its historical process. The fundamental tenet of it was that "culture" is a "collection of ideas or symbols held in common by a group of people who view themselves as a social group" (Darnell 2013: 399).

An approach to comprehending the nature of culture and cultural shifts in certain populations of people is known as historical particularism. According to Boas, understanding a culture's history requires examining how its distinctive characteristics developed within a certain geographical

area. According to Boas, the history of certain civilizations can be recreated only when several diverse cultures within an area have been examined in the same way. Individual cultural features can be identified as being borrowed from or invented by using comprehensive data from a wide range of cultures as a common frame of reference. Reconstructing the history of a given culture hence is needed for reference and better understanding. (Bock 1996:299). Though in the process of understanding history the individual should not be ignored. Individual stories, histories, oral narratives can also be documented. As it would further help to understand the larger group. Franz Boas believed that the fundamental element of any community is each individual. Individual informants provided him with information, which he deemed valuable enough to analyse from a cultural perspective. Hence, to understand the individuals and groups fieldwork is needed.

**Fieldwork** and history were highly regarded by the Historical Particularisms as vital tools for analysing culture. Fieldwork means where the person who conducts research visits the field personally, resides in the village and observes or participates in the village festivals and studies them. Before making any generalisations or conclusions about a culture or a change in a culture, Boas and his students emphasised the value of acquiring as much information as one can about each specific culture. He and his students went to considerable lengths to meticulously record every detail. This covered basic ethnographic techniques including participant observation as well as the documentation of oral history and tradition. The focus was on participant observation which closely resembled the fieldwork techniques which Malinowski used at the same period in Europe. Like Malinowski emphasised on Functionalism and Boas on that of Historical Particularism. The subjects of study and the overarching theoretical objectives of these two schools, however, were very dissimilar. Boas also emphasised the significance of all anthropology's subfields in rewriting history. He said that Ethnographic proof is needed also with languages, archaeological, physical and biological evidences. With time the historical particularism theory got spread across US by Boas and his students. Boas introduced the idea of historical particularism, but he did not invent the phrase. The word Marvin Harris first used the term "historical particularism" in 1968 (Egyankosh). Boas was an active anthropologist who worked essentially in each of anthropology's four subfields. He placed a lot of emphasis on the fieldwork approach. Boas visited many fields during his lifetime, although he was afterwards criticised for not spending much time there Diah, N. M., et.al. (2014).

In the popular article called 'The Aims of Anthropological Study' Boas, notes anthropology's goal is to "understand the processes by which man (human) has evolved into what he is, biologically, cognitively, and culturally. It was previously stated that our content had to inevitably be historical in the broadest sense. It must cover the evolution of the human body, as well as his physiological processes, cognition, and culture. We require an understanding of the conditions that lead to changes as well as the chronological progression of forms. Progress seems impossible

without such information, and the fundamental question of how to get such information arises (Boas, 1932: 605).

### **Several Methodological Propositions:**

"If we wish to advance down the chosen path, we must insist upon critical approaches, based not on generalisations but on each specific example," said Franz Boas (Boas, as said by Harris 260).

Boas was adamantly a theoretic, rejecting the grand reconstructions of both diffusionists like G. E. Smith and Fritz Graebner and evolutionists like Lewis Henry Morgan and said that their hypotheses were not valid (Winthrop 83-84).

Marvin Harris notes that Boas' "goal" was to "get rid of anthropology's amateurs and armchair specialists by making ethnographic fieldwork the primary skill and essential requirement for professional rank" (Harris 250)

Paul Radin suggested that only "as much of the past and as much of the links with other cultures as is required for the revelation of the particular period" and it should be included in ethnography' (Radin, as quoted by Hays 292).

According to Clark Wissler, "The construction of a chronology for man and his civilization was based upon objective verifiable material" and it will determine the field of anthropology's destiny (Wissler, as quoted by Hays 290).

Though different scholars had different opinions and views on Boas. For contemporary scholars, the emphasis on the value of data collection has paid off. Boas and his students extensive research yielded a wealth of data that has served as the foundation for innumerable studies and investigations that have since been conducted. If "oral cultures" had not been documented, much of this data would have been lost to the passage of time. Although fieldwork techniques have altered since Boas first proposed his theories on participant observation, those theories served as the cornerstone for American anthropologists' fieldwork procedures.

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## **6.4 CRITIQUE OF EVOLUTIONISM**

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Historical Particularism is associated with the work of Franz Boas and his supporters, who emphasised the necessity to reconstruct the specific histories of various cultural artefacts rather than trying to fit them into broad theoretical frameworks, typically evolutionary or diffusionist.

Over the course of his career, Boas' beliefs changed, he was a big opponent of the comparative technique and evolutionary theory.

Following three forms are undermined by comparative techniques by Morgan and Tylor:

1. The idea that evolution is unilinear.

2. The idea that contemporary society is an evolutionary adaptation.
3. The classification of societies is based on evidence.

The evolutionary theory proposed by Morgan, Tylor, and others was rejected by Boas as being unproven and untestable.

Boas undermined the entire tenet of the development of culture in the 19th century. Tylor and Morgan had some technological processes and have an inherent evolutionary order—fire must come before pottery making, flintlock rifles were created before automatic weapons—there is no ethnographic evidence to support the idea that matrilineal kin systems evolved before patrilineal kin systems or that animism-based religions emerged before polytheistic religions. Boas stated that this unilinear ordering is just an assumption and that there is no way to demonstrate a historical relationship between them. Hence, evolutionary frameworks were imposed on data as unproven assumptions.

According to Boas, the unilinear classification of various cultures presupposed that those societies with comparable cultural traits were at comparable evolutionary levels. On the contrary, he thought that disparate factors could lead to cultural traditions that are quite similar.

Hence providing "a comprehensive examination of distinct culture is characterising in its form, and has a dynamic reaction of the individual to culture, and of culture to the individual." Early experiences on Baffin Island convinced Boas to pursue a profession in anthropology. Boas was informed by the study's findings that geography is simply a limiting factor.

The claim that certain cultures are more advanced than others was made by evolutionists. For instance, compared to savage societies, civilised societies are thought to be more advanced and intellectual. However, after visiting Baffinland and meeting the locals, Boas' perspectives changed (Stocking, 1965; 61):

"The more I learn about their traditions, the more I see that we have no right to belittle them. Where would you find such genuine hospitality among our people? In comparison, "highly educated folks" like me are far worse. This passage is taken from Boas' Baffinland journals.

Boas contends that the societies are neither "savage" nor "civilised." This strategy is insulting in nature. Instead of adopting a "nomothetic" strategy (taking into account multiple scenarios at once), he recommended Anthropologists should adopt a "idiographic" method (which deals with particular/specific cases) (Langness, 1974; 57). His concept of "historical particularism" is based on this.

He asserts that each society's culture is distinct from the others and that each society has seen a particular historical evolution. For this reason, he proposed the idea of "cultural relativism" and urged anthropologists to reject the predominately ethnocentric viewpoints (Scupin and DeCorse, 2012).

**Check Your Progress:**

1. Which theories did Franz Boas criticise?
2. What is fieldwork?

**The Eskimos of Alaska's changing economy:**

The example of Eskimos can be used to understand the historical particularism in an easier way. Eskimos in Alaska rely heavily on fishing and hunting for interior caribou or sea wildlife. About 1850, European whaling (hunting whales) started to play a significant role in the region. Several Eskimos engaged in this activity from 1800 to 1900. The Eskimos' culture developed as an auxiliary to the European whalebone coast business during this so-called "Golden Period." Eskimos rifles destroyed caribou herds when whaling declined. From 1892 to 1902, 1,300 Siberian reindeer were introduced as a new source of income for the Inuit people. Eskimo groups picked up the new skills rather quickly. Alaska had more than a million reindeer by 1931. A government experiment that failed in Herds were decimated as a result of making them "communal," when Eskimos covertly resumed shooting reindeer that they no longer considered to be their property. Approximately 25,000 reindeer exist today. The majority of the Eskimos' diet still consists of meat, and they still hunt marine species. The cultural transition of these Eskimos from "hunting" to "herding" is summed up by this cultural sequence. Through this example we can learn how to understand the present occupation one has to grow through the history, local culture.

Boas did not deny the existence of universal rules governing behaviour, but he thought that knowledge of particular historical processes is required to develop those laws. We all believe that there are some laws that control how human civilization develops, and we work to identify these laws. Finding the mechanisms by which successive stages of culture have evolved is the goal of the inquiry. He said that one's research does not aim to investigate practises and convictions. We should be interested in finding out the origins of such rituals and beliefs, or the reasons behind their existence. A thorough examination of customs and their impact on the whole culture of the tribe that practises them, as well as their geographical dispersion among nearby tribes, that enables us to identify the historical factors that contributed to their development as well as the psychological factors, processes that influenced how they were created. Investigation may have three possible outcomes.

Boas offers an alternative to the comparative method's generalisations. Boas advised anthropologists to use an "idiographic" (working with particular/specific issues) approach rather than a "nomothetic" (generalised) one. (Langness 1974; 57). In his article "The Limits of the Comparative Method in Anthropology," Boas argues that anthropologists should research practises in-depth in light of their relevance to the overall culture of the tribe they are practised by. He asserts that further research into these practises is necessary in order to comprehend their geographic distribution across nearby tribes. This type of comprehensive approach to

examining culture and customs, as well as their proximity, could assist identify with a high degree of precision the historical reasons leading to the growth of any customs, traditions and their evolution. Studying factors are important as:

1. They might help to understand the conditions that gave rise to or altered certain elements. (adaption).
2. They might shed light on the psychological forces that influence culture.  
(Psychological determinants).
3. They might demonstrate the impact historical ties have had on the development of culture (Historical factors).

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## 6.5 CULTURAL RELATIVISM

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The concept of "cultural relativism" holds that each individual's values, knowledge, and conduct must be comprehended within the framework of their own culture. As it acknowledges and affirms the linkages between the larger social structure and trends and the ordinary lives of individual people, this is one of the most essential sociological ideas.

Franz Boas, a German-American anthropologist, developed the idea of cultural relativism as a tool for analysis around the beginning of the 20th century. Cultural relativism played a significant role in early social science to combat the ethnocentrism that frequently harmed research at the time, which was primarily carried out by white, affluent, Western men and frequently focused on people of colour, foreign indigenous populations, and people from lower socioeconomic classes than the researcher.

The act of assessing and evaluating another person's culture in light of one's own values and views is known as ethnocentrism. This perspective could lead us to frame other cultures as strange, exotic, fascinating, or even as issues that need to be resolved. Contrarily, when we acknowledge that various cultures around the world each have their own beliefs, values, and practises that have evolved in unique historical, political, social, material, and ecological contexts, that this really makes more sense that their values would vary from our own, and that are necessarily either correct or incorrect or good or bad, we are actively involving the idea of cultural relativism.

The concept of cultural relativism explains why, for instance, the definition of breakfast differs greatly from place to place, a normal breakfast in Turkey differs significantly from that of the United States and Japan. In other countries, eating fish soup or stewed vegetables for breakfast is commonplace, yet in the United States it could seem unusual. On the other hand, some cultures would find our propensity for sweet milk and cereals or our love of bacon- and cheese-stuffed egg sandwiches to be pretty strange.

### **Usefulness of Historical Particularism:**

For contemporary scholars, the emphasis is on the value of data collection has paid off. Their extensive research yielded a wealth of data that has served as the foundation for innumerable studies and investigations that have since been conducted. If "oral cultures" had not been documented, much of this data would have been lost to the passage of time. Although fieldwork techniques have altered since Boas first proposed his theories on participant observation, those theories served as the cornerstone for American anthropologists' fieldwork procedures. Specially and the change in the mass media and internet led to decline of the folk related live performances. Hence, documenting the old practices has helped.

### **Criticism:**

Boas has been criticised as someone who offered tools for examining particular cultures while undermining the evolutionary framework. Although he referred to the connection between the person and society, cultural components and cultural wholes, he never provided an explanation for how cultures come to be assimilated wholes. Boas conducted an impressive study of human civilization, and his work continued to have an impact decade later as many of his pupils focused on one of his central themes: the interaction between the individual and society.

Boas contends that generalisations in law may be based on psychological, historical, or adaptational aspects, but only when they are supported by well-researched ethnographic cases.

Franz Boas concluded that the historical method and comparative technique have been striving for dominance for a while, but one may expect that they will soon discover its proper position and purpose. It has been observed that any place where there are cultural commonalities to some extent the historical particularism approach has failed to prove to be applicable for studying the people. The comparative method has produced astonishingly few conclusive findings, and it will only start to pay off if we provide a uniform, systematic history of the development of culture. So, completely rejecting the evolutionism is not so helpful.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Boas theory of historical particularism is helpful for the present, comment.
2. List out the two concepts developed by Boas.

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## **6.6 SUMMARY**

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Boas' method of anthropology is known as historical particularism since he concentrated on the unique histories of many societies. Particularism, also known as historical particularism, is a school of anthropological thought that emerged from the work of Franz Boas and his students,

including A.L. Kroeber, Ruth Benedict, and Margaret Mead. In the first half of the twentieth century, American anthropology was dominated by the particularist approach thanks to Boas. Neo-evolutionism and anarchism overshadowed it from World War II until the 1970s numerous other theories. But as scholars realised that distinct historical processes continue to distinguish peoples even in the age of globalisation, the particularist method, if not the term itself, re-emerged in the 1980s. Boas developed Historical particularism as a critique of Evolutionism. The chapter also discusses another concept called cultural relativism which talks about studying the culture from its own view point. The example of Eskimos is also used in the chapter to explain the importance of historical particularism as discussed by Boas.

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## 6.7 QUESTIONS

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1. Discuss the meaning of Cultural Relativism
2. Write a note on Critique of Evolutionism by Boas
3. Explain the meaning of Historical Particularism

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## FUNCTIONALISM - MALINOWSKI'S THEORY OF NEED

### Unit Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Meaning of Functionalism
- 7.3 Bronislaw Malinowski
- 7.4 Theory of needs
- 7.5 Summary
- 7.6 Questions
- 7.7 References

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### 7.0 OBJECTIVES

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- To learn about understand the theory of Functionalism
- To learn about the theory of needs as discussed by Malinowski.

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### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

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In this chapter, the discussion is about one of the important theories, i.e., Functionalism. Functionalism as a theory has been used both in Sociology and Anthropology to a large extent. In terms of Anthropology, Malinowski and Radcliffe Brown are connected mainly with these two scholars. Studying these topics is useful for understanding anthropological as a subject and even for competitive exams. Functionalism as such, is a simple theory which can be even applied to understand our day-to-day life situations too.

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### 7.2 MEANING OF FUNCTIONALISM

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According to functionalists, society should be viewed as a system of interconnected parts. Functionalism is a theory in social sciences that holds that all facets of a society—institutions, roles, norms, etc.—serve a purpose and are necessary for the society's long-term existence. The method rose to popularity in the writings of sociologists of the 19th century, particularly those who saw society as living entity like Émile Durkheim, French sociologist. The foundation of Durkheim's sociology is functionalism. Like other functionalists, he concentrated on the issue of order and the advantages of social institutions, justifying their existence in terms of the contributions they make that are functionally useful. He dealt with many of the fundamental issues raised by this viewpoint as a pioneer. He came up with several justifications that connected existence and necessity. His implicit claim that society can maintain the social

conditions of its own existence as a strong, self-aware entity directing the behaviour of each of its members is the most distinctive, though largely disregarded, feature of his methodology. Sociologists like Merton (Latent and Manifest) and Talcott Parson have also discussed about functionalism. Here we would focus more about Functionalism in terms of Anthropology.

### **Functionalism and Anthropology:**

Functionalism is a thought that a social system has a functional unity in which all of its constituent elements cooperate with one another to some extent. Functionalism also holds that every cultural or social phenomenon serves a necessary purpose and is therefore unavoidable. The theoretical implications of functionalism as a relationship between a social institution and the "necessary conditions of existence" of a social system were investigated by the British anthropologist A.R. Radcliffe-Brown. He understood a unit's function to be its contribution to the upkeep of a social structure, or the network of connections between social units. Malinowski is also associated with the growth of functionalism in Anthropology which we would look into in detail in the following sections of the chapter (Britannica).

Functionalism was a reaction against earlier school of thought in anthropology. It was an effort to depart from the evolutionism and diffusionism that predominated anthropology in the United States and the United Kingdom at the turn of the century. (Lesser 1935, Langness 1987). With time the focus in Anthropology shifted from the hypothetically historical or diachronic study of traditions and cultural characteristics as "survivals" to the ahistorical, synchronic study of social "institutions" within constrained, functional societies. (Young 1991:445).

Theoretically and methodologically, functionalists attempted to take sociocultural research beyond the confines of the evolutionary understanding of social history. The evolutionary perspective saw cultural practices or characteristics as lingering leftovers of earlier times. In other words, according to the evolutionist school, "a cultural fact was observed not in terms of what it was at the time of observation but in terms of what it must stand for in reference to what had previously been the case." (Lesser 1935:55). These earlier methods prioritized speculative theorizing over the finding of facts from a functionalist point of view. According to functionalists, events' current expressions in the world are what drive them. thus, in order to comprehend occurrences, it was necessary to comprehend the functions and try to record as well as observe them (Lesser 1935:55-56). Let us understand Functionalism further through function of magic.

### **The Function of Magic:**

According to Malinowski magic was a crucial component because it was essential to Trobriand culture. Magic was employed to assure a successful crop, ease childbirth, improve the beauty of dancers, kill foes and stop one from being slain, and safeguard fishermen. When knowledge fails man,

magic was always used at those stages of human action. Malinowski argued that magic plays a significant role in giving humans control over dimensions that are otherwise beyond our capacity to influence. For example -Weather cannot be controlled by people hence to bring rain people practiced magic. Experience has shown man that, despite his best efforts to imagine or see such phenomena, he cannot create rain, sunshine, wind, heat, or cold. So, he uses magic to deal with them.

He suggested that because of the lack of scientific understanding of illness and disease, "primitive" man believed that sickness was brought on by sorcery and could be cured by magic. **Fishing** is organized similarly to magic. When it is possible to make a good catch in the favorable weather under those circumstances, magic is not practiced. when no other type of fishing is done. In contrast, because ocean fishing, sailing, and canoeing involve higher risk and danger, its charm is more complex and extensive.

The village **garden** magician is either the headman, his heir, or the closest male relative, making him either the most important or the second-most important person in the community. Garden magic is open, direct, and comprehensive. For a garden's success unlike skilled and efficiency the same way is the use of magic. It is crucial to the soil's fertility. People believe that the magical virtue of the garden seeps into the earth as it speaks magic. For them, magic is a component of the growth of the gardens that comes almost naturally. Malinowski thought that magic's primary purpose was to try to exert more control over the aspects of nature that were beyond human control. In this way, his examination of magic is a reflection of his pragmatic view of culture.

### **Psychological Function – Kula Exchange:**

Malinowski's ethnographic work named, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, discusses the Kula observations which illustrates the psychological functionalism (1922). Malinowski provides a description of the Kula exchange. Kula is the system in which ceremonial gifts are often exchanged among the tribal societies living in various islands like in the East of Papua New Guinea. The exchange of sacred object is referred to as "Kula" because according to Malinowski it is surrounded by complex social and magical rituals of traditional type. The essential feature of Kula is the ceremonial exchange of items such arm shells and necklaces, but side by side, the locals engage in regular trade through bartering from island to island. As a result, the "Kula ring" links all of these individuals together through a system of reciprocal bonds between neighbors.

All facets of their lives are influenced by kula activities, including visits, feasts, religious practices, the standing of kin groups, artistic expression, public displays of persons, and trading opportunities. So, a study of the Kula's purpose, or what it does, necessitates a review of its overall significance and content in connection to each of the cultures involved as well as the intellectual relationships at play.

This chapter both demonstrates Malinowski's prowess as an ethnographer and serves to clarify many of his core ideas. The traditional Kula example

by Malinowski concerns the trade of ceremonial items between a number of ethnically diverse populations in the eastern end of New Guinea and on nearby island groups. Geographically, this creates a loose "ring." A more or less small number of men participate in the Kula on each island and in each community, which entails receiving the commodities, holding them for a brief period of time, and then passing them on. Hence, every male in Kula got one or more Y nawli (arm-shells) or a Soulava (necklace of red shell discs) on occasion but not consistently. He then had to pass it on to one of his partners, from whom he obtains another commodity through that of exchange.

As a result, no man ever keeps any of his possessions for an extended period of time. The two men are engaged in a committed, lifetime relationship. Furthermore, there is no question that any given Y nawli and Soulava will never settle down because they are constantly on the move and trading places. Since the objects are seen as precious themselves and valuable, the saying "once in a Kula, always in a Kula" also holds true. In the Southeast New Guinea's Kula exchange, Armlets fashioned of spiral trochus shell and necklaces mostly composed of pink spondylus shell discs are items that are ceremonially shared.



Examples of Kula ring – source Wikipedia

## **Criticism of Functionalism:**

In the 1950s and 1960s, functionalism gained popularity but later on it was criticized heavily. Its decline began in the early 1970s as a result of a new theories. Social scientists criticized the functionalism to account for the complex nature of interconnectedness. Functional theory has also been criticized for ignoring the historical process and for presuming that societies' internal mechanisms is what keep them in an equilibrium. Functionalism believes that functions should satisfy its needs, but it did not seem to work in every case. They fail to investigate the issue of how and why these needs developed. Criticism was also made that the social processes was ignored in functionalism. In addition, the Ecological factors were also ignored in functional approach.

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### **7.3 BRONISLAW MALINOWSKI (1884 – 1942)**

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One of the founders of British social anthropology is regarded as Malinowski. He got a Ph.D. in Physics and Mathematics in 1908 after receiving training in the physical sciences. In Leipzig, Wilhelm Wundt and Durkheim had an impact on him. Following the reading of Frazier's *The Golden Bough*, Malinowski's focus switched to anthropology. In 1910, he applied to the London School of Economics to seek a degree in anthropology. Some of the best English anthropologists, such as E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Isaac Schapera, Raymond Firth, Fortes and Nadel, etc., were trained by him later at LSE. Also, he also established the anthropology programs at Cambridge and LSE.

Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown believed that British anthropology should adopt a historical perspective rather than speculatively and historically examining social systems. This theoretical shift, which also gave rise to functionalism, made fieldwork the defining experience in social anthropology. (1973 by Kuper; 1991 by Young). Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Malinowski and functionalism had a big influence. With the exception of situations involving social or cultural revolution, this method proved effective when used. Malinowski's thesis still has some relevance in contemporary anthropological theory, even though it has evolved from its original formulation due to new and changing paradigms. (Young 1991:445).

Malinowski did, however, contribute much as an ethnographer. He emphasised the need of examining social behaviour and social connections in their genuine cultural contexts through participant observation. He believed that observable differences between norms and behavior—between what people claim to do and what they actually do—were important. One of the most extensively read anthropology books ever written, his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) provides one of the most in-depth analyses of Trobriand social life and ideas. Malinowski made significant conceptual contributions to the study of family and marriage, magic, ritual language, and myth (such as the concept of "myth as social charter"), and economic anthropology (especially the concept of "myth as social charter").

Malinowski was deeply interested in both myth and religion. He breached the border separating them as his fieldwork progressed. *Sex and Repression in Primitive Society* and *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) are two of his best-known works (1927). Malinowski's concept of culture produced the most intriguing contribution to anthropological thought, albeit his work has not received due credit. His anthropological research centred on the ways in which culture met individual needs. It contradicted the viewpoint of A.R. Radcliffe Brown, who emphasised how culture met society needs. To understand this distinction and evaluate Malinowski's contribution, one must first understand Malinowski's theory of needs.

### Check Your Progress:

1. Discuss the meaning of Functionalism in few words.
2. How does Malinowski example the function of magic, explain in few lines.

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## 7.4 THEORY OF NEEDS

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Malinowski saw that a need is an human condition which is necessary for the existence, survival of any group or society at large. There are needs like physiological (reproduction, food, shelter) or that like Instrumental like Economy, social control, political groups, education existing in every society.

Malinowski's conception of need serves as the cornerstone of his functional approach to culture. By his idea, he sought to link the individual and society. He argues that in order to meet a person's basic biological, psychological, and social needs, culture is required.

Malinowski developed a distinctive approach to illuminating social phenomena as a result of his search for theories to analyse primitive civilization. This approach is referred to as his notion of needs. It was explained by Malinowski in *A Scientific Theory of Culture*. The individual's and society's requirements, in his view, are two distinct categories.

Malinowski interpreted physiology in terms of function. He defined function as the appropriate action that fulfils an innate want. His physiological allegory was developed. Malinowski used a modified version of his synoptic chart to explain needs and claimed that cultural institutions are comprehensive answers to a variety of needs. A collection of universally applicable permanent life sequences were provided by Malinowski. These patterns show how a person satisfies their urges.

Malinowski also discusses about **Biological impulses** in a human being like:

<b>Impulse</b>	<b>Act</b>	<b>Satisfaction</b>
<b>Pain</b> Fear Lack of sleep Thirst Less air	<b>Avoiding it</b> Escaping it Activity Liquid oxygen	<b>Normal state</b> Relaxed mind Reason being fatigue thirst being quenched. Less carbon dioxide within tissues

**Basic Needs:**

<b>Basic needs</b>	<b>Cultural responses</b>
Metabolism	Commissarial
Reproduction	Kinship
Bodily comfort	Shelter
Safety	Protection
Movement	Activities
Growth	Training
Health	Hygiene

Malinowski went into great detail to illustrate each of these demands and cultural reactions, but here are a few examples: The term "metabolism," which refers to the basic requirement of humans, encompasses (a) the process of ingesting food, (b) digestion, (c) collateral secretions, (d) the absorption of nutrients, and (e) the rejection of waste material.

The "commissarial" (the military unit that provides food to an army) cultural reaction consists of.

1. How is the production, preparation, and consumption of food takes place?
2. Where does the social group and location of meals was consumed?
3. The social and economic structure of food distribution.
4. The distribution of food is governed by both the law and custom.
5. The person in charge of applying those laws.

Safety is a basic need that simply "refers to the prevention of bodily injuries by mechanical accident, attack from animals, or attack from other humans," but protection is a cultural response that can take many different forms, such as building homes on piles to protect them from potential tidal waves, planning armed defenses against aggression, or using magic to summon supernatural forces.

Growth—which in humans is shaped by newborns' prolonged dependence—leads to the cultural reaction of training, in which people are taught language, other symbols, and appropriate behavior for various circumstances until they are fully developed. Culture values have biological survival in terms of the hierarchy of requirements. Primary determinism could be used to characterize this.

**Derived needs:**

The existence of humans as social creatures results in a secondary determinism. You may also argue that culture produces its own demands in order to satisfy basic needs these are derived needs. These needs are created for a sense of safety and comfort at large.

Need	Response
1. Requirements of maintenance of cultural apparatus	economics
2. Regulation of human behavioral	social control
3. Socialization	education
4. Exercise of authority	political organization

However, not all of the rules developed among humans are included in these derived demands or imperatives. These guidelines can also be taught to many animals' offspring. However, none have the capacity to pass them on to their offspring besides humans. Apes can undoubtedly instruct their young in appropriate behavior, thus in this regard, they have rules. But it's difficult to picture the mother chimpanzee criticizing another mother-baby pair for breaking all the rules. Only when habit becomes custom does this happen.

**Integrative needs:**

The integrative imperatives, as defined by Malinowski, are what shape human social life. Integrative imperatives transform impulses into ideals, child care into educating the next generation, and habit into custom. According to Malinowski, things like tradition, normative standards or ideals, religion, art, language, and other types of symbolism fall under the purview of integrative imperatives. In other words, we discover that Malinowski believed symbolism or ideals to be the essence of human society.

This demonstrates how Malinowski's theory of needs may be used to describe and contrast cultural behavior from various regions of the world since it acknowledges the biological underpinnings of cultural activity. He sees social structure as one of the cultural tools used to meet the fundamental, derived, and integrative needs of people. This conceptual framework provided Malinowski with an explanatory tool to create high-quality field records. Ralph Piddington an famous psychologist noted that the idea of wants could help psychologists and anthropologists work together. Study of The Sexual Life of Savages in NW by Malinowski (1929) Hunger and work in a Savage Tribe, written by Melanesia and his student Audrey Richard, in 1932, serves as a powerful example of how different societies can both fulfill and control biological drives.

In other words, the main notion behind Malinowski's theory of needs is how biological and societal influences on behaviour affect people. He never stopped looking for ideas that weren't just pure speculation and weren't either so specific that they could be generalized. We discover Malinowski's concept of describing societies as well as harmonious cultural wholes and institutions in this process. He was able to connect the political with the religious, political with the economic, or the political with the technological through the idea of needs. Institutions, in his opinion, differ from one another in that they are structured around various purposes.

Two arguments serve as the crux of Malinowski's theory of need.

1. Every culture must fulfil the needs of the biological systems.
2. Any cultural accomplishment that uses artefacts and symbols to improve human anatomy and, in turn, directly or indirectly, meets bodily wants.

Briefly put, culture is functionally integrated, adaptable, and utilitarian, and defining its function is essential to understanding it. a prime illustration of Malinowski's method of magic.

Critiques of Malinowski's work have been made for a variety of reasons. His theory is viewed as a rude theory since it reduces all behavior to a crude idea of utility.

**Check Your Progress:**

1. List out some of the basic needs and the cultural response for them.
2. List out derived needs and the response for them.

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## 7.5 SUMMARY

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In this chapter we discussed about two topics mainly, functionalism and Malinowski theory of need. The functionalists attempted to take sociocultural research beyond the confines of the evolutionary understanding of social history. The evolutionary perspective saw cultural practises or characteristics as lingering relics of earlier times. In other words, according to the evolutionist school, "a cultural fact was observed not in terms of what it was at the time of observation but in terms of what it must stand for in reference to what had previously been the case." (Lesser 1935:55). These earlier methods prioritized speculative theorizing over the finding of facts from a functionalist point of view. According to functionalists, events' current expressions in the world are what drive them. thus, in order to comprehend occurrences, it was necessary to comprehend the functions and try to record as well as observe them. We also learnt about Malinowski who practiced fieldwork and emphasized on fieldwork. The chapter also discusses about Theory of needs as given by Malinowski. He relates the needs to the institutions formed to fulfill the human needs like market for biological need of hunger. For Malinowski

the needs many a times can be viewed from two-fold angle needs of society and needs of individual. Malinowski saw that a need is an human condition which is necessary for the existence, survival of any group or society at large. There are needs like physiological (reproduction, food, shelter) or that like Instrumental like Economy, social control, political groups, education existing in every society. Malinowski's conception of need serves as the cornerstone of his functional approach to culture. By his idea, he sought to link the individual and society. He argues that in order to meet a person's basic biological, psychological, and social needs, culture is required.

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## 7.6 QUESTIONS

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1. Write a note on Functionalism in Anthropology
2. Explain in brief the theory of needs.
3. Discuss the basic needs in detail.
4. Discuss Biological impulses and Integrative needs.

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## COLONIAL ANTHROPOLOGY- VERRIER ELWIN'S METHODS OF A FREELANCE ANTHROPOLOGIST

### Unit Structure

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 About Verrier Elwin
- 8.3 Elwin's Method as a Freelancer Anthropologist
- 8.4 Summary
- 8.5 Questions
- 8.6 References

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### 8.0 OBJECTIVES

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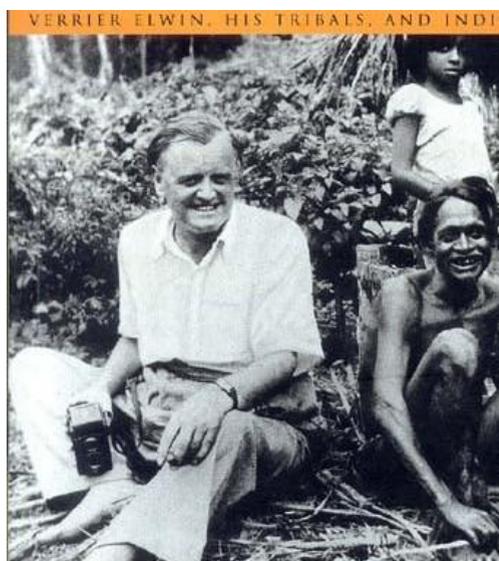
1. To learn about Verrier Elwin contribution
2. To understand the Fieldwork technique used by Verrier Elwin.

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### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

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In this chapter we are going to learn about Verrier Elwin. We will learn about his contribution to Anthropology and especially tribal studies. Traditionally it is the Western scholars who wrote about other countries specially the Asian countries. These writers many a time viewed society from a dominant perspective. Here Verrier was different where he became one of the people whom he was studying lived a life like the tribals and then documented it. Verrier Elwin was not just a visiting researcher, Anthropologist but he stayed back in India and wrote about India.



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## 8.2 ABOUT VERRIER ELWIN

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Verrier Elwin was an anthropologist, ethnologist, and tribal activist who was born in England and raised in India. He started his career there as a Christian missionary. Elwin was an Anglican priest at Oxford and was the son of a young Anglican bishop. While Elwin's life was distinguished by a number of changes, his time in Oxford had a significant impact on the pattern of his literary career. He was influenced by two mentors at his college, Merton, who had quite different opinions (cf. Elwin 1964: 19 – 24). The first was H.W. Garrod, his English instructor, who was an expert on Wordsworth and Keats. The second was F.W. Green, his theology instructor and a former slum priest in London's east end. After spending time in a Gandhian ashram and working along with Mohandas Gandhi and the Indian National Congress, he converted to Hinduism in 1935. Elwin traveled to India and joined a tiny Anglican group in Poona. With time he was inspired by Gandhiji and joined the fight for Indian freedom. Elwin's religious leaders and the temporal authorities were not particularly fond of him as a result of his actions. He also researched on the tribals of numerous North East Indian states especially North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) and settled in Shillong, the hill city of Meghalaya. He eventually rose to prominence as an expert on tribal Indian life and culture, particularly that of the Gondi people. When it was founded in 1945, he served as the Anthropological Survey of India's Deputy Director.

Post-independence he took the Indian citizenship. He was selected by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru as a tribal affairs advisor for north-eastern India, and later served as the government of NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh)'s anthropological adviser. He also wrote about tribal assimilation and tribal transformation. His autobiography, *The Tribal World of Verrier Elwin* won him the 1965 Sahitya Akademi Prize in English Language, granted by the Sahitya Akademi, India's National Academy of Letters (Near archives). Verrier Elwin has written about twenty-six books, on tribal population in India, out of these fourteen of them are monographs. Understanding about Verrier Elwin as a person will help us understanding his nature of work and that of his fieldwork. He lived in India and post his citizenship even got married and divorced with a tribal women and later remarried another tribal women. This was very much different at that period where scholars came like colonizers studied and went back and wrote about negatively or had objective view point.

When he was visiting England, the latter tightened its grip; government authorities wouldn't let him travel back to India, but they eventually gave up and let him depart as long as he made a pledge not to engage in any political activity there. After signing the document, he returned to the Gond tribe's isolated village and along with Hivale (name of a person) established a school and a pharmacy. The area's Anglican bishop had suggested the location to him and added the fact that four of the last five Europeans to live there had passed away within a year. A very different character had proposed the work with the tribesmen.

Elwin sought advice from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, one of the leaders of the nationalist movement, regarding dealing with untouchables because he had come to the conclusion that he needed to be in closer contact with the people than he could be in the Order at Poona. Patel dissuaded him, saying that numerous social workers and missionaries were already making amends for the untouchables on behalf of Hindus. Elwin was instructed by him to interact with indigenous people. He continued to do this for the remainder of his life. Elwin quickly added the need to portray tribal peoples as actual people rather than annoying savages and their customs as deserving of respect to the religious motivation to make amends.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Did Elwin played a role in the Panchsheel for tribes. Comment.
2. List out two books written by Verrier Elwin.

### **Elwin's Writings:**

Each year between 1936 and 1939, a book by Elwin was published by the London publisher John Murray. *Phulmat of the Hills* (Elwin 1937) is a book about a tribal individual who has leprosy and was left by her lover. His book had straightforward conversation, the story was filled with poetry, puzzles, and anecdotes from tribal tradition. His ethnographic novel format writing is different earlier Anthropologists and even the Anthropological tradition.

While finishing *The Baiga* in July 1938, Elwin wrote to an Italian acquaintance, "The pen is the principal weapon with which I battle for my impoverished." Elwin campaigned for the voiceless tribe in a number of ethnographies and essays. Elwin performed fieldwork in several parts of the modern Indian states of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa while his colleague Shamrao Hivale concentrated on social work (cf. Elwin 1964: 105–6). He resided in Bastar, a large, remote, and highly with a mostly tribal populace, between 1940 and 1942. He also stayed in the Orissa uplands for several months every year between 1943 and 1948. He was a free-ranging anthropologist exploring the woodlands Elwin was a traveling anthropologist who roamed the woodlands looking for tribes to study and preserve. He gathered a vast collection of information that was eventually compiled into a number of dense yet always comprehensible monographs.

Several scholars have discussed about the contribution of Elwin like Indian anthropologist Sarat Chandra Roy wrote a kind homage to Elwin's tribal diaries and novels in the journal *Man*. Roy claimed that the *Phulmat of the hills and leaves from the bush* offered "vivid views of Gond existence." They demonstrated how well the author had aimed to "connect himself in spirit with the individuals he examines." They were written with "intimate understanding and genuine affection." The same kind of attitude may be seen in Elwin's first ethnographic study. This was *The Bagia*, a lengthy monograph written in 1939 about a small tribe of

impoverished farmers who were being compelled, mostly against their will, to take part in the destruction of the state's economy.

The texts like the Baiga and the Muria became well known. Both studies drew on the intimacy that came from a stay with the tribe. The book described the vivid life histories as a result of the novelist's interest in the character over social structure, —each book had more than 600 pages— and both were made more enjoyable by literary allusions.

This served as the catalyst for his rich stream of ethnological literature (there was an earlier, not inconsiderable, output of theological and nationalist writings). He lost comfort with his position as a clergyman and his official beliefs as he grew more and more immersed in his work with tribal communities. In reversal, he experienced "a tremendous conversion." He rejected his priestly and communicant affiliation with the Church of England. From that point on, he worked independently while maintaining a basic standard of sustenance in his community and investing the majority of donations in his charitable work.

Elwin served as the Deputy Director of the Anthropological Survey of India for a short time after its establishment in 1946. The final phase of his work with tribal peoples, which began in 1953 when he relocated to Shillong to serve as the government of India's North East Frontier Area's advisor for tribal affairs, was perhaps the most fulfilling. Honors came to him there as well as in his isolated little settlement. A D.Sc. from Oxford, five medals and from Western society, and the Padma Bhushan, one of the highest honors bestowed by the Indian government, were among these distinctions for Elwin. These were given to him primarily for his job as an anthropologist, although his autobiography implies that once he understood the foundations of their field and philosophy.

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### **8.3 ELWIN METHOD AS A FREELANCER ANTHROPOLOGIST**

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There is no replacement for fieldwork, Elwin writes in the introduction of one of his early works, "You cannot see humans from the howdah of an elephant." There is no replacement for living in a village, interacting with the locals, staying in village homes, and putting up with the discomfort and the misunderstandings that may develop. He adopts the tone of Malinowski, whose extensive fieldwork became the special characteristic of social anthropology, advancing the science beyond the ad hoc investigations of colonial officials or missionaries and the bibliographical theories of Frazer.

The statement that was just quoted is actually preceded by a sense of anger, directed at some younger Indian scholars, who Elwin claimed had a "tendency to scamp personal investigation on the spot, to make brief visits of a fortnight or less to a district and then write about it, to conduct inquiries from the veranda of a government rest house."

The Mandla Gonds, his neighbors, were prominently featured in his early ethnographies on the Baiga and adjacent towns. He lived among the locals while studying in Bastar and Orissa, but his preparation for both locations was extensive. He wrote in his autobiography: "Anthropology was the center of my existence. It included more than just conducting fieldwork." My strategy was to integrate myself into the community, collaborate on many books with the residents, and generally share as much of their life as an outsider could. To put it another way, I didn't only rely on asking questions; instead, I gradually learned about the people until it was one. Elwin methods were different than others.

While his writings on Bastar and Orissa researches were based on careful prior planning there too, he lived with the tribals. He wrote in his memoirs: that anthropology did not mean just field work, it meant my whole life. My method was to settle down among the people, live with them, share their life as far as an outsider could and generally do several books together.... 'This meant that I did not depend merely on asking questions, but knowledge of the people gradually sank in till it was a part of me'. However, Elwin's research methods are to be distinguished from those of his professional peers in several ways as a local.

The only Indian language he was familiar with was the Chhattisgarhi dialect of Hindi, which was spoken by the Baiga and the Agaria. However, in other places, such as Orissa, he occasionally needed to employ two sets of interpreters: one to translate from the tribal tongue into Oriya, and the other to do the same for Oriya into English or Hindi. During this process, meaning and subtlety would have been lost in translation. While it is true that he traveled across a wide area and came into contact with several distinct groups, it is equally important to note that he had a limited command of several languages.

The Tribal World of Verrier Elwin and Leaves from the Jungle are some of his finest books (1936). Both of these stories center on him. His anthropological writings, however, have always focused on various individuals and situations contrarily, to his ethnographic essays.

There is a ton of original material about tribal locations and tribal people, but it isn't always presented logically or persuading. Again, Elwin liked to study a tribe in a series of quick journeys across a number of years and villages, as opposed to the longer-term fieldwork at a single location that is more typical among professional anthropologists.

His monographs has incisive writer characterizations, as seen in the vivid personal histories and the profusion of songs, riddles, and poems. Elwin preferred to focus on a single important characteristic or institution that, in his opinion, defined the essence of a culture—be it bewar (name of a place) or swidden cultivation for the Baiga or the Ghotul (dormitory system for unmarried) of the Muria—in contrast to other anthropologists who preferred to emphasize the functional interrelatedness of all parts of a social system.

Elwin mostly found intellectual sustenance in reading, particularly poetry. A few portions in the book are made better by poetry quotes, both his own and others'. He identifies as a humanist anthropologist who was drawn to the field by poetry. He describes himself as a romantic in another line, and his writing style supports that.

He picked "The Philosophy of Love" as his topic for the Patel Memorial Lectures, which were broadcast on All-India Radio in honor of the same Patel who guided Elwin to indigenous peoples. Elwin expresses his conviction that love is supreme with power and intelligence in his lectures, and book, and other publications. The tribes number over 25 million, which is much greater than the population of several countries in the globe, but in India they have been mostly hidden, socially buried, geographically secluded, and unheard of. People who did business with them frequently took advantage of them. Sometimes, the assistance received made the situation worse than it already was. Elwin fought tirelessly to bring indigenous peoples to the notice of the nation's authorities and to establish their deservingness of respect and particular welfare consideration.

"Dr. Elwin's outstanding work raised the stature of tribal people in the eyes of the general public across India. He has demonstrated to us that they are not only backward people but also possess their own art and culture, which has had an impact on the national policy. He noted that policy must deal with the tremendous economic, medical, educational, and social challenges of the indigenous peoples. He also made another contribution to India that is hard to measure but might ultimately be much more important than his influence on tribal policy. It has an impact on how Indians perceive their society and themselves as individuals. He often and persuasively argued against dominant religions who were attempting to change tribal society in their austere way in the name of saving the tribal peoples.

Elwin vehemently refuted the idea that this particular form of puritanism embodied the actual spirit village of India. He said that the majority of tribal people were true representative of the real India since they valued life and enjoyed the senses. Thus, he has this to say (pp. 168–169) about the ghotul, a facility for boys and girls of the Muria tribe on which he authored an in-depth book. "The ghotul message—that youth must be served, that freedom and happiness are more valuable than any material gain, that friendliness and sympathy, hospitality, and unity are of the utmost importance, and above all that human love—and its physical expression—is beautiful, clean, and precious—is typically Indian"

Elwin saw the tribal culture as unique with their customs, traditions, languages who lived in isolation. However, for Ghurye he viewed tribes as a part of the large dominant religion which often Elwin did not agree too. Elwin argued that because there was no caste system in place, tribal communities always maintained a strong sense of communal identity. They had a close and communicative tradition with nature and relatively equal gender relations.

Elwin assisted in the creation of policy documents for protecting the interest of the tribal communities. During his stay in the north-east region, Elwin wrote two novels' titles, 'A philosophy for NEFA' (1957) and 'A new bargain for tribal India' (1963), which garnered great attention among the reading publics. Nehru's famous "tribal panchsheel" carries Verrier Elwin's stamp. He was a key person in the post-independence tribal welfare programs by creating awareness through his writings.

Elwin never attempted to portray tribal cultures solely in terms of religion and ritual, which was a reductionist perspective shared by many of his contemporaries. His writings, however, showed an unusual concern in conveying the tribal life's material culture. He discussed about several important day to day things of tribal life like attire, housing, utensils, agricultural tools, food and cuisine, hunting and fishing equipment, and more. By focusing on the subjects of clothes, food, and sexuality, Verrier Elwin, was the one who for the first time in Indian anthropology made women's lives visible. Elwin also focused on women and nature, but he also looked at crime, illness, and art, all hitherto unresearched areas in Indian anthropology (Elwin, 1964; Guha 1994).

Verrier Elwin's two best-known works are *The Tribal World* and *Leaves from the Jungle*, both published in 1936. The author's experience is highlighted in both of these works, and he develops into a character in the narratives. On the other hand, his ethnographic reports, representing various cultures and circumstances, carry a great store of information and description, delivered with less consistency and scientific rigour.

Elwin once claimed that he is a 'devoted disciple' of the Malinowski school of functionalism, nevertheless, the application of the conceptual framework was half-hearted as the author carried his disguised literary desires. He was a novelist and poet before he became an anthropologist.

In a newspaper report, Elwin figures as 'not an anthropologist in the theoretical sense of the term' but a 'man of letters who is primarily interested in human beings' Guha points out that Elwin visited many places over multiple weeks and during different years and also in different villages than the earlier traditions of studying single site. This made in unique too. During his time as a director too he was carried out fieldwork in different tribal societies and recorded them in the Archaeological Institute.

During one of his fieldworks, he had to climb the mountain half way and his leg was hurt, yet he climbed however he couldn't witness the event. There were instances where he drank with the tribe but still completed his work. All these things have been different from the earlier traditions of anthropologist method who never looked back on the society they studied, neither worked for the development of the population. The anthropologists of that period didn't even inform what they were writing to the subject. In a way, there was a major gap between what was written and the researched participants. Here he worked for the Welfare of the population. Though he was hated by some dominant religious groups. Elwin as an Anthropologist

showed that tribal stories and lives can be written from the view point of a literature too.

Elwin criticised the people who tried to impose their ethnocentric values whether they were from within the nation or from outside the nation. He spoke in praise about the collective culture of tribal population and the abuses created by the non-tribal one the tribes. He discussed about the simple life of the tribes, their position and opposed the mono culture concept. He was a key person to influence Nehru to make the tribal panchsheel.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Did Elwin use fieldwork, Comment.
2. Did Elwin focus on the literary side of tribal life and did he use literature and anthropology. Comment.

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## **8.4 SUMMARY**

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This chapter discusses about Verrier Elwin a prominent Anthropologist who came to India as a missionary but later ended up as man who spoke for the Tribals rights and protection of them. He documented tribes' practices, food, stories, cultures, day to day lives which very few writers of his tribe focussed upon. This led to the way people looking at the tribes, in a way bringing an attitude change among the readers and the policy makers. He spoke about the alienation the tribal population felt and the lack of resources , anxiety of the tribes. In a way, becoming voice for the voiceless. Elwin traveled to India and joined a tiny Anglican group in Poona. With time he was inspired by Gandhiji and joined the fight for Indian freedom. Elwin's religious leaders and the temporal authorities were not particularly fond of him as a result of his actions. He also researched on the tribals of numerous North East Indian states especially North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) and settled in Shillong, the hill city of Meghalaya. He eventually rose to prominence as an expert on tribal Indian life and culture, particularly that of the Gondi people. When it was founded in 1945, he served as the Anthropological Survey of India's Deputy Director. Post-independence he took the Indian citizenship. He was selected by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru as a tribal affairs advisor for north-eastern India, and later served as the government of NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh)'s anthropological adviser. He also wrote about tribal assimilation and tribal transformation.

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## **8.5 QUESTIONS**

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1. Discuss some of the works of Elwin
2. Write a note on the methodology of Elwin
3. Discuss about the issues that Elwin raises about the tribes.

4. Write a note about Elwin academic journey and his influences and how it shaped his writing.

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### **CULTURE AND PERSONALITY- MARGARET MEAD COMING OF AGE IN SAMOA**

#### **Unit Structure**

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Culture and Personality
- 9.3 Margaret Mead
- 9.4 Coming of Age in Samoa
- 9.5 Summary
- 9.6 Questions
- 9.6 References

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#### **9.1 INTRODUCTION**

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In this chapter, we are going to learn Culture and Personality school and about Margaret Mead, one of the prominent female anthropologists. She was a student of Franz Boas but later on became an established Anthropologist. Margaret Mead (1901–1978) was a writer and cultural anthropologist and her place of birth is Philadelphia. She completed her graduation from Barnard College in 1923. As the American Museum of Natural History's assistant curator of ethnology, she made twenty journeys to the South Pacific to research Indigenous cultures. Mead developed her theories regarding the strong influences of social convention on behavior, particularly in adolescent girls, in her writings, such as *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928). When Mead was appointed an anthropology professor at Columbia University, she continued to speak out against the rigid gender and sexual norms through her writing and lectures.

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#### **9.2 CULTURE AND PERSONALITY**

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In the early part of the 20th century, the Culture and Personality movement was at the center of anthropology. It looked at how psychological and cultural influences interact to shape the human experience. Culture and Personality was one of the responses against social evolutionism and diffusionism in the 19th century, along with the functionalist schools of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski. The early evolutionists, such as Louis Henry Morgan and Edward Tylor, who believed that each civilization went through the same hierarchical evolutionary process, were opposed by Franz Boas and many of his

students (including Ruth Benedict). There are several scholars associated with the culture and personality school like Sigmund Freud, Erik Erikson, Edward Sapir, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Abram Kardiner, Ralph Linton, Cora Dubois, Clyde Kluckhohn, Robert LeVine

The majority of well-known culture-and-personality theorists contended that socialization techniques directly influenced the personality traits. When socialization is successful, it shapes a person's emotions, attitudes, behaviors, cultural values, and norms, enabling them to blend in and be useful members of the surrounding human community. The relationship between culture and personality looked at how various socialization techniques led to various personality types.

America was engulfed in World War I at the time Mead conducted her research, which had an impact on families by uprooting them and, in some cases, causing their dissolution. Anthropology was a new field that was involved in an ongoing discussion regarding the relative importance of biological predisposition and the behavioural features of individuals and the nature vs. nurture debate. The discussions mostly centered on the debate over how biology and culture influence human personality (Congress Library, 2021). As a result, the discussion had a big impact on the then social issues in America after World War I. At the same time, academics began to take an interest in the views of psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud like "Oedipus complex".

In *Culture, Behavior and Personality* (1982), Robert LeVine makes the case that there are **five distinct perspectives** that characterize the area in an effort to explain why the study of culture and personality lacks consistency.

Ruth Benedict, Margret Mead, and Geoffrey Gore adopted a perspective that is possibly the most well-known. The Boasian concept of cultural relativism was linked with psychological principles in what was known as the **configuration method**. (LeVine 1982:53). It took the perspective that culture and personality could not be seen in isolation since they were so intertwined. This point of view is frequently criticized for emphasizing cultural uniformity and ignoring intra-cultural variance. Particularly Benedict was criticized for being too humanitarian and not using enough statistical evidence.

That **anti-culture/anti-personality** relationship was a second viewpoint. According to this perspective, it is unnecessary to talk about someone's psyche. According to this theory, in order to survive in a society, people have created appropriate responses to the environment. Every human community replicates the same normal distribution of personality types or attributes. (LeVine 1982:45). The **psychological reductionist viewpoint** is a third. This entailed investigating the psychology of the person as the root of social behaviour. For this perspective, Freud and those who came after him were competitors. In the Culture and Personality school, it appears to have garnered the least attention or followers overall.

**Personality mediating** with the two-systems perspective are the only two theories, according to LeVine (1982:59), that made it through the 1980s. Abram Kardiner, a psychoanalyst, and Ralph Linton, an anthropological, created personality mediation. It asserts that a society's core institutions, such as its subsistence and settlement patterns, are influenced by the **environment**. These in turn have an impact on fundamental personality traits, which have an impact on ancillary institutions like religion. Personality starts to have a role in the process. This perspective brought psychological reductionism into harmony with sociological and cultural perspectives.

Melford Spiro, Inkeles, and Levinson created the **two-systems view**. According to this theory, personality and culture interact and balance one another. Spiro was particularly interested in "how personality influences the functioning of the sociocultural system." (LeVine 1981:59). Instead of being seen as discrete systems or even as appropriate analytical abstractions from data of the same order, culture and personality are seen as components of a larger field. (Kluckhohn 1954: 685). In other words, culture and personality are linked and follow a similar trajectory. Socialization patterns are influenced by culture, which in turn affects some personality variations. (Maccoby 2000). Hofstede and McCrae (2004) point out that each society has its own culture and history since diverse socialization practises exist in various communities. In light of this viewpoint, one should not believe that culture develops according to universal laws. Some psychological anthropologists have recently rekindled their interest in the relationship between culture and personality (2).

Thus, the culture and personality school lacked a rigid point of view, centralised leadership, or comprehensive training programme (LeVine 2001). However, it did have some fundamental principles that the majority of practitioners would agree upon. This school pointed out that Adult behaviour is "culturally patterned," and early experiences shaped a person's identity. Yet as the individual get older cultural practices and social institutions, such as religion, had also an impact on the adult personality traits. (LeVine 2001).

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### **9.3 MARGRET MEAD**

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Margret Mead's mother Emily Mead, was a sociologist and a feminist, and her father Edward Mead, a Wharton School economist, had commitment to academic success and democratic principles. Franz Boas, the father of American anthropology, taught Mead at Barnard College in the early 1920s. Mead also had discussions with Ruth Benedict, who was Boas's assistant. She discovered that studying early cultures provided a special laboratory for examining a crucial issue in American life: What proportion of human behaviour is universal, hence apparently innate and unchangeable, and what proportion is socially induced? Clear responses to this query could have helped a populace that was mostly convinced of the inferiority of women and the rigidity of gender norms might have some social consequences in the society Mead thought.

With time Margaret Mead turned out to be one of the most popular anthropologists in America. The best-selling anthropology book is still her work is "Coming of Age in Samoa" (1982). She has written for several different magazines. She had more than 1400 printed pieces by 1976. In *Male and Female* (1949), Mead examined the ways that parenthood reinforces male and female roles in all communities, tempering her nature vs. nurture stance slightly. She played an important role in highlighting the benefits and conventional gender stereotypes. Mead's observations on child rearing had a significant impact on American society. She keeps track of her infant's feeding requirements like an anthropologist, identifies trends in the times, and then plans her teaching and writing obligations around those times. Dr. Spock's writings on infant care and, in turn, the upbringing of the post-World War II baby boomers was somewhat influenced by this. Despite writing a lot, she has a little impact on anthropology. Margaret Mead advocated for combining of progressive ideas and a respect for traditions in an endeavor to better the lot of people. Her life and work have had profound impact. She also started the Institute for Intercultural Studies in 1944 after financing for her fieldwork in the South Pacific was discontinued during World War II. Mead's field research directly influenced her theoretical concepts. She took part in five field excursions and researched eight various communities between 1925 and 1939.

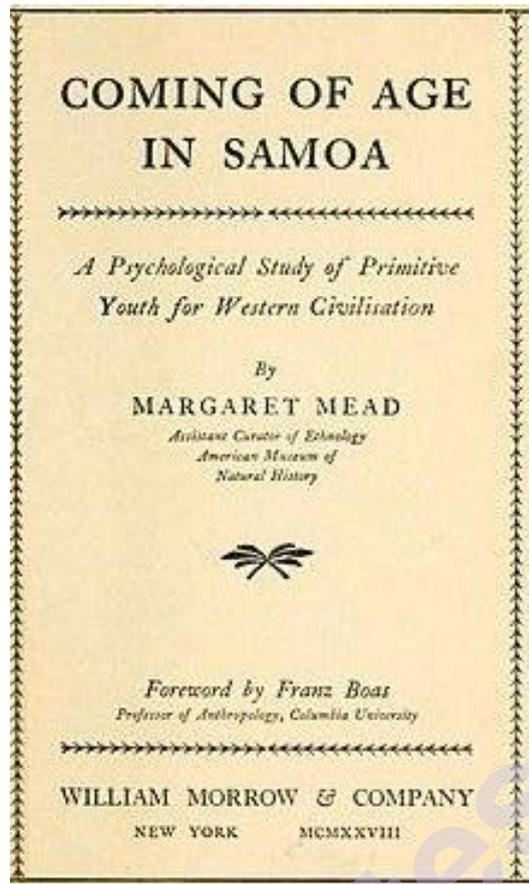
#### **Check Your Progress:**

1. List out some of the books of Margaret Mead.
2. What is expected from the females of the family as discussed in the movie/ as discussed in the article and how can you connect it with day to day real life situation?

#### **Fieldwork:**

1. Her book *Coming of Age in Samoa*. Was written out of the eight-month stay in Samoa in the year 1925.
2. A exploration of Omaha native American people in the 1930 summer.
3. A cross-cultural comparative research in New Guinea that lasted much longer, from 1931 to 1933, is documented in her book. *Three Prehistoric Cultures' Sex and Temperament* (1963).
4. Research in Bali from 1936 to 1938 and once more in 1939.
5. In 1938, Iatmul of New Guinea.

The ethnographic foundation of Mead's primary contribution is also in child rearing practices that shapes personalities and in that, gives particular societies their fundamental characteristics and this is used in these three periods of fieldwork.



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## 9.4 COMING OF AGE IN SAMOA

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In the **first phase** of fieldwork, Mead's researched around sixty-eighty females between the ages of eight and twenty in three close-knit villages on the island of Tau served as the basis for his picture of Samoan childhood. She conducted a series of fundamental psychological tests, such as rote memory for numbers, and gathered a variety of personal and familial data on how Samoans judged one another (The most beautiful girl, The smartest guy, The worst boy).

The main finding was that females' adolescence in Samoa was not stressful since Samoan culture as a whole absorbed pressure. Samoan babies are breastfed on demand until they are two or three years old, but within the first week of life, they also receive other foods such as mashed papaya and coconut milk. A girl between the ages of six and seven is given custody of the toddlers; these older kids supervise and are held accountable for their charges' disobedience. The Samoan family is both bidirectional and large. The group's members were related through friendship, marriage, blood, or adoption. the freedom to live with other family members when there is tension at home.

Mead claimed that sexual relations among Samoans were common and unproblematic. Both heterosexual and homosexual relationships were accepted and widespread. The inclusion of "illegitimate" children into the household was not a big deal.

Mead argued that Samoan society and children were characterised by easy transitions and fluid status adjustments. It involved both childhood and society, not just one or the other. The implications of this study made Mead's work extremely important.

Additionally, according to Margaret Mead, psychologists who conducted all of the studies on adolescent behaviour failed to take into account the natural environment and social context. Anthropologists tended to concentrate on ideal lab-like settings when testing their theories since they had an inclination to do so. As a result, according to Margaret Mead, an anthropological analysis of teenage behaviour utilising ethnographic methods was required. Because it initiates the paradigmatic shift from strictly quantitative data collection methods to qualitative assessment without losing scientific evidence, *Coming of Age in Samoa* is a foundational classic in anthropological studies. (CEC, 2019).

Mead contends in *Coming of Age in Samoa* that the lack of conflicting social values in Samoan society at the time of her investigation contributed to the absence of the adolescent worries that are widespread in the United States and elsewhere. She also points out that young Samoan women regularly engage in physical relations before having a husband and children, as opposed to suppressing their desires. Mead contends that these elements, along with the openness of Samoan society—where information about birth, death, and procreation is not kept private from children—contributed to an effortless transition into becoming an adult rather than the psychologically trying adolescence that is thought to be the norm in the United States. Hence, the behavior of adult Samoans was pleasant, without aggressiveness or violent feelings (Kuper, 1989; Library of Congress, 2021). Mead therefore came to the conclusion that American Teenagers had no physiological foundation and was culturally peculiar. She also thought that because of the homogeneous structure of the community, Samoan females were spared from the stress of having to make difficult social decisions regarding their partner and peer groups. She advised American education experts to concentrate on a system of instruction that equipped the country's adolescent population to make moral decisions in a heterogeneous culture like America where young people had a variety of possibilities. Mead discovered the *Coming of Age in Samoa* transition between the Samoans felt very at ease since they were spared the "strum and dang" of adolescence in western societies. Only until the Samoan youth reached the age of 15 or 16 were they recognized for their economic and domestic tasks. Mead used an example from Samoa to further illustrate the lack of tight parental supervision in that country, particularly with regard to young people's sexual behaviors. Contrary to this more permissive approach to parenting, American parents imposed severe rules on their children, which led to disputes between them and their offspring. (Mead, 1928).

Mead attempted to persuade Americans in books like *Culture and Commitment* (1970) and her autobiographical *Blackberry Winter* (1972), in *Redbook* magazine articles, and in her lectures that understanding the lives of others could help people comprehend their own, that was easier to

deal with sexuality (homosexual as well as heterosexual), that motherhood and careers could and should go together, that building support networks for the overloaded new mothers.

### **Second phase:**

The findings of Mead's 1931–1933 research among three New Guinea communities is presented in "**Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies.**" Her study focused on the fundamental issue of "The conditioning of social personalities of the two sexes." On the Northern Shore of Papua New Guinea, these three clans were only a hundred miles apart from one another, yet they had radically different personalities.

### **Arapesh:**

In Arapesh the mother and father shared equally in the responsibility of raising the child. Young males and even middle-aged men were frequently complimented on their attractive thinness. Growing food and having children were Arapesh's greatest adventures.

The Mundugumor culture was built upon the idea that people of the same sex are inherently hostile to one another. Mother and daughters as well as the father of the Mundugumor were rivals. The world is hostile when the Mundugumor child is born. "A world in which the majority of his own sex will be his foes," Mead wrote. They would find more fulfillment in physical combat and aggressively pursuing women.

### **Tchambuli:**

Tchambuli males were very interested in art. Every man is an artist, and the majority of them are talented not just in one art form but in several, including dance, sculpting, painting, braiding, weaving and other crafts. The true power was held by Tchambuli women, who oversaw fishing and the most significant industries while treating their male population with "kindly tolerance and appreciation."

### **Third Phase:**

#### **(Fieldwork in Bali 1936 – 1938):**

She and Gregory Bateson investigated the cultural foundations of personality during this time. The Balinese research is significant because it produced a Balinese character and used photography as a research instrument. She blended conventional ethnography with a photographic record in order to capture and share the observations.

They recorded an orientation-based style of living based on their work in the mountain community of Bajoeng Gede. She noticed that status and space-time were necessary for social existence. Each guy knew his position in the village's social structure. The superior person should sleep on the eastern or in and side of the lesser person, and the vertical lift (higher chair for higher status) posture, among other things, indicated the status distinctions. gesture. Bajoeng Gede accepted time, space, and the

condition of the soul with little fuss. Their orientation was perceived as a shield rather than a prison. This cultural information was passed on at birth. The child gradually adopts these speech and behaviour habits.

In total, she captured 22,000 feet of 16mm film and 25,000 still images in addition to thorough ethnographic documentation. It continues to be a masterwork of documentation and research.

Some Mead detractors have criticised her choice of accommodation on the island of Ta'u, where she conducted her study of adolescent females, from a methodological standpoint. She selected to reside in the naval dispensary rather than a Polynesian home, but with an locals family. Mead discusses her decision and expresses fear that she would be "patronising" herself by not residing in a Samoan household in this previously unpublished letter to Ruth Benedict. (Congress's Library, 2021)

### **Criticism:**

Mead received a lot of media coverage and the anthropological community's attention after the publication of *Coming of Age in Samoa*. The book's portrayal of Samoan sexuality was criticized by several academics, groups, and people of Samoan heritage, and Mead was charged with bias in this regard. It was felt that the young ladies Mead interviewed, who might have exaggerated or lied about their experiences, were also accused of misleading her. Derek Freeman, an anthropologist who spent a significant portion of his career challenging Mead's findings, issued a critique of her study in the 1980s. The majority of Mead's conclusions were upheld by other anthropologists, such as Lowell D. Holmes and Ellen Rhoads Holmes. *Coming of Age in Samoa's* results' applicability remained debatable.

Balinese character exemplifies a central theme in Mead's work – The relationship between individual and cultural pattern. This approach is known as "Culture and Personality". Mead argued that culture is not just the individual writ large. The individual is a product of cultural behaviour that shapes the persons in common but unique manners. This is later reinterpreted and re-expressed, relieved as the infant becomes an adult, as the child becomes a parent. This interaction between individual and culture is the dynamic, complex process by which humans learn to be humans, but humans of very distinctive sorts. The processes of human development can be seen in the way an infant is bathed, the shared intimacies of husband and wife, or the small gestures that teach a child its place in the world and so on explain the coherency of culture.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Discuss Criticism on Margaret Mead's work
2. Discuss Margaret Mead work on Children and Motherhood.

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## 9.5 SUMMARY

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Margaret Mead was born into a family that was socially well-established, upper middle class, and well-educated. Her mother was a college-educated woman involved in a number of social issues, while her father was a professor of economics. Mead, who had double-majored in English and Psychology, took a course from Franz Boas during her final year. Ruth Benedict, who worked as Boas's teaching assistant and persuaded her to enroll in graduate school for anthropology. Mead explored the connections between gender, childhood, and society in both her personal and professional work. Mead chose the South Pacific peoples as her research subjects, and she spent the remainder of her life examining the adaptability of human nature and the diversity of social norms. In her book, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, she observed that Samoan children transitioned relatively smoothly into the adult world of sexuality and this contrasted to children in the United States, where continuing with the Victorian restrictions on sexual behaviour and the growing distance between children and the productive world made youth an unnecessary challenge.

Mead's work was criticized by Derek Freeman. He published *Margaret Mead and Samoa*. In the work *Making and unmasking of anthropological myth* in which he blamed Mead for distorting Samoan society. He argued that Mead underestimated the Samoan society by assuming them to be "very simple". He attributed it to Mead's lack of command of Samoan language. Freeman critique that Mead went to Samoa with the preconceived intension of showing that culture, not biology, determined human responses to life's transitions like adolescence. Though later Freeman was also criticized.

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## 9.6 QUESTIONS

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1. Write a note on Mead's book *Coming of Age in Samoa*
2. Explain Culture and Personality perspective
3. Discuss the contribution of Margret Mead to the discipline of Anthropology.
4. Discuss the five perspectives on Culture and Personality

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## PATTERNS OF CULTURE – RUTH BENEDICT

### Unit Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Ruth Benedict – An Anthropologist
- 10.3 Patterns of Culture
- 10.4 Summary
- 10.5 Questions
- 10.6 References

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### 10.0 OBJECTIVES

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- To understand the context of Ruth Benedict’s contribution to anthropology
- To familiarize students with the Patterns of Culture in the realm of cultural relativism

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### 10.1 INTRODUCTION

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Patterns of Culture, originally published in 1934, is an anthropological text by Ruth Benedict. Translated into 14 languages and with three updated English editions, the book is considered a classic in American anthropology. Benedict popularized the idea of cultural relativism—that we should not judge other cultures by our standards but view them on their own terms. Just as significantly, she helped establish the “Culture and Personality” school of anthropological thought, which was a dominant academic paradigm in the United States until World War II and defined the field of psychological anthropology as we know it today.

Patterns of Culture set the groundwork for thinking about the relationship between culture and personality. Following in the tradition of Franz Boas, Benedict treats culture as a mental phenomenon that is learned, integrated, and shared. She takes Boas’s approach a step further, however, asking what brings coherence to a culture. The structure of the book has three foci. The first three chapters explain the premise of cultural anthropology and delve into definitions and case examples of what constitutes culture. Benedict argues against the idea that culture is based in biology.

The second focus spans three chapters, each one dedicated to an in-depth case study of a particular culture: the Zuñi of New Mexico, the Dobuans of Papua New Guinea, and the Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island. The final two chapters include an impassioned argument for social justice and place Benedict as a forebearer of feminist anthropology. In these chapters, she

examines the ideas of deviance and abnormality as they relate to society, asking the question: What does a society do with individuals who do not conform to mainstream norms? She notes that a characteristic that is abnormal in one society might be accepted or even praised in another. Homosexuality, for example, is seen as abnormal in Western society but not in many Native American societies. She argues that cultural relativity is needed to challenge paradigms and thus arrive at a more tolerant, inclusive, and self-aware existence.

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## 10.2 RUTH BENEDICT – AN ANTHROPOLOGIST

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Ruth Fulton Benedict (June 5, 1887 – September 17, 1948) was an American anthropologist and folklorist, whose theories had a profound influence on cultural anthropology, especially in the area of culture and personality. She was born in New York City, attended Vassar College and graduated in 1909. She entered graduate studies at Columbia University in 1919, where she studied under Franz Boas. She received her Ph.D and joined the faculty in 1923.

Franz Boas, her teacher and mentor, has been called the father of American anthropology and his teachings and point of view are clearly evident in Benedict's work. Ruth Benedict was affected by the passionate humanism of Boas, her mentor, and continued it in her research and writing. From the outset of her career in social science she conceived of cultures as total constructs of intellectual, religious, and aesthetic elements.

Benedict held the post of President of the American Anthropological Association and was also a prominent member of the American Folklore Society. She became the first woman to be recognized as a prominent leader of a learned profession. She can be viewed as a transitional figure in her field, redirecting both anthropology and folklore away from the limited confines of culture-trait diffusion studies and towards theories of performance as integral to the interpretation of culture. She studied the relationships between personality, art, language and culture, insisting that no trait existed in isolation or self-sufficiency, a theory which she championed in her 1934 *Patterns of Culture*.

*Patterns of Culture* (1934), Benedict's major contribution to anthropology, compares Zúñi, Dobu, and Kwakiutl cultures in order to demonstrate how small a portion of the possible range of human behaviour is incorporated into any one culture; she argues that it is the "personality," the complex of traits and attitudes, of a culture that defines the individuals within it as successes, misfits, or outcasts. Six years later, with the publication of *Race: Science and Politics*, she refuted racist theory.

Thus, Ruth Benedict focused much of her work on culture and personality. She entered the field of anthropology from a strong humanistic background and continued that throughout her work.

## Check Your Progress:

1. Write a brief note on Ruth Benedict.

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### 10.3 PATTERNS OF CULTURE

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Ruth Benedict focused much of her work on culture and personality. She entered the field of anthropology from a strong humanistic background and continued that throughout her work. In 1929 Benedict presented Boas with three papers, *The Science of Custom*, *Psychological Types in the Cultures of the Southwest*, and *Animism*. Benedict used these three papers, along with *Configurations of Culture in North America*, and her notes on the abnormal in cross-cultural perspective to construct her first book, *Patterns of Culture*. According to Ruth Benedict the integration in a culture is brought about by its content being arranged into a permanent or semi-permanent design or style. Such a design she called pattern.

The primary message of *Patterns of Culture* is the paramount importance of learned behavior in human existence. In contrast to prevalent notions of racial or biological determinism, or of human life as determined by the surrounding physical environment, or of humans confined by their place on an evolutionary hierarchy, Benedict posits that culture provides the patterning. On the issue of race, or ideas of biological determinism, Benedict is succinct: “Not one item of his tribal social organization, of his language, of his local religion, is carried in his germ-cell. . . . Man is not committed in detail by his biological constitution to any particular variety of behavior. . . . Culture is not a biologically transmitted complex” (1934:12,14).

Benedict’s final points outline the idea of cultural relativism. Benedict believed this new understanding could make a difference:

“The recognition of cultural relativity carries with it its own values . . . It challenges customary opinions and causes those who have been bred to them acute discomfort. . . . As soon as the new opinion is embraced as customary belief, it will be another trusted bulwark of the good life. We shall arrive then at a more realistic social faith, accepting as grounds of hope and as new bases for tolerance the coexisting and equally valid patterns of life which mankind has created for itself from the raw materials of existence”. (1934:278)

As *Patterns of Culture* was re-printed and re-issued, it was almost always promoted as a gateway to tolerance. Finally, Benedict’s work was among the first to raise fundamental questions about cultural relativism. Her work focuses upon the diversity and incommensurability of moral and political values, and she claims in her conclusion that all patterns of human life are ‘equally valid’. In practice she does judge some societies as better or worse than others (for example, by commenting upon the impoverishment of British Columbian cultures), but more importantly, she sees the founding moral values of anthropology to be strongly anti-discriminatory. Her emphasis upon the cultural malleability of human beings leads to an

unconditional rejection of racism, an imperative to understand others and a recognition that one's own cultural values are in no sense natural or absolute.

### Check Your Progress:

1. What is 'Patterns of Culture'?

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## 10.4 SUMMARY

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Scholars generally agree that Benedict was a woman before her time, politically and professionally. Deeply critical of ethnocentric perspectives, Benedict calls for a comparative and informed understanding of all cultures and peoples. *Patterns of Culture* also lays the groundwork for current methods of anthropological investigation and interpretation. Finally, Benedict's sustained attention to cultural relativism has been adopted in many fields, from multicultural studies to more applied fields, like education and health, that seek to connect with and be sensitive to the needs of all segments of a population.

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## 10.5 QUESTIONS

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- Elaborate on cultural relativism from the perspective of Ruth Benedict.
- Who was Ruth Benedict? Elaborate on her contribution to cultural anthropology.
- Explain *Patterns of Culture*.

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## 10.6 REFERENCES

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## **MARXIAN FEMINISM - ELEANOR BURKE LEACOCK**

### **Unit Structure**

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Marxist Feminism
- 11.3 Eleanor Burke Leacock's Approach
- 11.4 Summary
- 11.5 Questions
- 11.6 References and Further Readings

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### **11.0 OBJECTIVES**

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- To understand the arguments of Marxist Feminism
- To familiarize students with the contribution of Eleanor B. Leacock

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### **11.1 INTRODUCTION**

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Marxist feminism refers to a set of theoretical frameworks that have emerged out of the intersection of Marxism and feminism. Marxism and feminism examine forms of systematic inequalities that lead to the experiences of oppression for marginalized individuals. Marxism deals with a form of inequality that arises from the class dynamics of capitalism. It understands the class inequality as the primary axis of oppression in capitalist societies. Feminism deals with another form of inequality which is the inequality between the sexes. Feminism understands gender inequality as the primary axis of oppression in patriarchic societies. The goal of the Marxist feminist framework is to liberate women by transforming the conditions of their oppression and exploitation.

Marxist feminism is an emancipatory, critical framework that aims at understanding and explaining gender oppression in a systematic way. Eleanor Burke Leacock (1922-1987) was a foundational theorist in Marxist feminist anthropology. Her concern throughout her prolific scholarly life was with the dynamics of social hierarchies in historical context, and how outcomes are not predetermined, but are results of resistance and whatever emancipatory practices emerge in that context. For Leacock these struggles were not only structural, but were also grounded in everyday practices.

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### **11.2 MARXIST FEMINISM**

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Beginning in the 1840s, Marxism has analyzed unpaid, reproductive “women's work” as an integral part of capitalism. Marxist feminism

historicizes reproduction in relation to production to better understand women's exploitation and oppression in capitalism. Marxist feminism also theorizes revolutionary subjectivity and possibilities for an anti-capitalist future. Particularly important to Marxist feminism are its theories of imperialism and primitive accumulation, or theft, of land, resources, and women's unpaid labor to the reproduction of lives and generations.

From the 1930s, Marxist feminism in the US demanded greater attention to the political and economic dimensions of systemic racism alongside sexism and class exploitation. Marxist feminism in anticolonial movements centered imperialism and its mobilization of feudal relations of gender oppression to capture populations, land, and markets.

The Marxist feminist theory was focused on the exploitation women were subjected to under the Capitalist System with the amount of work they had to put in. They were forced to work in the industries for longer periods and were paid extremely low wages as compared to men. Even the working conditions were extremely dismal for them. Its main idea was that the women could be liberated only by eliminating the Capitalist System wherein the women were not paid sufficient wages for their labour. There are several aspects which Marxist feminism focuses on which are as follows:

**Classless society:**

The primary objective of Marxist theory was to create a classless society wherein both the upper class and the lower class people are treated equally. At that point in time, women were inferior to men and didn't enjoy equal rights. Further, the women in poor households were discriminated against in the field of labour and employment. On the other hand, the upper-class women or the Bourgeoisie enjoyed certain privileges without putting in any labor.

**Equal pay:**

Karl Marx's theory focused on providing equal wages to both men and women for the equal amount of work they were putting in. There shall be no gender-based discrimination in terms of wage payment. In several books introduced in the 1970s, women were stated as the reserve army of labour which was however unrecognized many a times. As a result, they were not provided with equivalent wages for their efforts. Hence, they should also be provided with adequate protection for their labour.

**Reproductive labour:**

Marx and Friedrich Engels under this theory also focused on the unpaid reproductive labour in which the women were involved. Women performed a very important role of bearing children or procreation which helped in carrying forward the future generations, but for which they weren't paid anything. They also didn't have an equal opportunity for carrying out productive labour. The family eventually became a place

where the women were oppressed and were considered to be subordinate to men thereby creating this gender gap in wages and status in society.

### **Social wages:**

Social wages essentially refer to the amenities that are provided to the persons in the society. At that point of time, a large number of women all over the world were landless and were not allowed any social participation. Hence the focus of the Marxist Feminists was to shift the attention to the rural women who despite working on the lands were landless because of male domination and the erasure of the work carried out by them on the family farms for self-production or self-subsistence.

### **Wages for household work:**

As stated before, the women were not encouraged to engage in productive labour in the industries and were largely subjected to housework. Hence under Marxist feminism, there was a demand for the inclusion of the household work as well as for the determination of the wages. Further, there was also an opinion that private property was the main reason for such an exploitation of the women and there was a dire need to improve their working conditions be it their own house or their workplace.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. What is Marxist Feminism?

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## **11.3 ELEANOR BURKE LEACOCK'S APPROACH**

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Eleanor Leacock was born in Greenwich Village to literary critic Kenneth Burke and mathematician Lily Batterham. Her parents encouraged education and expected their daughters to have careers. In 1939, she received a scholarship to Radcliffe and joined a group of student radicals who excelled in coursework, but were deemed socially unacceptable to other students because they were not affluent, held socialist or communist politics, or were Jewish.

Eleanor Leacock was a unique individual whose political life spanned both academics and the world of struggle. She was an anthropologist who was also a Communist Party sympathizer, blacklisted from tenured faculty positions for a number of years until she was finally hired full-time in the City University of New York system in 1972. Leacock always saw her extensive theoretical writing as work in the service of social justice.

As a Marxist, her vision of social change rested on the centrality of working-class unity and the theoretical tools to understand the basis of that unity, namely, a dialectical and materialist understanding of history. Building on the work of Friedrich Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, she argued strenuously that understanding the rise of the nuclear family and women's oppression historically was central to understanding the rise of all class society, including capitalism.

For her, it is not possible to understand how class society came into being without appreciating the nature of the egalitarian societies that preceded it and how they were transformed. This is where the immense contribution to Marxist theory of the newly-reissued *Myths of Male Dominance* lies: Leacock's vast research to extend Engels' theory shows how women's oppression is rooted in the rise of class society and can only be ended with its overthrow.

Throughout a work life that ran from the 1950s into the 1980s, Leacock saw her main project as arguing for a materialist framework for history in opposition to feminists and scholars who insisted that women's oppression is an eternal feature of all societies, rooted in biology, culture, or psychology. She wrote many of the essays in *Myths* at the height of the women's movement, when feminists were grappling with explanations for inequality and oppression, from discrimination on the job to domestic violence and rape. Many argued that male violence and aggression were biological, and that conversely, women's innate maternal instincts led historically to matriarchal, female-dominated societies.

Her historical and anthropological evidence for egalitarian societies is invaluable, based on her fieldwork among the Native American Montsagnais-Naskapi, and the diaries of Jesuit missionaries who provided first-hand documentation these "collective societies." The Naskapi were migrating hunter-gatherers in Canada who lived in multiple-family bands. Whether it was hunting or tent-making, men and women shared a range of tasks, and although there was some gender division of labor, the different areas were equal in status. In fact, men had no authority over women, sexual or otherwise. Fundamentally, decision-making rested equally in the hands of both men and women.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. What were Leacock's main arguments in favour of a classless society?

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## **11.4 SUMMARY**

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The very philosophy of Marxist Feminism is that there should be no private property or private ownership because it causes greater discrimination against the women and reduces their role in society. Both men and women should be treated equally in society and for achieving this there was a need for revolution. At that point in time, there were gender-specific roles that were assigned to both men and women. While men worked outside, women used to work at home and raise their children for which they weren't provided any wages. As a result, the males were considered superior and had the power to redistribute the income among family members. This was clearly disregarding the labour a woman carried out at her home and also led to a distinction between the bourgeoisie (Males) and the Proletariats (women).

Leacock remained committed to feminist scholarship as a collective endeavor. She collaborated with several feminist anthropologists in the

late 1970s and early 1980s. She and June Nash critiqued Lévi-Strauss and structuralism's assertion that logical, binary oppositions formed an underlying universal linguistic code that presumed a hierarchy of terms. For structuralists, it followed that maleness, representing culture, was superior to femaleness, representing nature. Empirical societies varied, but all was based on that underlying code. Leacock and Nash provided an empirical critique of assuming binary opposition, ranking of terms where binaries existed, and other ahistorical formulations of gender hierarchies.

In sum, Eleanor Burke Leacock remains a foundational theoretician in feminist and especially Marxist feminist anthropology. From her first field and ethnohistorical research in Labrador to the field research on youth suicide in Samoa that she was conducting at the time of her death, she practiced intersectionality in her theory and social engagements. Her career trajectory embodied the struggles so many women scholars have confronted, her cooperation and collaboration with others was aimed at producing scholarship that situated gender in the context of class and race, and her commitment to more equitable conditions of life for those struggling with enmeshed hierarchies and oppressions.

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## 11.5 QUESTIONS

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1. What are the main aspects of Marxist feminism?
2. Elaborate on Leacock's contribution to Marxist feminism.

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## **INTERPRETATIVE ANTHROPOLOGY - CLIFFORD GEERTZ 'THICK DESCRIPTION - DEEP PLAY: NOTES ON THE BALINESE COCKFIGHT**

### **Unit Structure**

- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 Meaning of Interpretative Anthropology
- 12.3 Understanding Thick Description
- 12.4 Deep Play- Notes on the Balinese Cockfight
- 12.5 Summary
- 12.6 Questions
- 12.7 References

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### **12.1 INTRODUCTION**

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In this chapter three main topics will be discussed firstly meaning of Interpretative Anthropology, the concept of Thick Description and we will also learn about one of the important works by Clifford Geertz titled Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight. The article Deep play is published in the book Interpretative Anthropology which was published by Clifford Geertz. Through the article he narrates his field experience and how interpretative anthropology works in field. In Anthropology the Interpretative Anthropology is associated with that of Clifford Geertz. This chapter would be very useful for you to understand how field investigation is carried out in villages, especially when one is an outsider (not a local population). We will learn about how Geertz and his wife faced the different challenges while studying the people in Bali. Learning about Geertz would help you to take some lessons, the way one should speak during fieldwork.

Social Sciences at largely at the beginning and to some extent even today has been influenced by the positivistic tradition which spoke about using the methods of natural science like measuring, experimentation, observation, drawing out inferences, conclusion. Social sciences also have been trying to generalize the problem or even build large scale grand theories which could be applicable to a large extent throughout the world. For example – Evolution theory. It is theories like Interpretative which brought about a change in both the approach and whereby the subject knowledge also useful and meaningful. It brings us to the closer to the goal of understanding truth of the phenomena under study. Hence, learning about Interpretative Anthropology and as a method becomes useful to you as students of sociology and anthropology. In Sociology, Max Weber has used Interpretative approach where he points out studying

the meanings, actions and placing in the subjects' shoes while studying them. In a way, looking from people's views. Here he uses the German word 'Verstehen' which means deep understanding.

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## 12.2 MEANING OF INTERPRETATIVE ANTHROPOLOGY

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The term "interpretive anthropology" refers to a particular method of writing and conducting ethnographic research that is connected to ideas that emerged within sociocultural anthropology. Geertz wrote a book called "interpretive anthropology" and he saw interpretive anthropology against structuralist anthropology of Lévi-Strauss 1963. Symbolic or Interpretive Anthropology is can be seen as the process through which actors are giving meaning to their world. Through these meanings they try to find a place in system or systems of cultural symbols. It is a viewpoint that Clifford Geertz developed in opposition to the then-dominant objectivised ethnographic approach. It calls for an epistemology ('culture as text') and a writing approach ('thick description') that will enable an anthropologist to interpret a culture by comprehending how the people in that society are trying to interpret themselves and their own interactions. Interpretive anthropology is "extremely practice-oriented, viewing human deeds as nonwritten texts, or texts which exist in the social world (Panourgia and Kavouras 2008). Geertz's said that 'Understanding how individuals think and interpret their surroundings, as well as what they are doing and how they are doing it, is very important and useful in research.

When **Evans Pritchard** wrote about the Nuer religion, Pritchard too used interpretivism in his anthropological historical discourse. But Geertz is the author whose work most embodies this tradition and who continuously pursued and practised it. Pritchard used to observe, but it was Geertzian concepts and efforts that really made Interpretative stand out. When Pritchard passed away in his 19th year, Geertz published the classic work called the "The Interpretation of Culture," which helped define interpretive anthropology. Geertz's writing is frequently viewed as a response to Levi Strauss's work on meaning, which focused more on the contrast between cultural traits than the meaning.

According to Geertz, a culture, or any culture, is a complicated collection of texts that creates a web of meanings. These meanings are understood by the actors themselves i.e. "natives", and are then interpreted by anthropologists in the same way that literary critics interpret various passages in a text. Like by including the accompanying contexts in the analysis that enable meaning for all parties involved in the act of interpretation. Geertz argued in favour of involving the anthropologist in the ethnographic narrative as opposed to the common ethnographic technique of observation from a distance. By challenging Malinowski's assertion of objective and detached observation, which had been the practise of anthropology up until the 1960s, interpretive anthropology in an innovative turn brought back ethnographic methods back as expected by Franz Boas.

In the book Geertz also discusses the Ryle example of the **wink**. For example - the wink could be a spoof of another person's wink or an effort to mislead others into thinking a conspiracy is underway. It is possible to think of each sort of wink as a distinct cultural category (Geertz 1973d:6-7). Winks and twitches are produced and understood within "a layered hierarchy of meaningful structures" (Geertz 1973d:7) as a result of the blink and the various kinds of winks mentioned above (and those that fall between them). The goal of ethnography, according to Geertz, is to understand this hierarchy of cultural categories. So, a thick description is a description of the specific form of communication that was utilised, such as a parody of another person's wink or a secretive wink. Ryle gives the example of a wink which could be interpreted in multiple ways whereby asking our friend to lie in a situation. Or it could be a symbol of expressing love to a person or it could be a situation where the dust has fallen into someone's eye.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Which tradition has been used in social sciences in the beginning stage.
2. Discuss Pritchard and Interpretative Anthropology

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## **12.3 UNDERSTANDING THICK DESCRIPTION**

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When discussing "thick description," many academics cite Clifford Geertz's 1973 book *The Interpretation of Cultures*; however, Geertz concedes that the phrase and idea were first used by British metaphysician Gilbert Ryle, who studied philosophy at Oxford University. The root of the idea may be found in Ryle's *Concept of the Mind* from 1949, where he extensively investigated "the description of intellectual exertion" (p. 305). In two of Ryle's lectures, *Thinking and Reflecting* and *The Thinking of Ideas*, both of which were released in the middle of the 1960s, the actual phrase "thick" is first used as a description. To explain in simple words, thick description simply describe what someone is doing. It transcends simple facts and outward appearances. Detail, context, emotion, and the networks of social ties that bind people. A detailed explanation stirs up emotions and self-feelings. It introduces history into the present. It determines the importance of an encounter or a series of happenings for the individual. The voices, emotions, deeds, and meanings of the interacting people are heard in the dense depiction. Denzin (1989),

Geertz utilises Ryle's example, which examines the distinction between a "blink" and a "wink," to show thick description. A wink is a secretive signal to a friend that requires "deep" description, but a blink is an involuntary twitch that simply needs a "thin" description of eye movement. Although the physical actions are the same, each has a unique significance, as anyone who has had the misfortune to mistake the first for the second knows (Geertz 1973d:6). A wink is a unique type of communication that has multiple features, including being deliberate, directed at a specific person, conveying a specific message, according to a

socially established code, and occurring without the other group members' understanding. of the winker and winkee.

### **Comparison of Thick and Thin Description:**

Gilbert Ryle established the idea of "thick description" in 1949 by drawing a comparison to "thin description." According to Ryle, descriptions of what was observed were the only methods utilised in quantitative studies and some qualitative research. Instead, in order to create meaning from the interaction, qualitative research must interpret what is seen. i.e., Thin Description is a situation's observation, description, and outline. On the other hand, thick description is a Observation, description, interpretation, and analysis of a situation.

### **Essential Features of Thick Description:**

Ponterotto (2006) lists the five elements of a thick description.

1. Context-Based Interpretation- Thick description entails accurately describing and interpreting social activities within the appropriate context in which the social action took place, according to Ponterotto (2006, p. 542).

#### **2. Recording Ideas and Feelings:**

One needs to understand a situation rather than just describe its outward characteristics in order to express thoughts and emotions. As an illustration, a pause can mean various things. If an interviewee pauses because of shock, the researcher must explain this to the reader or else they may not comprehend. Thick description "captures the thoughts, emotions, and web of social interaction among observed participants in their working context," according to Ponterotto (2006, p. 542).

#### **3. Identifying Intentions and Motives:**

A researcher must explain the causes of the two people's disagreement as they are watching them argue. Just stating that there was a disagreement is insufficient. To make the description "rich," it may be necessary to investigate any prior interactions between the two parties or any power struggles inside the group. "A crucial component to interpreting social acts requires attributing reasons and objectives for the said social activities," writes Ponterotto (2006, p. 542).

#### **4. Detailed Rich Accounts:**

This stage is referred to by Ponterotto as "verisimilitude,". Verisimilitude is defined as "the look of truthfulness" to the point that your reader feels as though they were present. In other words, the researcher's work gets credibility by revealing the finer details. Verisimilitude in research, according to Ponterotto, is defined as "truthlike assertions that produce for readers the sense that they have experienced, or could experience, the events being described" (Denzin, cited by Ponterotto). Denzin (1989). Let

us now learn about the article which Geertz has used interpretivism in the field i.e Bali, Indonesia.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Explain two features of thick description.
2. Who gave the wink example and discuss.

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## **12.4 DEEP PLAY: NOTES ON THE BALINESE COCKFIGHT**

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The central idea of Clifford Geertz's 1972 essay "Deep Play: Observations on the Balinese Cockfight" is that a people's culture is an ensemble of rituals, and that it is these texts that anthropologists are attempting to interpret. "Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," illustrates not only the significance of a specific cultural phenomenon, but also Geertz's interpretive method, which views a culture as a collection of texts that the anthropologist must read. Geertz demonstrates how the Balinese cockfight functions as a cultural text that at least partially captures the essence of what Balinese is.

Cockfighting is a common and extremely popular phenomenon in Bali despite being against the law, at least at the time i.e. 1972. According to Geertz, the Balinese people have a strong aversion to animals and, more precisely, acts that resemble animals. Geertz writes the Balinese man, however, "is identifying with his cock, not only with his ideal self, but he faces most fears, hates, and ambivalence being what it is, is intrigued by - the powers of darkness."

Geertz contends that while gambling plays a significant and vital role in Balinese cockfights, the real stakes are prestige and status, which are considerably more fundamental than mere financial gain. Geertz makes a distinction between "deep conflicts," which have large wagers, and "shallow fights," which typically have low wagers for both prestige and gambling. In line with Bentham, Geertz describes a "deep conflict" as one in which the stakes are so great that participants lose all sense of reason. A deep fight, as it relates to the Balinese cockfight, is one in which the outcomes are unpredictable, the chances are more even, and the bets are more evenly distributed.

Financial gain is not the main focus of the event while betting fairly, especially in the case of intense battles; rather, everything that is expressed in the concept of "status". The goal of cockfighting is status, and the bets placed solely represent the danger involved. Yet, it is only a temporary gain or loss, and cockfights help to ensure that status is maintained over the long term despite temporary gains or losses following the fight.

Participants in "deep conflicts" are frequently influential members of society. Geertz argues that the fight is not between individuals but rather a simulation of the social structure of families and social groups because people never bet against a cock from their own reference group. Violence

almost always involves members of opposing social groups, fighting is both the most evident sign of social competition and a tactic for putting an end to it (such as families, clans, villages, and cocks). The Balinese cockfight, according to Geertz, is a way to play with fire without getting burned. Although the cockfight represents societal tensions, it is still just a cockfight. Geertz also notes that the depth of the conflict increases with the prominence of the participants.

According to Geertz, the Balinese cockfight's "deep play" is comparable to a work of art that reveals a crucial truth about our own being. It is a constructed symbol for something that is incredibly genuine in our social lives. It directs hostility and competition into a figuratively veiled field of interaction. The Balinese people's social and cultural structures, which are dramatised through cockfights, are both represented by and shaped by the fights. Geertz comes to the conclusion that rituals like the Balinese cockfight are a type of text that can be read. It is of utmost interest to the anthropologist since it is how society communicates with itself about itself. Geertz further points out that the cockfight becomes deeper the higher the status of the participants, the more one identifies with his cock, and the more minor the financial side of the connected gambling becomes in compared to the symbolic features of the fight.

Clifford Geertz even writes how he entered the field and faced rejection. Every day he walked on the village but no one paid attention to them. This went on up to the day of a raid on a cockfight they were attending that was unlawful. In order to protect oneself when the police arrived to conduct an investigation, they fled and took refuge with a Balinese guy and his wife. Though he or his wife wouldn't have faced any consequences, unlike the villagers, they too ran when police came. After this occurrence, Geertz was well-liked in the neighbourhood, but more importantly, he had learned the significance of the cockfight itself. After the incident every day some local invite him on their home and laugh how he ran like others. It is at this point that the gap between researched (Bali) and the researcher got over. A kind of acceptance that he didn't receive till that point. After this incident people interacted with him freely.

The cocks in Bali are merely acting as a substitute for their trainers by sparring in a symbolic manner. Geertz intentionally uses a double entendre when he refers to a man as being attached to his cock. The cocks are viewed as extensions of the male owners' body. Balinese moral language is replete with images of roosters. Males have a strong bond with their cocks, and they take excellent care of them by feeding them special food, spending time with them, grooming them, and other behaviours. The Balinese view animality, which they consider as the antithesis of mankind, as being represented by the birds. By identifying with a cock, a Balinese man is simultaneously connecting with what he most despises and fears because the Balinese despise their animalistic behaviour.

In this manner to appease the demons or animality, cockfighting is performed before temple festivals and holidays. It is a blood sacrifice to the demons or animality. The cockfight is extremely controlled and

meticulously prepared, as one might anticipate from a tradition that is so significant to a community. Everyone involved is required to follow a rigorous set of guidelines and perform certain roles. The cockfight is thus simultaneously a seething ball of animal chaos and a strictly controlled societal phenomenon.

The cockfight is heavily controlled, and betting is a major component of it. Both main bets (between contestants) and side bets are available (between spectators). The chances for side bets vary depending on the amount of the primary bet, although the primary bet is always made in money. According to the logic, the higher the primary wager, the more likely it is that the match will really result in an equal score, with side wagers tending towards the low end of the range. Geertz refers to matches with larger primary bets as "deep," which means that the loser will incur a greater cost.

These matches are more engaging for all parties involved. Yet there are other costs as well. In these wagers, money is viewed as a kind of euphemism for moral importance, position, or prestige. Losing a cockfight is comparable to getting a particularly offensive insult and financial loss. As everyone involved certainly has an interest in a particular bird's success or failure, the stakes raised increase the significance of the conflicts. Outside bets are required to support the birds like friends and relatives. So, it is possible to see the cockfight as a dramatisation and embodiment of larger social tragedies in Balinese society.

The "depth" of a match is determined by two factors: 1. If the contestants are close status equals (or personal adversaries); 2. If the contestants are high status people. The stakes for each participant increase as the match progresses, and gambling increasingly becomes less about money and more about status.

Despite the intense drama and emotional stakes, nobody's standing is ever directly affected by the cockfight. The conflicts that occur in daily social life are represented by and symbolised by the cockfight. Conflicts and stress in society are evident. It transforms the men's selves into their birds, giving the fights a sense of gravitas and, in Geertz's opinion, expressing something unpleasant about the Balinese people or their way of life. There are brief, isolated bouts of "fullness" and "emptiness" during the fights. Even though it mimics Balinese life, its brutality and violence run counter to it. It depicts Balinese society as exactly the opposite of what it aspires to be.

The conflicts revolve around relationships of status and social standing. They learn from the arguments that these relationships are either life or death. When viewed in the context of daily life, the cocks serve as a reminder of what every man—regardless of his social status—represents as being terrible and unpleasant. The activity of cockfighting offers a figurative commentary on Bali's overall social stratification system. Hence it stands to reason that cockfighting is an artistic endeavor and an expressive application of human behaviour. Geertz likens it to a text that

can be read, interpreted, and examined. He broadens this idea by considering all facets of culture to be texts and referring to culture as a whole as a "assemblage of texts." This analysis is advantageous for cockfighting. This analysis is advantageous to cockfighting because it highlights the fundamental characteristic of how it uses emotion to further cognitive objectives. The cockfight conveys its message while also perpetuating it when it is repeatedly seen as either a central or sideline player. Although cockfighting is not the only lesson or self-deprecating tale the Balinese tell, it is a significant one. Cultures each have their own narratives and perspectives on themselves. As anthropologists, it is our duty to try to reach them.



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## 12.5 SUMMARY

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The chapter discuss about Interpretative methodology as used in the subject of Anthropology. In simple words, Interpretative means looking the context, beyond the surface of the event studied. To explain this in detail he illustrates his own fieldwork of Bali. He narrates his experience how he gained entry into the field like running along with the people when police approached the village as cockfights are banned and regulated. Though interpretative approach has been used by authors like Pritchard, Turner, Weber in their works or in their discussion but its Geertz who has to be given the due credit for using it and writing a book on the title of Interpretative.

The concept of "thick description" describes how observed individuals' ideas, feelings, and web of social interactions are captured in the context of their operational activities. It is mainly used in qualitative research. The roots for thick description can be seen with Ryle later on Clifford Geertz used it too. The chapter also discusses about Clifford Geertz fieldwork in the place called Bali which is located in Indonesia. He explains how

through the game can be seen as a connection of status, kinship within those communities. He also explains his journey as a ethnographer conducting the fieldwork.

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## 12.6 QUESTIONS

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1. Explain the concept of thick description
2. Write a brief note on Deep play – Balinese cock fight
3. Explain the meaning of Interpretative Anthropology.

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### **VIRGINIUS XAXA- —TRIBES AND INDIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY: LOCATION OF EXCLUSION AND MARGINALITY**

#### **Unit Structure**

13.0 Objectives

13.1 Introduction

13.2 Virginius Xaxa – An Introduction

13.3 Tribes and Identity in India

13.4 ‘Tribes and Indian National Identity: Location of Exclusion and Marginality’

13.5 Summary

13.6 Questions

13.7 References

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#### **13.0. OBJECTIVES**

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- To familiarize students with the conditions of the Tribes in India.
- To understand the contribution of Virginius Xaxa.

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#### **13.1 INTRODUCTION**

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The tribal people have been facing problems from both inclusion in to and exclusion from the dominant development paradigm of the country. The tribal societies have experienced religious and other cultural inclusion in to the so called universal or dominant culture and consequently faced the problem of identity crisis. Exclusion from infrastructure and health and education etc has led them to a situation where they find it difficult to cope with the outside world at present day situation. Virginius Xaxa, the eminent scholar on tribal issues and rights has worked extensively on, not just, tribal exclusion, but also, how adverse the inclusion has been for them.

Tribes have to go through the process of twin colonialism, one of the British rule and administration and the other of the non-tribal population. Tribes who had control over land, forest and other resources and enjoyed autonomy of governance got eventually pushed to the margins of the new political and economic system. There was thus the process of integration/inclusion of tribes into the larger system under colonial rule but a process of inclusion that came to be intertwined with the process of

exclusion in the form of loss of access and control over livelihood (economic rights) as well as control over decision making process in determination of their own life.

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### **13.2 VIRGINIUS XAXA – AN INTRODUCTION**

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Virginius Xaxa is currently a visiting Professor at the Institute for Human Development (IHD), New Delhi. Prior to joining IHD, he was Professor of Eminence and Bharat Ratna Lokapriya Gopinath Bordoloi Chair at Tezpur University (2016–2018). He was also Professor and Deputy Director of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Guwahati Campus (2011–2016). He taught Sociology at the Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi (1990–2011), and North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong (1978–1990). He obtained MA in Sociology from Pune University and Ph.D. from the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Kanpur.

He is the author of *Economic Dualism and Structure of Class: A Study in Plantation and Peasant Settings in North Bengal* (Cosmo, 1997) and *State, Society and Tribes: Issues in Post-Colonial India* (Pearson, 2008), co-author of *Tea Plantation Labour in India* (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1996) and co-editor of *Social Exclusion and Adverse Inclusion: Development and Deprivation of Adivasis in India* (OUP, 2012), *Work, Institutions and Sustainable Livelihood: Issues and Challenges of Transformation* (Palgrave, 2017) and *Employment and Labour Market in North-East India: Interrogating Structural Changes* (Routledge, 2019). He was also the Chairman of the High Level Committee on Socio-Economic, Health and Educational Status of Tribal Communities of India, Government of India (2014).

Prof. Xaxa, who belongs to a tribal community Oraon from Chhattisgarh, has written extensively on tribes in the country. His book, “*State, Society and Tribes: Issues in Post-Colonial India*,” was published in 2008. His 1999 article “*Tribes as Indigenous People of India*” is often cited as essential reading for an understanding of India’s tribal communities.

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### **13.3 TRIBES AND IDENTITY IN INDIA**

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The tribal population as per the 2001 census was 84.3 million, or 8.2 percent of the total population at the time. More than 600 tribal communities are recognized by the Indian Constitution and granted special benefits by the state, including quotas in educational institutions, political offices, and government jobs. Their population is characterized by geographical isolation, a distinctive culture, language and religion and a degree of social isolation from mainstream society. The Constitution also gives areas inhabited by tribal people greater autonomy in their governance.

Much of the writings on tribe begins with the colonial administrators and then taken over by the anthropological department in the universities, the anthropological survey of India and by the tribal research institutes in states and provinces where the tribal population are dominant. The British

rule thus brought tribes and non-tribes under one single political and administrative authority. Of the civil rights, the most vulnerable as far as tribes are concerned has been one of property and justice.

In the post-independence era the alienation has been justified on ground of right to make property and right to settlement in anywhere in the country. While there is no denying the truth that certain aspects of traditional social structure and culture do constraint development programme; it is equally pertinent to ask as to why even after so many years of national reconstruction process there has still been a large tribal population, which has not been connected with social infrastructure or why there has still been poor implementation programme or delivery mechanism in tribal areas.

Much of the answer to this lies in the relation between tribes and the larger society especially in the regional context. The larger society has always viewed tribes as those who are alien to their society and hence there is over all indifference towards their cause and development. The large-scale development projects invariably took the form of appropriation of tribal land, forest and other resources that begun under colonial rule and has continued in post-independence era except that in post-independence era this has gone under the garb of national and regional development.

Tribes underwent change not only in their relationship to land but also in their relationship to forest. Not only that but forest law had also turned them into encroachers under constant threat of eviction and violence. All this severely affects their identity; in fact puts them into an identity crisis. Justification of development projects that have been destined to displace millions from their homes and sources of livelihood have been made on the ground that the projects are going to be of immense benefit to the country or region or locality.

In Jharkhand by 1996, for example, 8 major and 55 medium hydraulic projects along with many more minor projects had come up. Needless to say these had displaced a large number of households. Yet the area under irrigation in Jharkhand constituted only 7.68 per cent of the net sown area and households electrified was mere 9.04 per cent. Yet the benefits of these did not go to tribal people of Jharkhand or to the displaced tribals.

Even today in the tribal belts of India in Telangana, Odisha, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, postcolonial India is repeating what the British did and perhaps even more aggressively. Look at the way in which Forest Rights Act and various kinds of laws has implicated the tribals and in the process they have become illegal occupants, encroachers and therefore they need to be evicted.

One might think that this is a process of integrating them but it is really the appropriating and dispossessing them of their identity. This remains a problem because the larger political economy of the tribals is being ignored. State run schools have forced them to learn the language and culture of the dominant society, and there is nothing of what you can find in tribal society as a part of the curriculum. The need to wear new clothes,

learn a new language is exactly a new form of colonization in postcolonial India: where not only land and resources were colonized but also language, culture, mind. Thus, the interiorization is continued.

### Check Your Progress:

1. What are the tribal issues in post-independent India?

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## 13.4 'TRIBES AND INDIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY: LOCATION OF EXCLUSION AND MARGINALITY'

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The article focuses on the development of national identity in India, particularly on tribal people. Topics discussed include exclusion of tribes is exclusion from social groupings that have been associated with India, emergence of Indian national identity out of the fight for freedom from colonial rule, and isolation of tribes from non-tribes to protect them from marginalization and exploitation.

National identity is generally posited as a feeling of consciousness and loyalty toward one's community as ethnos (people). As ethnos, communities have common origins (real or fictitious), histories, languages, cultures, customs, traditions, and territorial boundaries. Communities also have sovereignty, and they care specifically for their members' interests and welfare. At the same time, communities seek to preserve and promote their national identity through the enrichment and revival of language and other social and cultural customs.

Religion, language, region, caste, and tribe are the most critical aspects of India's diversity. Moreover, there are people who fall outside of such linguistic-cum-regional societies and thereby are excluded from the caste system as well. They have been generally described as tribes with their own language, religion, culture, and geographical territories. They regulate their social and cultural life according to their own traditions, norms, and values.

Xaxa's paper addresses the development of the Indian national identity, with a particular focus on tribal people. How have tribal people related to the development of Indian national identity in colonial and post-colonial India? What have they contributed to the nation-building process? How have the nation and national leadership accounted for tribal people in the nation-building process? How have they fared in this process and why? How have conflict and alienation manifested themselves?

Tribes are scattered over the length and breadth of the country, but their distribution is far from even. One commonality shared by tribes is exclusion from many social groupings that have historically, socially, and culturally been associated with India. For example, tribes are not part of the dominant linguistic groups, such as Hindi, Telugu, Bengali, Gujarati, and so on. Even more importantly, tribes do not share the religious ideas, values, institutions, and cultural practices that comprise Hinduism. Hinduism has knit the dominant linguistic groups together. These social

groupings, from which tribes are excluded, form the key pillars of Indian national identity.

Nationalism in India emerged out of India's struggle for freedom from British rule. Given its geographical size; linguistic and religious diversity; and above all, fragmentation and segmentation into different castes and sub-castes, Indian nationalism was a remarkable phenomenon. During its struggle against British rule, nationalism in India developed two shades and currents. One entailed the assertion and articulation of nationalism against the British. The other comprised the assertion and articulation of India's own distinctive linguistic and cultural identity and its aspiration for a distinct politico-administrative space in conjunction with this identity.

The mobilization and participation of the people in this struggle was, however, far from uniform. The unevenness was primarily due to low socioeconomic and administrative positions in the structure of the society and polity under colonial rule. In this regard, tribes were the most disadvantaged groups during this period. Tribes generally lived as self-contained units until the arrival of the British. This meant that tribes lived outside of Indian society and not as a part of it. Interaction certainly occurred between the two, but it was not until the arrival of the British that tribes came under the same political and administrative structure as the larger Indian population.

Tribes thus had to experience two forms of colonialism: one in the hands of the British and the other in the hands of the non-tribal Indian population. Tribes who had control over natural resources and enjoyed their autonomy of governance were pushed to the margin of the new political and economic system through fraud, deceit, debt, usury, and other related processes.

On the eve of independence, tribes were thus uniquely placed in the structure of colonial rule and administration. Tribes were first divided by whether they were inside British territory. Those inside the territory were then placed under three distinct administrative arrangements: frontier/agency tracts, excluded areas, and partially excluded areas. Tribes that did not live in such areas came under the same administrative structure that was applicable to the general population.

Far before the concerted Indian struggle for freedom from colonial rule emerged, tribes had demonstrated resistance to colonial power and administration in order to safeguard tribal autonomy and self-governance. This is evidenced by a series of revolts and rebellions dating from the onset of colonial rule. However, they hardly find place, or even appear, in the official writings of the history of freedom struggle movements in India. Paradoxically, as the Indian struggle for freedom gained momentum, tribes' participation in this national movement was either absent or relatively weak.

At the dawn of independence, tribes articulated their interests with regard to national development in varied forms. Tribes on the mainland demanded the separate states of Jharkhand, Gondwana, and Bhilasthan,

but notably, they were articulated within the framework of the Indian union. As for other areas in the region, there was no distinct articulation of demands. Thus, a large chunk of tribes had no clear voice at the dawn of independence. In short, except for some tribes in northeast India, tribes on the whole had no problem with being part of India as this did not matter to them. The tribes probably had very little understanding of the specific implications greater national identity would have on them.

Despite constitutional protection from exploitation and land alienation, in the dominant national discourse tribal issues have primarily been couched in terms of social backwardness. Underdevelopment was routinely tied to the isolation of tribal communities, and hence their integration was viewed as a panacea for the problem. Greater India had come to perceive tribes as primitive, uncivilized, lazy, and hedonistic. Tribes were thus expected to shed those characteristics under a civilizing mission. Therefore, it would not be wrong to say, that all institutions in India are still far from being inclusive.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Explain the nature of marginality of Tribes in india.

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## **13.5 SUMMARY**

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Scheduled Tribes are often conflated with Scheduled Castes in the development literature, although they are completely different social categories. Physical remoteness and smaller numbers have gone together with political isolation and low voice in decision making for the Scheduled Tribes.

If one looks at the nature of integration one finds that relation between tribes and non-tribes and even the state has been overwhelmingly interspersed with exploitation, domination and discrimination, which is conveniently overlooked. This largely explains as to why tribes have remained excluded from fair share of access to the fruits of development.

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## **13.6 QUESTIONS**

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1. Explain Tribal identity crisis.
2. How did the British treat the indigenous people in India? State its consequences.
3. How are the Tribals and development connected in India?

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## **NANDINI SUNDER—EDUCATING FOR INEQUALITY: THE EXPERIENCES OF INDIA’S —INDIGENOUS CITIZENS**

### **Unit Structure**

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Nandini Sunder – An Indian Sociologist
- 14.3 Article – “Educating for Inequality: The Experiences of India's “Indigenous” Citizens”.
- 14.4 Summary
- 14.5 Questions
- 14.6 References

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### **14.0 OBJECTIVES**

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- To understand the work of Nandini Sundar
- To familiarize students with her contribution on the Tribes

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### **14.1 INTRODUCTION**

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‘Educating for Inequality’ is research report that deals with the contradictions and dilemmas concerning education faced by Tribes, the preferred local term for “indigenous people,” in central India. The tribals constitute some 84 million people, making up over eight percent of India's population. Since under Article 342 of the Indian constitution, these communities are listed in government schedules or lists for the purpose of affirmative action. Many of them also inhabit areas of India which are meant to enjoy a degree of constitutional autonomy.

Professor Sundar has placed her detailed studies of tribal politics in Central India in the broader frame of studies of the law, bureaucracy and morality in modern India. In so doing, she has combined innovative empirical and ethnographic methods and cutting-edge approaches to those sociological debates which link the study of social change in modern India to central debates in comparative social theory.

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### **14.2 NANDINI SUNDER – AN INDIAN SOCIOLOGIST**

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Nandini Sundar (born 1967) is an Indian professor of sociology at the Delhi School of Economics, whose research interests include political sociology, law, and inequality. She is a recipient of the Infosys Prize for Social Sciences in 2010. Sundar is currently engaged in research on the history and anthropology of citizenship and war in South Asia, as well as

disciplinary histories in sociology and anthropology. She also continues with her interests in political economy and development, environment, and indigenous people and the sociology of law.

Professor Nandini Sunder is an outstanding social anthropologist of South Asia, who has made major and original contributions to our understanding of environmental struggles, of the impact of central and state policies on tribal politics, and of the moral ambiguities associated with subaltern political movements in contemporary India. These contributions are anchored in her deep grasp of the legacies of colonial rule for cultural politics in contemporary India, and in theoretically innovative understanding of the relationship of major historical events to persistent structural tensions in Indian society.

The Infosys Prize 2010 for Social Sciences – Social Anthropology is awarded to Nandini Sunder in recognition of her contributions as an outstanding analyst of social identities, including tribe and caste, and the politics of knowledge in modern India.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Write a brief note on Nandini Sunder.

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## **14.3 ARTICLE – “EDUCATING FOR INEQUALITY: THE EXPERIENCES OF INDIA'S “INDIGENOUS” CITIZENS”**

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Literacy rates among the scheduled tribes are abysmally low compared to the national average, despite some improvement between 1991 and 2001. Sunder follows Xaxa's arguments on the comparison between the SCs and the Tribes with reference to education. The central concern for Tribal movements has been control over natural resources and land in the areas which they inhabit, rather than upward mobility within the caste system as in the case of schedule castes; Tribals face a language problem unlike schedule castes and Tribes lack the individualist ethic which is intrinsic to educational systems based on ranking and competition. Finally, unlike SCs, whose educational aspirations are inspired by their leader, Dr. Ambedkar, Tribes lack a role model in education.

Hence, Sunder's article is an effort to problematize the effects of formal education in terms of Tribals identity and future citizenship. In contemporary India, identity and access to education are often closely related. One consequence of the failure of state provision is the increase in the number of private schools.

Across the world, the introduction of standardized schooling systems has involved a certain loss of vernacular knowledge. Sunder attempts to show that the promise of formal education comes at the cost of cultural identity and local knowledge for Tribes, as educational processes are fundamentally cultural processes and that there is little recognition of the fact that Tribals, scheduled castes subaltern groups face a similar

obliteration of their own identities at the hands of the Indian education system today.

Scheduled tribes are recognized as possessing traditional knowledge of a kind that is not only useful to them, but has implications. However, the government policy towards Tribals systematically denigrate any knowledge that they possess for national growth and sustainable development. Contrary to the idea that education brings enlightenment, the formal schooling system transforms social relations. In the absence of other factors that affirm cultural pride in Tribal identity, there is a serious danger that education will become a means for individual alienation from the Tribal community.

Much of the existing research on Tribal education in the central Indian belt highlights the lack of educational access, or the poor quality of education received: the absence of conveniently located primary schools, teacher absenteeism, abysmal infrastructure manifested in leaking roofs, non-existent toilets, furniture, blackboards and educational materials such as textbooks and maps. The low literacy rates also have implications for people's ability to make themselves heard politically, since they cannot then document their own problems, write in the media, or send representations to government.

Although the central government and state governments have several schemes for Tribal children, such as stipends, a book bank scheme, special coaching for entry into engineering and medical college, and the construction of hostels, they do nothing to address the larger structural inequalities which are responsible for the poverty of Tribes. At an underlying level, literacy and the denial of minimum educational provision is clearly fundamental to the exclusion of Tribes from full-fledged citizenship rights—acquisition of their lands is lubricated by illiteracy, with people not knowing what they are putting their thumbprint on; an influx of outsiders for skilled industrial jobs is facilitated by the absence of trained Tribal youth, and exploitation by traders and moneylenders is made easier by having a population without even functional literacy in accounts. Often, Tribals are blamed for their own lack of educational progress. In keeping with this trend of blaming the victim, impending displacement often serves as an excuse for not providing schools and conversely, the lack of schools in Tribal villages has been cited as a justification for displacing them.

With reference to their languages, there are several policy documents and a constitutional provision recognizing that linguistic minorities should be educated in their mother tongue at primary level. Correspondingly, there is practically no education in Tribal languages. Although states in India were organized on linguistic grounds in the 1950s, in the absence of political power, none of the major Tribal groups managed to carve out states for themselves. Further, these groups are distributed across state boundaries and the languages they are taught in are those of the state in which they live. Hence, the educated Tribal youth of different states do not develop a sense of oneness. Coupled with the fact that only 6 percent of primary

teachers are from Tribes communities, and some do not bother to learn the language even after several years of being posted there.

Tribal children are not only denied their own languages, but also their own culture and history. The curriculum is usually based on the experiences of urban middle-class Indian children, and the kinds of objects they refer to are often unlikely to be found in a rural home. Tribes rarely feature in textbooks, and when they do, it is usually in servile positions to upper-caste characters, or as “strange” and “backward” exotica.

Thus, as this research by Sundar proves, the education system in India, is highly unsuitable for the overall development of the Tribes. It negatively impacts their own identities, worldviews, self-esteem, and knowledge systems. When all of these are denigrated, these communities continue to remain outside the margins of the mainstream.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. How is education affecting the Tribal identity?

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## **14.4 SUMMARY**

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To conclude, it would not be wrong to say that Nandini Sundar are significantly and critically explored the relationship between Indian educational system and indigenous identity, particularly in the context of citizenship. The neglect of Tribal knowledge forms, languages and cultural practices has been detrimental to the cultural core of Tribals and to the knowledge corpus of the nation. Affirmative Action/Reservation programmes for Tribes Scheduled Tribes in higher educational institutions have not translated into assuring them improved access to education nor have they resulted in net benefits for the community. New curricular approaches such as multilingualism and locally-specific education have been few and far between. Retaining the positive ethos of Tribal life-worlds while also enabling them to engage with the larger world continues to be the major challenge.

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## **14.6 QUESTIONS**

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1. Who are the Tribals? Discuss their issues.
2. What is interconnection between the poverty and education amongst the Tribals?
3. What are the chief arguments of Sundar's research?

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## **14.6 REFERENCES AND FURTHER READINGS**

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## **PATRICIA UBEROI- THE DIASPORA COMES HOME: DISCIPLINING DESIRE IN DDLG**

### **Unit Structure**

- 15.0 Objective
- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Media and Sociology
- 15.3 Patricia Uberoi
- 15.4 Meaning of Desire and Diaspora
- 15.5 Sociological Analysis of DDLG and Pardes
- 15.6 Depiction of Gender Roles
- 15.7 Summary
- 15.8 Questions
- 15.9 References

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### **15.0 OBJECTIVES**

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- To learn about the concept of Diaspora through the two movies example.
- To understand Uberoi analysis of two movies and locating it with the social change like migrated population, norms, identity.

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### **15.1 INTRODUCTION**

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Media many a times reflects the social changes taking place within the society. For example – the movies of late seventies had characters like that of industrial workers who became heroes and raised their voices against injustice. As in those days large amount of people were working in mills. In the late 2000s with globalization the nature of jobs changed, new middle class emerged some migrated overseas too. This chapter is based on the article written by one of the prominent Writer, Sociologist Patricia Uberoi. She through the article discusses the famous movie DDLG - Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge and Pardes. By using the movie as a case study, the writer is explaining the changes taking place in the Indian society and also the Indian's who settled abroad and their diasporic nature. This chapter would be very much relatable. The writer is trying to view DDLG with Sociological concepts, perspective. She raises questions of gender dynamics, roles, tradition vs modernity, role of joint family, male role - strict father and the new generation like Sharukh khan who is friendly. To understand this chapter, you can view the movies before reading this text as it would help you to analyse better.

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## 15.2 MEDIA AND SOCIOLOGY

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Media influences every dimension of our lives. For example – many people check mobile phones in early morning, buy a particular brand tea, coffee as it's known, clothes, toothpaste, choice of career, relationships many factors of our lives is influenced by media. Sociologists have been studying the interconnections between media and society for long. For example – Manuel Castell talks about Network society. The notion of time and space is reduced with the help of technology. Urban Sociologists talk about how technology has enabled people to migrate and work in different spaces like suburbs.

In order to study societies, or sociology, it is necessary to observe, describe, and apply coherent conceptual and theoretical frameworks to social processes. In sociology subdisciplines as the sociology of art, the sociology of culture, and the sociology of leisure, as well as in urban sociology and sociological studies of modernity and the public sphere, film and cinema are viable research topics. The majority of sociological studies on film and cinema have been carried out by sociologists rather than film studies experts, possibly because many of them were done before film studies became a distinct field of study. For instance, academic sociologists started to be interested in the movie-going population and its socioeconomic makeup in the 1910s. With increasingly complex studies of moviegoers conducted during the 1930s and 1940s, when moviegoing was at its peak. They occasionally took the form of studies with a policy focus on how movies affected certain demographic groups of moviegoers, particularly children and young people, in terms of behaviour and views (Kuhn, A., & Westwell, G., 2012). As cinema represents the culture to some extent hence any appreciation towards the films is also celebrated. A film getting an international award is seen as a recognition. Let us take the recent example of Natu Natu where different countries are also performing the dance in India, in a way, trying to find a bond between nations. The essence is that films can bind people across countries and designations it diminishes the hierarchy, class, caste, location. Hence, studying about the present topic also becomes important specially in a time when people are addicted to media forms like youtube shorts, Instagram reels or the banned tik tok. Before getting into the topic in detail let us first learn little bit about Patricia Uberoi.

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## 15.3 PATRICIA UBEROI

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At present Patricia UBEROI serves as the Institute of Chinese Studies' Chairman and Honorary Fellow in Delhi, India. She has previously served as an editorial board member for the publication Contributions to Indian Sociology and a professor of social change and development at the Institute of Economic Growth in Delhi. Her writings are particularly concerned with comparative studies between China and India as well as family, kinship, marriage, sexuality, and gender issues. She has authored several books, including Freedom and Destiny: Gender, Family, and Popular Culture in India (2006), as well as edited or co-edited editions of

Family, Kinship and Marriage in India (1994), Social Reform, Sexuality and the State (1996), Tradition, Pluralism and Identity (1999), Anthropology in the East: Founders of Indian Sociology and Anthropology (2007), and Marriage, Migration and Gender (2008).

Patricia Uberoi- the Diaspora Comes Home: Disciplining Desire in Ddlg

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## 15.4 MEANING OF DESIRE AND DIASPORA

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The Cambridge Dictionary describes Desire as a wish and specially it is strong many a times, it is also a want which someone wants to achieve or get fulfilled. The dispersion from a common origin is the fundamental characteristic of diasporas. Like in the case of the black/African diaspora, this could be a common past and a collective identity that is rooted more in a common sociocultural experience than a particular geographic origin. Yet, the majority of diasporas have preserved ties to their original locations and among the dispersed populations themselves. Some academics categorise contemporary diasporas as ethno-national diasporas to specifically distinguish them from transnational networks in general that have emerged in the context of globalisation because their origins are actual or potential nation-states. In the early 21st century, 10% of people were thought to be living in diaspora (Britannica). Indians have migrated overseas to a large extent during the colonial period as indentured labourers for working in the farms of sugar cane, coffee. Later a large section also migrated to Canada, America. They also contribute to a large extent to the resources of the country back home i.e., India as NRI. The chapter also discusses about Kinship. Kinship in simple words is blood relationship. This is formed either through birth (brother, sisters) or through marriage (husband, wife).

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## 15.5 SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF DDLG AND PARDES

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Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge (Those with the heart win the bride), also known as DDLJ and Pardes (Foreign land), two extremely well-liked commercial Hindi movies from the mid-1990s. The two movies share a lot of similarities—so many, in fact, that the second is frequently thought of as a mere "clone" of the first. Both feature Indians who have emigrated overseas. Both people associate a particular set of "family values" with what it means to be Indian. Both dwell on a few moral decision-making challenges that are especially relevant to the emerging middle school in contemporary Indian society.

Two different kinds of moral dilemmas are addressed by DDLJ and Pardes, and they are intertwined into and through the movie's narrative. One refers to the first as the animating logic of South Asian romance since it represents the tension between personal desire and society norms and expectations around marital choice. Its ultimate resolution is the modern "arranged love marriage," which is a method of matchmaking in which a romantic decision has already been taken and is waiting for post facto parental permission; as a result, the relationship is considered as though it had been prearranged.

DDLJ and Pardes address these common challenges by addressing practical issues that sociologists of Indian **family and kinship** have found to be of interest. On the one hand, many sociologists had anticipated that the modernization of Indian society would undermine the practice of "arranged marriage," encouraging an individualistic ethos and undermining the endogamic rules that have sustained both communal separatism and the hierarchical caste system in South Asia. However, what was expected by sociologists did not take place many a times. Though movies like Pardes, DDLG portray the nuisances of these systems as to how they function in a way even romanticizing the arranged marriage or marriage itself. The internationalization of the middle-class family and the subsequent difficulty in reproducing Indian identity in transitory places, on the other hand, are key developments in Indian family life that the films, which are set among Indians residing abroad, note and remark on. The ending of the films shows how the grandmother have some voice but the wives do not.

These two romantic Bollywood classics have, in fact, wrestled with topics that professional sociologists and anthropologists of the family have just recently begun to address by emphasizing the social and psychological repercussions on diaspora.

The foreign-returned Indian, or extremely westernised person has been regarded as the moral opposite of the person who stays behind, the one whose principles remain unwavering, at the level of imagination. During the past 50 years or so, this projection of **modernization** and identity loss worries has been a fairly recurrent issue in Indian commercial cinema and other popular culture media specially focusing around women's sexuality. It's important to stress that this is still the case. DDLJ, however, disputed this polarisation. In this movie, the construction of current Indian identity is not done in opposition to it, but rather via the sexual relationships, emotional struggles, and psychological problems of the two NRI protagonists.

The **identity issue** in DDLJ and Pardes revolves around the marital decisions made by the offspring of first-generation immigrants, just as it does in real life for the NRI community. Marriage advertisements in Indian newspapers both at home and abroad provide ample evidence of this continuity dilemma, which parents face as they try to control their children's romantic **desires** and pass on Indian "culture," "tradition," and "values" to the next generation while continuing to enjoy the financial and professional benefits of living abroad. Sunday newspapers even today one can find a large amount of advertisements specially for Indians living overseas looking for partners who share their "Indian values," as Indian publications prey on this parental angst.

If you come across the posters of the films, one may discover that the poster of the film itself through imagery symbols tries to show the world. Like the Pardes poster has the by line American Dreams and the tall buildings representing America. While the DDLJ poster reflecting the Field and Agricultural Society of India. The symbols of rice field full of

ripen mustard seeds is also showing the local crops than the tall buildings. Depicting a sense of rootedness.

DDLJ and *Pardes* discuss the national identity and the Middle-class diaspora of the last generations. While first- and second-generation Indian emigrants' sexual behavior and marital decisions are a big source of worry for the NRI community, in real life nor in diasporic fiction, theatre, or cinema, the home community has previously been particularly interested in these issues. But in DDLJ, our identity issues are mirrored onto the struggles with being Indian in a strange environment. In contrast, it is believed that they also have issues with creating a moral cosmos within the context of family relationships. In other words, the problem of being Indian in a globalized society must be tackled equally by both domestic and international residents, by NRIs. Secondly, the Indian family system is acknowledged as the social structure that most closely characterizes what it is to be "Indian," both domestically and internationally. The theme both the movies run across is that of tradition and trying to maintain it – namely Parampara.

When it comes to romance, *Pardes* is similar to DDLJ, as has already been mentioned, but it comes to a different and even more dismal conclusion about the likelihood of sustaining Indian identity in the diaspora. DDLJ contends that Indian identity can endure translocation, but it must be renewed and replenished through recurrent trips back to the country of origin. *Pardes*, however, reveals a profound ambivalence towards diaspora, glorifying its material advantages and enabling possibilities while bemoaning its moral repercussions.

Both the movie *Pardes* and DDLJ talks in detail about the role of women's sexuality, identity loss, modernization and anxiety of parents though being located in the Western country. It discusses the psychological conflicts that the characters go through being out of the country.

Apart from the standard stuff of cinema publications, there hasn't been much public discussion of DDLJ. Perhaps by the time *Hum apke hai kaun* (HAHK) released in the next year, cinema critics, feminists, and public conscience keepers on the left and right had already spent all of their time analysing its financial success, unprecedented popularity, and ideologically conservative agenda. Given the situation, it is sense that discussion of DDLJ has centered on how similar or different the movie is from the original. It is nearly impossible to refrain from doing the same. DDLJ was a phenomenal success, surpassing HAHK's box office take within the year and demonstrating that the box office success of such films was not just a passing fad but rather proof of a significant shift in the public's taste.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Discuss how Diasporic feelings operates among the characters in the movie – cite some lines.

2. What is expected from the females of the family as discussed in the movie/ as discussed in the article and how can you connect it with day to day real life situation?

### **Depiction of Diaspora:**

The main characters in DDLJ's story are repeatedly reminded of their moral obligations as being "Indian." These reminders play a significant role as narrative turning moments and crisis points in the movie. Let's list them here in the order that they occurred. In the movie's opening scene, Baldev Singh Chowdhury is seen making his way to his shop via Trafalgar Square without, as is evidently his custom, feeding the pigeons. This is London, the world's largest city. But undoubtedly one day, I'll go back to my home nation. This scene cuts to brilliant mustard fields, a symbol of Punjab, a vibrant Punjabi traditional dance, and Baldev Singh feeding his pigeons in the mustard fields.

The songs like *yeh Yeh duniya— ye mera India, I love my India* depicts the NRI diasporic qualities where they are unable to enjoy the new land as emotionally, they are connected to India.

The conclusion of *Pardes* story seems to imply that it is certainly possible to uphold Indian family values in diasporic contexts. The erosion of cultural identity cannot be avoided, according to some voices, but can only be postponed; ultimately, territorialization of national identity is required. Together, the conflicting viewpoints found in DDLJ and *Pardes*' cinematic narratives and the divergent solutions put forth suggest that modern popular cinema has become a significant forum for discussing the issues brought on by the diaspora of Indian middle-class families and for articulating Indian identity in a globalised society. They also imply that the topic is hotly debated and that there is no simple solution.

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## **15.6 DEPICTION OF GENDER ROLES**

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In the movie *Pardes* the female character is named as Ganga, in a way symbolizing it as purity. The heroine's name named after the river. When her fiance tries to assault her, she is saved by another man (SRK). Kishori Lal tries to control his son by the solution of getting a devoted wife from India. In a way, going back to the old belief. The movie also shows the role of joint family where the men have more power. In a way, showing the patriarchal setup.

Simran first appears to us at her house, her hair blowing across her face and giving off an appearance of barely restrained sexuality. On the other hand, Simran is seen as waiting for her future husband singing songs denoting again classifying the female role as waiting and someone who writes poems for her future husband and expectations. Simran is attempting to persuade her father to let her and her pals travel to Europe. She first wins him over with her religiosity (he finds her worshipping at the family shrine early in the morning, freshly showered and dressed in a sari), which confirms in his view that he was successful in teaching Indian values in children raised in a strange country. Simran then begs her father

in the subsequent manner: In accordance with her father's desires, she is going to fly to Punjab to wed a stranger. She might return at some point. She wants to travel to Europe first, so she may spend a month living her own life and pursuing her own desires. She affirms that she will not embarrass her father in any way.

Later Simran and Raj are reunited in Punjab, where wedding preparations are well underway. Raj refuses Simran's request to have him take her away.

Even though the actress in both the films like the man yet they are waiting for the paternal blessing. This Uberoi views as marriage as only sanctioned through parents as just. As well as a transaction between males in the community.

The first implication is that when it comes to planning a girl's marriage, her wants are mostly unimportant. Although her mother and (the audience) are now aware of Simran's desire. The father merely observes the modesty (sharam, "shame") appropriate to an Indian girl who has received a good upbringing when she discusses the possibility of marriage with her father. Furthermore, there is no place for her to exercise her free will in choosing a spouse because her father makes the final decision, and his personal integrity depends on her adhering to that decision. She begs for one month of her existence in against the setting where she could travel freely and live on her terms. Later she agreed to be the obedient daughter what the parents (male) expected.

However, in her Europe visit, Following the intimate encounter at the Swiss hotel, which has already been extensively discussed for playing a critical role in defining Indian maleness. Simran learns from Raj that he is still looking for the woman of his dreams, who will one day appear in front of him. He wants to know if Simran feels the same way. She responds matter-of-factly, implicitly criticizing her own lack of autonomy (because she was raised in the same alien environment as Raj).

Simran's grandma tells her father that Simran doesn't appear to be as excited about her impending marriage as a girl should be. Simran's father reassures his mother that there is no issue and that she is only unfamiliar with the surroundings, the locals, the food, etc. Yet when he thinks back to Simran's romance in Europe, he sternly advises his wife that Simran should forget the relationship. Simran's mother separates her daughter and cautions her in the meanwhile. Although if it isn't expressed clearly, the mother's innate empathy for her daughter's aspirations and her current predicament (being married to someone against her will) raises the possibility that she herself may have had a lengthy history of love relationships as a wife and mother (There is a hint, just a hint, of transgression here). Secondly, the mother encourages Simran to give up her goals and "sacrifice" her happiness on the very grounds that she is criticizing the injustice of "custom" (parampara). Simran is expected to follow a practise that they both agree is unfair, merely for the sake of that it is tradition and women do not have any other option out. As a result,

Simran instructs her mother to inform her father of her desire to proceed with the marriage to Kuljeet. Albeit perhaps not on her own behalf, actress Kajol recognized this defeatism in many of the girls she had met.

As Simran's mother sees her breaking the Karva Chauth fast on the terrace in the moonlight with Raj, she understands that this must be the Raj she had fallen in love with. She now reiterates her criticism of Indian tradition, but this time she comes to a different conclusion: rebellion rather than acquiescence. I won't let my daughter to experience what I did. She won't be content to be a simple daughter or daughter-in-law. She's going to lead her own life.

In the undertone of DDLJ, women "speak" to condemn a culture of kinship in which they're first daughters, then daughters-in-law, and are the products of barter between males. In this culture, there is no place or moment where they can legitimately be the subjects of their own desire and destiny. But, when individuals give up their own desires, it is not perceived as an assertion of their own autonomy but rather as a simple admission that they are powerless to change an intrinsically unfair circumstance.

For men, the position is different. When presented with a choice between following one's own desires and adhering to social norms, one may opt to sacrifice the latter, yet this use of agency is ultimately empowering rather than degrading. Parental approval of a love connection, the joyful outcome that can come from the resolution of this struggle, is for them both an affirmation of individual autonomy and the fulfilment of desire. The solution to the dilemma is simply "good luck" for women. Simran was simply luckier in real life than the majority of other Indian ladies, as Kajol recognised. She caved in to the system, but she was happy to be able to get what she wanted.

### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Discuss the meaning of Diaspora
2. Write few lines about Family and Kinship as explained by Uberoi

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## **15.7 SUMMARY**

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This chapter examines two well-known Hindi movies from the middle of the 1990s, *Pardes* and *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (DDLJ), which focus on the issues of transnational location in relation to love and marriage written by Patricia Uberoi. The family objective in both movies is the same, but they take different positions on whether Indian identity can survive in the diaspora. While *Pardes* contends that the loss of cultural identity can be prevented in the short term but cannot be avoided in the long term, DDLJ suggests that Indian family values are transferable assets. These divergent approaches distinguish Indian popular cinema as a significant venue for dealing with issues arising from middle-class diaspora and for articulating Indian identity in a globalised world. She through the case study of two movies discusses concepts like desire,

diaspora. She shows how the migrated middle class due to globalization or other reasons how they behave. She also discussed how even after moving to another country the expectations, roles from gender specially females are seen. She discusses how the characters are made like that of Ganga a sense of purity. On the other hand, Simran likes another man yet to goes with the father's decision though she is educated, travelled. In a way, the main characters still seek parents' approval. Uberoi questions and points out such details how the diaspora though moves out of home retain the psychological anxiety specially in terms of controlling women's sexuality. In a way, several topics like parent's desire, joint family, diaspora such themes are discussed and questioned by the author.

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## 15.8 QUESTIONS

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1. Discuss the portrayal of Indianness in the article written by Uberoi
2. Explain in brief the Gender roles in the DDLJ and Pardes
3. Explain the meaning of Desire and Diaspora and discuss the kinship discussion made by Uberoi in her article.

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## 15.9 REFERENCES

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## Faculty of Humanities

### TYBA

(Choice Based Credit System, CBCS) Semester V and Semester VI Question Paper Pattern for T.Y.B.A (CBCS) applicable to all the papers from Paper IV to Paper IX.

As per University rules and guidelines With Effect From 2018-2019

(Time: 3 Hours)

Note: 1. Attempt all questions

2. All questions carry equal marks

(Total = 100 marks)

Q.1 (Based on Module I)

(20 marks)

a.

or

b.

Q.2 (Based on Module II)

(20 marks)

a.

or

b.

Q.3 (Based on Module III)

(20 marks)

a.

or

b.

Q.4 (Based on Module IV)

(20 marks)

a.

or

b.

Q.5 Attempt any two short notes. (Based on Module I, II, III and IV)

(20 marks)

a.

b.

c.

d.