

UNIT 2 EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY*

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2.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you will be able to understand:

- Emergence of Sociology;
- Factors for the emergence of Sociology;
- Rise of Sociological Theories;
- Emergence of Social Anthropology;
- Phases of the development of Social Anthropology;
- Pioneers of Social Anthropology; and
- Emergence of Modern Social Anthropology.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Sociology and social anthropology are closely related in many aspects. In fact, social anthropology is the closest discipline of sociology. Sometimes, it is rather difficult to differentiate sociology from social anthropology in some areas of enquiry and methodology. Both the disciplines are relatively young even within the social sciences. Despite similarities, the emergence of sociology and social anthropology has diverse historical roots. Although, social anthropology is said to have emerged somewhat earlier than sociology, from the very beginning it

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was very difficult to differentiate between the subject matters of the two disciplines. While the emergence of sociology is relatively easier to trace, the emergence of social anthropology (or for that matter 'Integrated Anthropology' including physical anthropology) is more complex. Both the disciplines trace back to several centuries ago; however, both emerged only in the 19th century as an academic discipline. As we go through the Unit, we shall find the varying historical developments of the emergence of the two disciplines.

2.2 EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

In order to understand the emergence of sociology as a social science discipline, it is imperative to understand the socio-economic, political and scientific factors.

Western Europe, in the 18th-19th centuries witnessed rapid and profound changes. This led to a paradigm shift to the understanding of society and also of the individual's place in it. Considerable advances were taking place in terms of scientific discovery and scientific methodology. Natural sciences, though still in nascent stages, began developing 'systematic' methods for study of the physical world. The question that occupied the minds of early sociologists like Comte and Durkheim was, could a similar scientific and systematic approach be applied to the study of the human social world?

Scientific and technological advances led to the transformation from a traditional rural agrarian society to a modern urban industrial society. Due to new inventions as we will study later, the scale of production changed from small home-based to large-scale factory like enterprises. Alongside such developments there were also widespread social, economic and political changes that had a profound effect on West European societies, including major political upheavals.

These extensive changes, though central to the process of industrialisation and modernisation, rather created a paradoxical situation. Paradoxical because it was marked by hope and despair simultaneously. Hope because of the transformation of social, economic, cultural and political aspects of life from an erstwhile traditional society towards what was viewed as rational and enlightened philosophy, especially with reference to the rule of the Church in the Dark Ages. Yet, this 'modern' society that fostered human creativity and rationality was in a perpetual state of disarray and chaos as the earlier stable orders were being replaced by new ones. Sociology, as a distinct discipline emerged in the background of these intellectual and material/social changes taking place in the latter half of the 19th century. We shall discuss some of the factors which contributed to the emergence of sociology as an academic discipline.

2.2.1 The Enlightenment Period

The Enlightenment or the 'Age of Reason' was a period of intellectual development which brought about significant changes in philosophical thought in Europe in the 18th century. Many existing ideas and beliefs, relating to social life, were overthrown and replaced during this period. The most prominent thinkers associated with the Enlightenment were the French philosophers Charles Montesquieu and Jean Jacques Rousseau.

This period marked a radical change from the then existing philosophies of feudal Europe. The social and moral orders were no longer considered as divinely ordained and sacrosanct. Individuals became increasingly rational and critical. Departing from the age old Divine Right Theory of the Ruler, now nothing was considered sacrosanct - from the church to the state to the authority of the monarch, nothing was now infallible.

The roots of such ideas, as the belief that both nature and society can be studied empirically, that human beings are essentially rational and that such a society built on rational principles will make human beings realize their infinite potentials, was seen as a result of the Industrial and Scientific Revolutions, which got firmly established during the period which witnessed the French and the American Revolutions.

2.2.2 The Scientific Revolution

Europe produced a 'scientific revolution' in the Renaissance period of fourteenth to sixteenth century which was marked by **a new attitude towards man and nature**. Natural objects became the subject of close observation and experiment. The impact of this revolution was crucial therefore, not just in changing material life, but also the ideas which people held about Nature and Society.

Some major developments of this Scientific Revolution were Copernican Revolution and the movement towards a heliocentric theory from the previous geocentric one; the ushering of the age of experiments scientists like Galileo Galilei, Johannes Kepler and Isaac Newton that revolutionised science and led to a growing desire of sociologists to build a science of society modelled on the scientific method. Also, Darwin's evolutionary theory posed a radical critique of the Biblical theory of Genesis. Herbert Spencer had introduced the notion of evolution prior to Darwin and the French philosophers like Comte had described the evolution of society, but Darwin provided legitimate scientific proof for human biological evolution. This led to development of evolutionary theory of society wherein, not just organisms, but societies were seen as constantly evolving or developing from a lower to a higher stage.

The dissection of human body, which began to be performed only Post-Renaissance, helped people better understand the functioning of the human body.

All this led to challenging of the old ideas and suggestion of alternatives. These alternatives, however, were only accepted if they could be proved and repeatedly verified, else new solutions were sought. Scientific method, therefore, became regarded as an accurate and objective method.

2.3 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES THAT SWEPT 19TH CENTURY EUROPEAN SOCIETY

2.3.1 French Revolution

The French Revolution of 1789 marked a turning point in the history of human struggle for 'liberty, fraternity and equality'. It put an end to the age of feudalism and ushered in a new order of society. An important contribution of this revolution

was the far reaching changes that it brought, not only French society, but in societies throughout Europe. Even distant countries in other continents such as, India, were influenced by the ideas generated during this revolution. Ideas like liberty, fraternity and equality, which now form a part of the preamble to the Constitution of India, owe their origin to the French Revolution.

France, like other European countries during the eighteenth century, had entered the age of reason and rationalism. Major philosophers, whose ideas influenced the French people, were rationalists who believed that 'all true things could be proved by reason'. Some of these thinkers were, Montesquieu (1689-1755), Locke (1632-1704), Voltaire (1694-1778), and Rousseau (1712-1778). The ferment created by these ideas along with the prevailing social conditions in the French society led to the French Revolution which marked an end of despotic monarchy. It changed the political structure of European society and replaced the age of feudalism by heralding the arrival of liberal democracy.

The long series of political revolutions that were ushered in by the French Revolution in 1789 and carried over through the nineteenth century was the most immediate factor in the rise of sociological theorizing. The impact of these revolutions on many societies was enormous, and led to many positive changes. However, what attracted the attention of many early theorists were not the positive consequences but the negative effects of such radical changes.

These writers were particularly disturbed by the resulting chaos and disorder, especially in France and wanted to restore order in the society. Some of the more extreme thinkers of this period literally wanted a return to the peaceful and relatively orderly days of the Middle Ages. The more rational thinkers recognized that social change had made such a return impossible. Thus they sought instead to find new bases of order in societies that had been overturned by the political revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This interest in the issue of social order was one of the major concerns of classical sociological theorists, especially Comte, Durkheim, and Parsons.

Another development of the late 18th and early 19th century, which also greatly shaped up the context for Sociology to emerge was the Industrial Revolution. The early sociologists were greatly disturbed by the changes taking place in the society with the onset of industrialisation, which, with its massive rural to urban migration changed patterns of living, hardened an exploitative class structure—all such themes which rose questions fundamental to the development of many sociological theories like Karl Marx's critique to Capitalism.

2.3.2 Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution was not a single event but refers to a set of inter-related developments that led to the transformation of the western world from a largely agrarian system to an overwhelmingly industrial one. It began around 1760 A.D. in England and brought about great changes in the social and economic life of the people, initially in England, and later spread to other countries of Europe. In Europe, especially England, the discovery of new territories, explorations, growth of trade and commerce and the consequent growth of towns brought about an increase in demand for goods. Within this system, a few profited greatly while the majority worked long hours and for a paltry amount of money.

During Industrial Revolution, new tools and techniques were invented, which could produce goods on a large-scale. Spinning Jenny, invented in 1767 by James Hargreaves, led to speeding up of production activity. Arkwright in 1769, invented another tool, called Arkwright's Water Frame which was so large that it could not be kept in one's home and a special building was required to set it up. On account of this, it is often said that the factory system was introduced.

This led to a change in economy from a feudal to a capitalist system of production. Subsequently, a new class of capitalists emerged who controlled this new system of production. Due to this revolution society moved from the old age of hand-made goods to the new age of machine-made goods. This shift heralded the emergence of Industrial Revolution.

Impact of the Industrial Revolution on Society

With the change in the economy, several changes in the society followed. As capitalism became more and more complex, the developments of banks, insurance companies, and finance corporations took place. New class of industrial workers, managers, capitalists emerged. The peasants in the new industrial society found themselves with thousands of other people like themselves, winding cotton in a textile mill. Instead of the open and bright countryside, they were now living in dirt and squalor.

With the increase in production, population started increasing. Rise of population accompanied by massive rural to urban migration led to urbanisation. The industrial cities grew rapidly. These industrial cities were marked by huge socio-economic disparities.

These changes concerned both conservative and radical thinkers. The conservatives feared that such conditions would lead to chaos and disorder, while radicals like Friedrich Engels felt that the factory workers would initiate the working class revolution leading to social transformation. Though the concerns were very different from one another, yet social thinkers of that time were united in the impact the Industrial Revolution would possibly cause. They also agreed upon the importance of the new working class.

Thus important themes of the Industrial Revolution, which concerned the early sociologists were the condition of the labour, transformation of property, urbanization and technology.

2.4 THE RISE OF SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

As we saw in the beginning, at the time when sociology was shaping up as a subject, intellectual ferment was being witnessed in Europe in the form of Enlightenment. This was a period of remarkable intellectual development and change in philosophical thought.

Out of the consensus arrived at by the Enlightenment thinkers about the changes taking place in the society, the chief intellectual precursors that led to the emergence of Sociology were firstly, the Philosophy of History, that is, recognition of the fact that society progress in stages (patterns) and that because of the presence of this pattern, laws to understand society too can be formulated in a scientific and systematic manner, on the lines of natural sciences. Secondly,

the emergence of the quantitative method of Social Survey. As a method of sociological inquiry, social survey came to be recognised as a tool that could be used to understand the social problems prevailing in the society and thus find solutions for social reform.

Conservative Reaction to Enlightenment

However, the influence of the Enlightenment on sociological theory, was not so much direct and positive, as it was indirect and negative. In fact, Conservative Reactionists to the Enlightenment like Louis de Bonald (1754-1840) and Joseph de Maistre (1753-1821) contributed as much to the development of sociology as did scholars who were influenced by the Enlightenment.

De Bonald was deeply perturbed by the profound and revolutionary changes that led to the establishment of a highly impersonal urban city life, completely devoid of any community bonding and advocated a return to the peace and stability of the previous times.

To that extent, sociology with its emphasis on society as a unit of analysis, rather than the individual; the recognition of the various parts of the society as inter-related and inter-dependent; and, stress on ultimate harmony and stability in the society- can be said to be influenced by the Conservative Reaction.

In fact, it would be appropriate to say that while the goals of sociology have been influenced by the Conservative thought (harmony, stability and unity), the methods have been influenced by the Enlightenment thinkers who realised that though one can't go back to the past, but can create a better society using a new knowledge of the society (Scientific Method).

Thus, Enlightenment and Conservative thought combined to create the science of Sociology. Also, these intellectual stirrings were not isolated from the social milieu prevailing in 18-19th century Western Europe.

2.5 EMERGENCE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The subject matter of anthropology and its academic profession began as an intersection of natural science and humanities. Social anthropology being part of anthropology, its emergence has been historically linked with the development of other components of anthropology. The emergence of social anthropology has also been closely linked with other disciplines of the social sciences, such as sociology, philosophy, ethno-history, history, psychology (social psychology), political science, and economics. But the closest discipline of social anthropology is sociology.

In view of the highly differentiated subject matter of anthropology, it is rather difficult to comprehensively locate the strands of intellectual development and the emergence of the discipline. Like sociology, the emergence and development of anthropology is said to be directly linked to the scientific development in the western world. If one considers the existence of the term 'anthropology' many centuries ago, then, "anthropology is a very old subject. Anthropology is a word which the ancient Greeks had also used. To them *Anthropologia* occurs in 1595. Immanuel Kant published a book in 1798 entitled *Anthropologie in Pragmatischer Hinsicht*" (Sarana 1983:3). In the 15th and 16th centuries the

Portuguese and Spaniards wrote chronicles of their conquests of parts of Africa and the New World. These are important anthropological source material. Besides these, the writings of travelers and others, and Rousseau's speculations concerning the noble savage, indicate the change in the intellectual climate. (ibid.). The foundation of anthropology has also been dated back to the Greco-Roman renaissance period, particularly beginning with the writings of Herodotus of Halicarnassus (484-425 B.C.). According to Voget (1975:7), Herodotus "has been even cited as a likely forerunner, if not the "father," of ethnography". In fact, Herodotus is mainly remembered for his history of the Persian Wars" and the writings of detailed travel narratives from various parts of western Asia and Egypt, the Scythians on the northern coast of the Black Sea, the Ethiopians, and the peoples of the Indus valley (cf. Erikson 2001:2). The Greek philosophers of the time, particularly, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle also influenced on the study of man and society. Later, the Roman philosopher Marcus Tullius Cicero also significantly contributed to the understanding of human society. After a gap of several centuries some philosophers began to take interest in the study of society and the state, particularly in the 16th century A.D. Some of these scholars include Thomas Hobbes and Machiavelli. Prior to this, mention may be made of the significant contribution of Ibn Khaldun in the 14th century A.D. on the moral-historical philosophy and structural-functional analysis of social phenomena.

2.5.1 First Phase of Development

By 18th century A.D. after the experience and influence of the renaissance in Europe, there were many eminent philosophers who have made immense contributions to the understanding of society, including Rousseau, Vico, Baron de Montesquieu and John Locke who dealt with the social phenomena of the time. These earlier works certainly laid the philosophical foundation for the development of the social sciences and the science of human society including sociology and anthropology. The contribution of the earlier philosophers and scholars has certainly contributed to the emergence and development of anthropology although they cannot be called anthropology per se. The development of anthropology and social science which makes departure to the earlier philosophical and historical studies came in two phases. The first phase (1725- 1840) "philosopher scientists succeeded in separating the study of man, society, and civilization from history and thereby formulated a general social science" (Voget, 1975:41). However, Hoebel (1958) is of the view that "anthropology stems primarily from natural science and carries a greater measure of the natural science tradition" (p.9) and not from history or philosophy. The problem of its earlier association and the nature of anthropology are such that E.E. Evans-Pritchard even in the mid-20th century had to grapple with the situation in British Anthropology (particularly social anthropology). On the nature of social anthropology, he states that "there is a broad division of opinion between those who regard social anthropology as a natural science and those, like myself [Evans-Pritchard], who regards it as one of the humanities. This division is perhaps at its sharpest when relations between anthropology and history are being discussed" (Evans-Pritchard, 1951:7).

2.5.2 Second Phase of Development

In the second phase (1840-1890) there was "transition in the natural sciences from a static equilibrium model to a dynamic model. Its culmination came with

the introduction of thermodynamic and Darwinian evolutionary theory” (Voget, 1975:42). With such a diverse field as anthropology, an attempt was made in the 1860s for integrating into a general anthropological discipline that would engage on the early history of man. By 1870 onward, “a distinctive character of anthropology began to manifest itself” by unifying physical anthropology, prehistory and ethnology (cf. *ibid.*). This period marks the emergence of anthropology into an academic discipline. It is through the inspiration of the “triumphs of the scientific method in the physical and organic domain, nineteenth-century anthropologists believed that socio-cultural phenomena were discoverable lawful principles. This conviction joined their interests with the aspiration of a still earlier period, extending back before the social sciences had been named, to the epochal stirrings of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and the vision of a universal history of mankind” (Harris 1979:1). However, it emerged as an academic discipline only in the nineteenth century. The significant factors for the emergence of the discipline is however attributed to the various intellectual and socio-political changes taking place in the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe. Some of the important influences include the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution in Europe.

Fred W. Voget situates the emergence of social/cultural anthropology from the route of the emergence of social science. He states:

“[T]here can be little doubt that eighteenth-century progressivists laid the foundations for a new discipline— a generalized social science. The fact that their general outline for a natural history of mankind was expanded and refined during the nineteenth century, and served as a model for an anthropological science of culture, testifies to the remarkable breakthrough achieved by progressivist social philosopher-scientists and historians” (1975:88).

Voget, however, points out the caveat that after considering the eminence of the eighteenth century progressivists as the forerunners of anthropology (social/cultural anthropology), the progressivists themselves ignored the “collection of specialized facts”, but “elevated themselves to the rank of social and cultural theorists. In consequence, they did not have any direct connection with developments that would lead into prehistory, physical anthropology, linguistics, and other anthropological specialties. Yet it was the convergence of these specializations that generated the differentiation of anthropology from the general social science base... Historic and evolutionary processes had been at work in the emergence of the anthropological scientific institution” (Voget 1975:89). Marvin Harris, a historian of anthropological development, also views that anthropology “began as the science of history” (1979:1).

2.6 EMERGENCE OF MODERN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The emergence of modern social anthropology emerged mainly with the contribution of Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliff-Brown. Marcel Mauss is also generally considered as the pioneer of modern social anthropology in France. Bronislaw Malinowski is one of the most well-known social anthropologists. In fact, he is generally regarded as the founder of modern social anthropology. His main contributions to modern social anthropology was the

introduction of ethnographic method with participant method and/or technique, and founding of the theory of functionalism departing from the earlier approaches, particularly, evolutionary and historical approaches. His significant works include *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (1926), *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays* (1944). A.R. Radcliff-Brown is also one of the founders of modern anthropology along with Bronislaw Malinowski. He is well-known for his theoretical approach, generally called structural-functionalism. His theory was developed with the conceptual ideas of Emile Durkheim and his ethnographic field data and experience. His significant works include *The Andaman Islanders: A study in Social Anthropology* (1922), and *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* (1952). Marcel Mauss is regarded as both sociologist and anthropologist. He is well-known for his comparative study of the relation between forms of exchange and social structure. This is how he is also considered as the founder of modern social anthropology in France. His most significant work is *The Gift* (1922). Along these pioneers in social anthropology in varied areas, one can include Levi Strauss into the list for founding the theory of structuralism and structural anthropology. He is also regarded as one of the most influential thinkers of the 20th century on the subjects of myth, culture, religion, and social organization. His significant works include *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (1949), *Tristes Tropiques* (1955), and *Structural Anthropology* (1963). There are also many anthropologists who contributed to the development of modern social anthropology, but they come either later or of lower stature.

The emergence of anthropology (social anthropology) as a discipline can also be reckoned through the formation of professional associations. The aborigines Protection Society formed in 1837 was the first anthropological association to be established (cf. Sarana 1983:4). The American Anthropological Association was established in 1902 (ibid: 4). The American Association for the Advancement of Science recognized ethnology in 1851 and assigned a separate section for anthropology in 1882. Anthropology was recognized by the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1846 and was accorded a separate department in 1884. The Anthropological Society of London came into being in 1863. This and other the Ethnological Society of London were merged to form the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1871... In India, the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in the latter half of the 18th century [1774]. The Anthropological Society of Bombay was established in 1886 (ibid: 5). In the Indian context, there is no consensus that the emergence of anthropology (including social anthropology) coincides with the formation of Asiatic Society of Bengal as some would claim. Sarana is of the view that Indian anthropology did not emerge in the 18th century. He opines that the establishment of Associations and writings till the mid-19th century “were only stray attempts. The generally recognized anthropological works in India were written by the British administrators like Blunt, Crook, Dalton, Grierson, Ibbetson, Mills, Nesfield, O’Malley, Risley, Russel, Senart and Thurston and the administrator-turned academician, J.H. Hutton, in the latter half of the 19th century... In this century [20th century], Sarat Chandra Roy added to this corpus of anthropological material [with] his monographs on the tribes of Chotanagpur” (Sarana 1983: 6-7; brackets are mine). Nevertheless, the formation of these associations indicates an emergent situation of anthropology (including social anthropology) in different countries and at different periods.

2.7 PIONEERS OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The pioneers of social anthropology among others include **Lewis Henry Morgan** (1818-1881), **John Ferguson McLennan** (1827-1881), Adolf Bastian (1826-1905), and **Sir Edward Burnett Tylor** (1832-1917). They were soon followed by anthropologists such as, **Franz Boas** (1858-1942), Sir James George Frazer (1854-1941) and W.H.R. Rivers (1864-1922). There are also many other anthropologists who had made significant contributions to the founding and development of anthropology, particularly social anthropology.

The important contributions of Henry Lewis Morgan to the development of social anthropology are among others his study on kinship system from which he developed the evolutionary stages of society. His important works include *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871) and *Ancient Society* (1877). These two works also greatly influenced Karl Marx to develop his theory of class and historical materialism. **Ferguson McLennan, a Scottish ethnologist main contribution to the development of social anthropology was the study of customs based on marriage systems in the pre-literate societies. His book *Primitive Marriage* (1865) was a significant contribution to the understanding of marriage in the pre-literate societies.**

John Ferguson McLennan, a Scottish ethnologist, among others made a significant contribution to the understanding of ‘primitive’ marriage systems, law, totemism, and kinship. His main anthropological works are *Primitive Marriage: An Enquiry into the Origin of the Form of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies* (1865), in which he also introduced new terms such as ‘exogamy’ and ‘endogamy’, *The Patriarchal Theory* (1885), and *Studies in Ancient History* (1896). Adolf Bastian, a medical-turned ethnologist (also anthropologist) is regarded as the “Father of German anthropology”. His well-known book appeared as a “three-volume treatise, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte* (1860 ‘Man in History’) which promoted views on human psychology and cultural history that shared little common ground with the evolutionists, who studied a universal movement and ignored the concrete events of cultural history (Eriksen et al 2001: 27-28; cf. Koepping 1983). He opposed the idea of biologically distinct races and formulated the principle of the *psychic unity of mankind* (ibid: 28).

Sir Edward Burnett Tylor who is generally regarded as the “Founder” or ‘Father of Cultural Anthropology’ is mainly concerned with theories of cultural evolution and diffusion, origins of religion and magic. His conceptual definition of ‘culture’ and ‘cultural survivals’ are still reckoned till today. He stands out as the most eminent anthropologist among the pioneers of social/cultural anthropology. Some of his main works include, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization* (1865), *Primitive Culture* (1871), and *Anthropology: An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilization* (1881).

Franz Boas who is regarded as the “Father of American Anthropology” (particularly cultural anthropology) and also of the founder of “Modern American Anthropology”. Some of his main contributions to anthropology were — the rejection of the evolutionary approach to the understanding of culture which was very popular of the time, the postulation of the concept of “cultural relativism” and his empirical methods for collecting data and analysis. His significant works include *The Mind of Primitive Man* (1911),

and *Race, Language, and Culture* (1940). James George Frazer greatly contributed to the understanding of magic and religion. His most significant work was *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion* (1891). W.H.R. Rivers also contributed to the development of the emerging social anthropology. His contribution is mainly concerned with kinship and social organization studies. His most significant works were *The Todas* (1906) and *History of Melanesian Society* (1914).

2.8 LET US SUM UP

The historical development in which they were evolved also had convergence and divergence in its thrust areas of enquiry, particularly in the scope, interest areas, theories, methodology, and practice. This is due to the fact that both sociology and social anthropology study human society and largely share their theoretical problems and interests. This is also the reason why social anthropology is considered by many scholars to be part of sociology or a branch of sociology. Anthropology and sociology were founded with the significant elements from the natural sciences in one way or the other although the subject matter of anthropology (integrated anthropology), particularly due to the components of physical anthropology and archaeological anthropology exceeds sociology in terms of its linkage with the physical sciences. In terms of emergence, social anthropology is said to have emerged somewhat earlier than sociology. While the immediate factor for the emergence of sociology is attributed to the various factors, particularly the industrial, socio-political and intellectual movements in Europe, the emergence of social anthropology can be mainly attributed to the intellectual quest for understanding 'the other' exotic societies outside Europe and other developed societies. However, the difference between sociology and social anthropology even from the early years of is more on the application level and setting priority of studies rather than at the level of the scope, concept, and method.

2.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) Discuss the emergence of sociology.
- 2) How did French Revolution of 1789 contribute to the Emergence of Sociology?
- 3) Examine the trends of the emergence of social anthropology.
- 4) Discuss the phases of the emergence of social anthropology.
- 5) Examine the differences of the emergence of sociology with social anthropology.

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