Higher Secondary Course

ANTHROPOLOGY

Class - XII

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

Jana-gana-mana adhinayaka, jaya he

Bharatha-bhagya-vidhata.

Punjab-Sindh-Gujarat-Maratha

Dravida-Utkala-Banga

Vindhya-Himachala-Yamuna-Ganga

Uchchala-Jaladhi-taranga

Tava subha name jage,

Tava subha asisa mage,

Gahe tava jaya gatha.

Jana-gana-mangala-dayaka jaya he

Bharatha-bhagya-vidhata.

Jaya he, jaya he, jaya he,

Jaya jaya jaya, jaya he!

PLEDGE

India is my country. All Indians are my brothers and sisters.

I love my country, and I am proud of its rich and varied heritage. I shall always strive to be worthy of it.

I shall give my parents, teachers and all elders respect, and treat everyone with courtesy.

To my country and my people, I pledge my devotion. In their well-being and prosperity alone lies my happiness.

Foreword

Dear learners,

It is with immense pleasure and pride that the State Council of Educational Research and Training (SCERT), Kerala brings forth the textbook in Anthropology for higher secondary second year students. This textbook in Anthropology is a fulfillment of a long - cherished dream of the teachers and learners of the subject at the higher secondary level.

For the learners who have already familiarised themselves with the basics of Anthropology and the integrated nature of the discipline, the present textbook further opens up the potential vistas of knowledge, beginning with a basic orientation to the theoretical and methodological dimensions of the subject. It helps the learners to develop a scientific outlook, aptitude and attitude through the familiarisation of the steps and methods of anthropological research and appreciate its uniqueness. The learners would also come to understand the basic tenets and the undercurrents of the early anthropological thoughts that had laid a firm foundation to the subject. At the end of the second year, the learners would begin to understand human cultures, which will definitely serve as a mirror to identify the reflection of one's own culture and leave an anthropological imprint on the learners.

This textbook is the combined effort of a team of practising teachers and experts in Anthropology in and outside the state of Kerala. We thank them all. It is hoped that the teachers who handle the classes and the students who learn the subject will make maximum use of the inputs offered in the book.

Wish you all success.

Dr S Raveendran Nair
Director
SCERT, Kerala

Textbook Development Team

Members

Babu A P
HSST Anthropology, GHSS
Muzhappilangad, Kannur

Premarajan K
HSST Anthropology, Kadambur
HSS, Kadambur, Kannur

Sreelatha K R
HSST Anthropology, GWHSS
Cherukunnu, Kannur

Narayanan P V
HSST Anthropology, Tagore
Memorial HSS, Vellora, Kannur

Sajeevan N
HSST Anthropology, GHSS
Avala Kuttoth, Kozhikode

Sreelatha B
HSST Anthropology, GHSS Pala
Kakkayangad, Kannur

Vinodan Nandiath
HSST Anthropology, GHSS
Chelora, Varam, Kannur

Manjula K R
HSST Anthropology, GHSS
Ayithara, Mambaram, Kannur

Iqbal A
HSST Anthropology, GHSS
Munderi, Kannur

Experts

Prof. Dr S Gregory
Head of the Department of Anthropology,
Kannur University

Prof. Dr A Chellaperumal
Head of the Department of Anthropology,
Pondichery University

Dr N Shubha
Associate Professor of English,
University College, Thiruvananthapuram

Artist

J Soman
Art Teacher (Rtd.), GHSS Aruvikkara, Thiruvananthapuram

Academic Co-ordinator
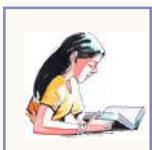**Dr. P L Anilkumar**
Research Officer, SCERT, Kerala

CONTENTS

Icons used in this textbook

Activity

Trivia

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

SIGNIFICANT LEARNING OUTCOMES

After completing this unit the learner will be able to:

- Develop scientific outlook, approach and attitude to understand social aspects, events and issues.

- Identify and distinguish the different stages of scientific method and uphold objectivity in anthropological research.

- Distinguish research method and methodology, approach and perspectives to employ judiciously in anthropological research.

- Use various methods and techniques of data collection in field research.

- Design suitable research tools for anthropological research.

- Desribe classical anthropological fieldworks conducted by the famous anthropologists in India and abroad.

- Plan the entire process involved in conducting a research study and create a research proposal.

CONTENTS

Scientific Research in Anthropology

- Science and Scientific Method
- Characteristics of Scientific Method
- Steps of scientific Method
- Subjectivity and Objectivity
- Anthropology as a Science

Method and Methodology, Approaches and Perspectives

- Approaches of Anthropological Research
- Comparative Method
- Cross-cultural Comparison
- Historical Method
- Ethnographic Method
- Anthropological Data
- Primary and Secondary Data
- Qualitative and Quantitative Data
- Qualitative and Quantitative Research

Methods in Anthropology

- Observation as a Method
- Case study Method
- Genealogical Method
- Survey Method

Tools and Techniques of Anthropological Research

- Questionnaire
- Interview
- Schedule

Research Design

- Essentials of a good Research Design
- Steps in preparing a Research Design
- Writing a Research Report

- Sir Isaac Newton asked the question:

  'Why do apples regularly fall to the ground instead of floating off into space?'

- Charles Darwin asked the question:

  'How did the humans evolve from the pre-human forms?'

- EB Tylor asked the question:

  'What makes all human beings to develop similar institutions and culture throughout, in spite of the several differences across space and time?'

Several questions are being raised pertaining to a score of problems confronted day in and day out by several people:

What? Why? When? Where? How?

Such types of questions rise up from 'curiosity', which is one of the basic qualities of all humans. When such enquiry is made scientifically, it becomes a scientific research. Scientific enquiry helps to develop new concepts, and ultimately leads to discover new laws and theories or to improve or modify the existing ones.

Research implies a search and re-search or a re-examination into the existing situations of humans. It can be conducted by anyone who is interested to explore truth. However, the manner of investigation may be different in each. It varies according to the subject of study, skill of the investigator, aims and objectives of investigation and the methodology that they use.

> *"Research is to see what everybody else has seen, and to think what nobody else has thought."*
>
> *- Albert Szent-Gyorgyi*

A researcher should have the skill and ability to choose appropriate and specific tools and techniques. It is also important to follow a set of procedural rules, while conducting

8

research. *These structural procedures and rules are known as methodology*. It is the methodology that differentiates a scientific research from a non-scientific investigation.

If so, what is a scientific research?

Scientific Research could be defined as an organised and systematic enquiry into a (physical or social-cultural) phenomenon to discover new or to verify the existing knowledge.

Scientific Research in Anthropology

There are disciplines like Chemistry and Physics which can experiment with different chemical and physical elements. They can dissolve their objects of study, change their form from one state into another, measure them, twist them or bend them. However, there is little chance for such drastic transformation in subjects like biology or social science as they deal with living matters. In social science, the subjects of research are human beings. So, making alteration in such subjects is not at all possible for a social scientist.

You have already learned that Anthropology is a bio-social science which studies humans in totality. Our concern here is to learn the Anthropological approaches in understanding the social cultural dimensions of human life. With this limited purpose, Anthropology could not be said to be experimental or laboratory-based science but mainly an observational and a field-based science, which is the heart and soul of Anthropology.

Anthropological research is different from other social science researches. For example, sociologists, by and large, work in complex societies. They often conduct surveys, use structured interviews, and administer questionnaires. Hence, sociology generally comes under the realm of survey research. Psychologists conduct experiments with clients and hence, Psychology is generally included under the realm of clinical research. On the other hand, anthropologists being field scientists, learn from their informants. Traditionally, they are known for their work among smallscale societies, and have devised specific methods and techniques for undertaking holistic research.

However, today Anthropology focuses on all kinds of human societies, using different methods and techniques for their research without losing its integrative and holistic approach and field orientation. This is done in a systematic way by following scientific methods.

Let us examine how science and scientific methods are related.

Science and Scientific Method

The term science has been used differently by different people in different contexts. We often come across in newspapers and advertisements, statements such as '*the product is scientifically proved/verified*', '*Tests are carried out scientifically here*' etc. The word *science* is derived from the Latin word *scientia* which means "to know". The following are some of the dictionary meanings of the word 'science':

- Knowledge
- Systematic knowledge
- Observation, experimentation, and theoretical explanation of a phenomena.
- Field of study concerned with discovering and describing the world around us by observation and experimentation.

Oxford Dictionary defines *science as a way of acquiring systematic knowledge*.

From the above understanding, it is clear that

- 'Science is the **method** of obtaining **objective knowledge** about the world through systematic observation'

- Science is the study of **facts** and a **method of investigation.** Its aim is to discover truths.

A closer examination of the above statements reveals that science includes two aspects. One is the *fact* or *objective knowledge* and the other is the *method of investigation*. Thus, science includes both the **process** and the **product.**

Scientific Process: Scientific process includes all the activities of the researcher as part of attaining knowledge. The process of identification of problem, formulation of hypothesis, the methods or techniques of data collection, conduct of fieldwork/experiments, classification, analysis and interpretation of data and the logical inference of generalisation would all come under the purview of the scientific process.

Can you identify other scientific processes that lead to the attainment of scientific knowledge?

Scientific Products: It is the end result of scientific process. The facts, figures, formulae, concepts, equations, principles, theories, laws, generalisations and conclusions are considered as the products of science. All these products are the outcome of the application of scientific attitude and scientific method.

10

Prepare a table showing the process and product of science.

From the above discussion we can infer that in order to attain scientific knowledge, it is mandatory to go through certain scientific processes. We call it scientific method. Knowledge of scientific methods helps researchers to design and organise their research activities. This would help them to differentiate facts from speculations.

Scientific method: It is a system used by scientists to generate data to understand a phenomenon, and to test hypothesis or to develop new theories or to confirm or reject old theories. It involves *systematic observation, collection, classification, analysis and interpretation of data.*

The term *systematic* implies the procedure adopted to undertake an investigation through a logical sequence.

Can you find out examples of studies through scientific method?

How do they differ from non-scientific studies like astrology, palm reading etc.?

Now you can understand that scientific method is distinctive in many respects. Let us examine the characteristics of scientific method.

Characteristics of Scientific Method

- *It is empirical* – Scientific method gives importance to direct observation and collection of data through field interaction.

- *It is systematic* – It relies on carefully planned studies rather than on random observation.

- *It is replicable* – Scientific experiments or studies are replicable as the repetition of experiments in similar conditions produce similar results everywhere.

- *It searches for causes* – It is based on the assumption that there exists cause and effect relationship of factors in every phenomenon.

- *Result is provisional* – Results of scientific method are open to question and debate and are subject to modification with new knowledge.

- *It is objective* –scientific method yields unbiased facts rather than subjective beliefs and speculations.

11

In order to ensure the attainment of characteristics scientific method has to follow certain steps. Let us familiarise ourselves with these steps.

Steps of Scientific Method

Formulation of a problem: In order to conduct a research, the first condition is to select a problem.

*Preparation of research design***:** Research design is the 'plan of action' of a research. In other words, research design gives a vivid idea of all the processes in the research, including collection, classification, analysis and interpretation of data. We shall deal with it in detail later on.

Collection of data: In order to make a research scientific, accurate data are to be collected using appropriate methods and techniques.

Analysis and interpretation of data: Data are to be analysed and interpreted along the lines of the objectives and hypothesis of the research.

Drawing conclusion: Conclusion is the end product of the research.

Are you now in a position to draw a chart showing the steps of scientific method?

Did your classmates prepare it properly?

Human beings, by nature, are not free from bias. That is why the understandings of objectivity and subjectivity assume immense significance in scientific research and much more so in anthropological research.

Let us discuss the role of subjectivity and objectivity in scientific research in general and in anthropological research in particular.

Subjectivity and Objectivity

Subjectivity: It refers to the condition in which the researcher's likes, dislikes, feelings, emotions and attitudes influence the study. The outcome of such research may not be totally valid and reliable.

Objectivity: Objectivity is the unbiased condition of any scientific research. It is free from one's likes, dislikes, feelings, emotions and attitudes. Unless the study is objective, it cannot be considered scientific.

Discuss in your class how far the news that appear in media is objective?

Anthropological research is different from such media reports. Why is it so? Because Anthropology follows scientific method in research and it is a science.

12

Anthropology as a Science

We have seen that any subject is called science because of its adoption of scientific method. Anthropology applies the principles of science to study human behaviour in the same way as natural, physical and biological sciences do. Hence, Anthropology is a science like any other science.

Anthropologists study the different aspects of human behaviour like family structure, way of acquiring mate, dispute settlement, religious rituals and infanticide by applying scientific methods. In the following pages different approaches and methods of anthropological research are discussed.

However, the terms, methodology, approach and perspective are used inter-changeably. Each of these terms is sometimes replaced with the term method as well.

It is also important to understand the usage and distinction of the term method, technique and tools.

Method and Methodology Approaches and Perspectives

The terms method, methodology, approaches and perspectives have many times been used without much conceptual and operational clarity. It is very difficult to demarcate each of these terms. A ***method*** is a way of conducting and implementing research, while ***methodology*** is the science and philosophy behind all research (Adams John et.al 2007). Thus in the strict sense, a method refers to a particular methodological tool such as case study, participant observation etc. The term ***approach*** implies the line of thinking one adopts. The term ***perspective*** implies how something is viewed or percieved. If approach could be conceived as a procedure, perspective could be seen as a frame work.

Research Methods, Techniques and Tools

In general usage, a method is a broader term than a technique, which is very specific. A method could make use of more than one technique to achieve a given end. In this sense, a case study could be said to be a method, for which one might have to use different techniques such as interview, observation, questionnaire etc. However, it is not uncommon to call an interview or observation a method, though they would strictly fit into the label of technique.

A tool merely refers to the specific devices or instruments that are required to use a particular technique in a particular context. For instance, if one has to carry out an interview,

13

it is not possible without a set of wellplanned interview guide or interview schedule which are merely the devices for carrying out the interview.

In the forthcoming paragraphs we will discuss different approaches of anthropological research in detail.

Approaches of Anthropological Research

Generally, anthropological research adopts comparative, historical or ethnographic approach to the study of society and culture.

Comparative Method or Approach: We have seen that Anthropology is unique in the sense that it is holistic and comparative in nature. It employs the comparative method to examine all societies, ancient and modern, simple and complex. It offers a unique cross-cultural perspective by constantly comparing the customs of one society with those of others. *Comparative method refers to the method of comparing different societies, groups or social institutions within the same society or between societies to show whether and why they are similar or different in certain aspects.*

What benefit would we get when comparing two or more social situations or phenomenon?

- …………………

Thus if we are conducting research on the topic 'Institution of family among the Hindus during ancient and modern period', we can resort to comparative method.

Could you state similar topics using comparative method?

- …………………
- …………………

Cross-Cultural Comparison: Comparative method could be used to study different cultures of same period. It is known as cross-cultural approach. The history of cross-cultural comparison dates back to the late 19th century when E B Tylor and L H Morgan developed early cultural evolution. Later this approach was advanced by G P Murdock.

Culture and its peculiarities cannot be adequately understood simply by studying single cultures. Cultures should be studied in comparison with one another to interpret the similarities and differences across cultures.

In Anthropology *cross-cultural comparison is a method of studying cultural phenomena across cultures of the same period*.

14

Comparative study of American and African cultures can be considered as an example.

Could you state similar topics using cross-cultural comparative method?

- …………………….

- …………………….

Ethnology, a branch of Social Cultural Anthropology is nothing but a comparative study of different cultures involving cross-cultural comparison. It examines, interprets, analyses, and compares the results of ethnography - the data gathered about different societies. It uses such data to compare and contrast and to make generalisations about society and culture.

Historical Method: History is the study of the past. Nobody can negate history. Each and every social and cultural phenomenon has its roots in the past. Hence, if anybody wants to study the origin, development and evolution of a social institution, societies and cultures, historical method is one of the options. What is historical method?

We have already pointed out that historical method is nothing but studying a phenomenon in historical sequence and hence it facilitates comparison across time. *In historical method, the origin, development and gradual evolution of institutions, societies and cultures are studied.* The principles of biological evolution have definitely influenced the historical method. It studies social institutions in the background of whole human history. The famous book *History of Human Marriage* written by Westermark is an excellent example of study in historical method wherein he studied the gradual evolution of the institution of marriage.

An example of a research topic requiring historical method would be:

- The origin, development and evolution of death rites among the Parsis of Bombay.

Suggest similar topics:

- ………………….

- ………………….

The major sources of historical method are given below:

Folklore, monuments, inscriptions, autobiographies, coins, materials kept in archives, travelogues and museum specimens.

15

These are helpful in collecting historical data and studying the origin and evolution of societies and cultures through historical method.

Which are the sources of data you should resort to, for conducting a historical study of a social institution? For instance, if you want to study the "Development of Educational system in Kerala" what are the historical sources of data you should resort to?

Ethnographic Method

Ethnography means to write about a particular culture. It emphasises the perspective of those being studied. You could recollect the details of the early ethnographic studies and fieldwork tradition that you have studied in the previous year.

Ethnographic method is the core of anthropological research. The traditional ethnographic approach assumes that cultures are whole units and can be comprehended as such. It tries to interpret and describe the symbolic and contextual meanings of the everyday practices in their natural setting. Any anthropological research is essentially based on ethnographic fieldwork, involving mainly participant observation, case study and genealogical method. Each of these methods is discussed in detail in the subsequent sections.

Today the ethnographic fieldwork could be even a virtual site, where people interact with each other, sometimes with high intensity. The different forms of such social networking sites include facebook, twitter, whatsApp etc. whichever may be the field, one of the most important aspects of ethnographic research is to develop the skill to systematically record the field data.

How to take field notes

Remember the following points while taking field notes.

- Spend time to take field notes on the same day of your observation.
- Listen to the recorded interview first and transcribe the recorded interview on the same day itself as far as possible.
- Write many small notes rather than long running commentaries.
- Write your field experience in a separate diary.
- Notes can be prepared through jottings, diary, log and actual field notes.
- Jottings are on the spot short recordings. So keep a note pad with you all the time and field jottings on the spot. Otherwise you will forget many things.

- A **diary** is a personal account where you can hide all your emotions and personal relationships in the field. It is an essential element in an ethnographic study.

- Also keep a **log** which is a running account of how you plan and spend your time. You can use a note book for this beginning from pages2 and 3. Put the date on the even numbered page on the left and list the plan of your work on the given day. The facing page will narrate what you actually do each day.

- **Field notes** are three kinds- methodological notes, descriptive notes and analytic notes. Methodological notes deal with the techniques in collecting data. Descriptive notes are indispensible part of field work. The sources of descriptive notes are watching and listening. Analytic notes are where you write your ideas about how you think the culture you are studying is organised.

- Some field workers use electronic devices like laptops, desktops, note pads, and tablets for taking field notes. In such cases the data may be emailed or stored in internet to avoid loss of electronic data.

[Adapted from Bernard Russell H (2008 p 387-398)]

Can you suggest suitable research topic for conducting an ethnographic research?

Whatever may be the approach, in order to make the research scientific, the data gathered during the study need to be clear and correct? The success of the research depends upon the data gathered for it. The term *data* is often confusing and misleading. Hence, it needs elaboration.

Anthropological Data

Data is the basic unit of any scientific research. The term data usually refers to distinct pieces of information in raw or unorganised form, such as alphabets, numbers or symbols. It can represent conditions, ideas, or objects. Thus *data means any information collected for research*.

Can you prepare a comprehensive definition of data?

As we said earlier, collection of data is of utmost importance for a research. Discuss what will happen if a researcher fails to collect accurate and appropriate data?

- Definitely the findings of the research are bound to be misleading.

- Result will become speculative.

- There will be chances of becoming subjective.

- The whole research will become unscientific.

- ……………………

- ……………………

How can a researcher overcome such difficulties?

> Government use census data to formulate and implement development programmes. So it is primary data to the government

A researcher has to collect reliable and accurate data systematically. The researcher should also follow specific research procedures that include appropriate techniques, methods and a methodology. The researcher should decide what methodology, method and technique are to be employed for data collection and how the data are to be processed, analysed and conclusions arrived at.

You may have also come across different types of data such as primary and secondary data, qualitative and quantitative data. What are the major differences between these concepts? Let us examine.

Primary and Secondary Data: Depending on the sources of data, it can be classified in to primary or secondary. Primary data need to be collected by the researcher directly from the field or from the subjects of research. Thus, it is the first hand information collected by the researcher directly. At the same time if the researcher uses the data collected earlier by another person or agency, it is considered secondary data. Here researcher gets data not directly, but through second hand source.

In economics, the data may be primarily in the form of prices of goods and cost of production, or in other words, ***in the form of numbers***. In Anthropology, it may be in the form of kinship terms, customs, rituals, texts of a native culture, and descriptions of material and non-material culture, or in other words, ***in the form of words***. That means, data can be represented in words as well as in numbers. Thus the data could also be classified either as **qualitative or as quantitative** based on the nature of the data. Depending on the type of data in a particular research, a research can be called **qualitative research or quantitative research.**

Qualitative Data and Quantitative Data: The qualitative data are expressed in the form of words, whereas quantitative data are expressed in the form of numbers. The data collected directly from the field could be analysed statistically, or without statistics.

In social science research, different methodologies are used for arriving at results or conclusions. In a way, it is classified as either qualitative research or quantitative research.

Qualitative and Quantitative Research: Qualitative research is carried out in natural field settings. Hence, it is also known as *field research*. In qualitative research, data collection appears spontaneous and open-ended, and usually has less structure and planning than in quantitative research. The data obtained in qualitative research is analysed without statistics. Research methods like participant observation and Case Study, used in qualitative research, are called *qualitative **methods*** or ***field methods***

Quantitative research involves statistical analysis. Hence, it is also known as *statistical research*. Objectivity is the prime merit of quantitative research, while it also claims to have higher reliability and validity. In physical anthropology and demographic studies, where statistical techniques are not only possible but also unavoidable, the methods such as Survey, Census etc. are used and hence these methods are called ***quantitative methods*** or ***statistical methods*.**

However, the distinction between the two are not water-tight, and today, it is even desirable to have a **qualitative-quantitative mix** in Social Science research in general, and in anthropological research in particular.

Prepare a table explaining the major difference between qualitative and quantitative research in terms of the objective, purpose, data, population, data collection methods, analysis and outcome of a research.

Let us now examine the methods and techniques in Anthropology.

Methods and Techniques in Anthropology

Ethnographic method, as discussed earlier, is essentially based upon field observation, as one of the primary methods of obtaining data about the world around us.

Observation as a Method

In the contemporary western world, the people are under constant observation wherever they go, as they come under the close circute television. The non-western world is also fast catching up with it. Observing and being observed are two important features of modern society. It is said that ours is becoming an observation society (Silverman; 25, 2012). In social research, one of the most important and extensively used methods is

19

observation. All observations are not scientific. An observation becomes scientific only if it is planned and executed systematically. It may take place in real life setting or in a laboratory. An anthropologist as an ethnographer observes individual and collective behaviour in real-life settings. Hence, Herskovits, the American Anthropologist terms the field as the 'ethnographer's laboratory'.

How can a researcher conduct observation in the field?

- *By establishing good rapport* – friendly relation based on personal contact – with the members.
- *By paying attention t*o every minute detail of life and situations in life.
- *By recording what you see exactly as you see* it (without interpreting or attributing any of your own meaning to it).
- *By recording your impression* in your personal diary or field notes.

You may now select a place – a market, bus shelter, inside the bus, school premises or any other place you like – for observation. Just watch and note the events that occur there, for an hour. Present your findings in groups and discuss how far you could observe the events occurred there. One of the group members can present the findings. Find out the merits and demerits of observation as a method of primary data collection.

Did you actively participate in the events that occurred there in the field? In other words, did you observe things as an insider or as an outsider?

What is the difference between just observing an event as an outsider, and observing the event by participating in it?

You may now select an event for observation by participating in it. The event selected for observation may be your own household activities such as cooking, gardening, life cycle rituals such as marriage ceremony or naming ceremony or any other similar events. Present your findings for group discussion and find out how the previous observation is different from this.

- Which type of observation is ideal for anthropological field work? Why?

- Would an intimate relationship with the group members adversely affect the data collection process?

- How can we overcome such difficulties in the field?

Present your conclusions in the class.

Observation is more than "seeing". Seeing and perceiving are different. Observation must be accompanied by perceiving, that is, capturing it with the mind if what is observed is to be fruitful.

From the above discussion, could you define what observation is?

Several types of field observation have been used in anthropological research. A researcher can observe the day-to-day life of the group under study either by participating or without participating in it. Observation is divided mainly into two types: Uncontrolled observation and Controlled observation.

1.   Uncontrolled Observation

Uncontrolled observation is a form of observation which is made in the natural environment without being influenced by

> Observation is the accurate watching and noting of phenomena as being occured in nature.

outside control or external factors. Most of the knowledge about the social phenomena is generally derived through uncontrolled observation. There are two types of uncontrolled observations, participant observation and non-participant observation.

a)   **Participant Observation:** When the researcher actively participates in the activities of the group under investigation, it is known as participant observation. In the extreme level of participant observation, the researcher might conceal one's identity. It can be called ***total participant observation***. Such kind of observation is resorted to when the researcher intends to keep the natural setting intact, without any kind of disturbance. In situations in which one's role is confined to that of a researcher and it is openly declared, is known as ***quasi-participant observation***.

The features of participant observation are detailed below:

The observer -

- Takes part in the social events which she or he is observing.
- Assumes a role or undertakes a job that is acceptable in the given social context.
- Ensures that the observer's presence in the group does not disturb the normal life of the group.

- Generally lives, shares and participates in the everyday life of the group.
- Associates with the group not as a researcher but as a full-fledged member of the group.
- Observe the behaviour of the members of the community.
- Discerns the inter-action and relationship between them.
- Engages in conversation with them to find out their responses, meanings and explanations of the events that occur.
- Studies the life of a community or social unit as a whole (**holistic study**).

The success of the participant observation depends on one's skill and personality. The observer's task is to place oneself in a best position for getting a complete and unbiased picture of the life of the community. Generally, ***participant observation is considered as the king of uncontrolled observation***. That is why, sometimes it is also called *uncontrolled participant observation*.

Before going to the field, the participant observer should take a few important safeguards regarding the content and recording of observation and the relationship with the members of the society. Let us examine each of these.

Content of observation: The observer must decide what is to be observed, how to observe, who the participants are and in what way they are related to each other.

Recording of observation: It is essential that what is observed should be immediately recorded because memory is likely to fail at any time. When it is not possible to record on the spot, it should be done as early as possible.

Relationship between the observer and the members of society: The observer should establish and maintain a good rapport with the members of the group. A good rapport means friendly relationship and understanding with the members of the society. This will help the observer to acquire their co-operation in all activities. Most participant observations normally fall under the category of quasi-participant observation.

Precautions to be taken in Participant Observation: The observers are expected to take certain precautions while undertaking an ethnographic research. The observer is expected to

- Be highly sensitive to the situations and social contexts of the research
- Behave in a responsible manner; otherwise the task becomes more complicated.

- Claim no superiority over the group.
- Seek no special status, lest it destroys the very purpose of the study.
- Maintain objectivity, irrespective of developing a high level of proximity through a successful rapport establishment with the group in the course of one's research.

Is fully participant observation possible? How far you can fully participate while observing and fully observe while participating?

Merits or Advantages of Participant Observation: There are several merits in participant observation.

Check the following questions in groups and find out the merits of participant observation.

How helpful is participant observation to:
- *Acquire information that is true and extensive*?
- *Observe Natural Behaviour?*
- *Gain greater insights of the phenomena*?

However, participant observation also has certain inherent limitations.

Check the following questions in groups and find out the demerits of participant observation.

- *How much time does participant observer require to spend with the group?*
- *What about observer's bias or emotional attachment?*
- *Are all the phenomena and behaviour subjected to observation?*
- *How effectively one could maintain the objective of the research?*
- *Is it conducive to collect historical data?*
- *What about the resources like, time and money that are required to carry out participant observation?*

You have learned what participant observation is and what its merits and demerits are. Now, you can conduct a participant observation in a group, minimising its demerits, and present your observation report.

23

b) **Non-participant observation:** You have conducted an observation earlier, without actively participating in the activities of the group. How do you feel about that observation? Let us discuss the following points in groups:

● *Did you get involved in their activities?*

● *Did the group members know your identity?*

● *How do the lack of rapport and the presence of the outsider in the group affect the behaviour of the group members?*

● *How reliable do you think the data is?*

When the observer does not actively participate in the activities of the group and simply observes them as a total outsider, it is known as ***non-participant observation***. This can be conducted by the researcher either by keeping away from the group, without revealing the identity to the subjects or by being present in the group, but without involving in their activities. Sometimes, it is impossible for a non-participant observer to be totally passive and therefore might try to associate with the group. In such an event, a Non-participant observer would be moving from a total non-participation to become a ***Quasi-participant observer***.

Self observation

It may be suggested that the observer should discover what prejudices and biases will prevent impartial study and disinterested points of view. At times, emotional reactions are so deeply imbedded and so subtly expressed that they are difficult to detect. Persistent self criticism and criticism by others may ultimately overcome prejudices and biases. In order to minimise the errors of observation, Margaret Mead alluded to the need for training anthropology students "to form an estimate of their own strengths and weaknesses as observers".Such introspection creates empathetic insight which facilitates the understanding of people's behaviour in similar circumstances and cultural contexts. (Excerpts from **P.V.Young**, 2009; pp 183)

You have learned and practically conducted non-participant observation. What are the advantages and disadvantages of non-participant observation? Some of them are listed below. You can enhance the list by adding more from your own experience.

Merits of Non-participant observation:

● Objectivity and neutrality could be maintained because of detachment with the activities of the group,

- By keeping a distance from the group, it would be easier for the observer to learn the weakness as well as strength of the group.

However, non-participant observation is not free from limitations.

Demerits of Non-participant observation:

- The dangers of subjectivity are more pronounced.

- As the group might feel uncomfortable in the presence of a third person, it might lead to an artificial alteration of the group's bahaviour.

- Nobody would like to open their true feelings, actions, attitude and opinion before a stranger, with whom they hardly have any kind of rapport.

- Due to conscious effort to keep a detachment, the non-participant observer may even be looked with suspicion, which is again a serious limitation. Thus, the non-participant observer may not gain real insight into the phenomena.

Which of the above types of observation will you use, if you were a researcher, studying about the Drug Addiction and Anti-Social Activities in a Community? Why?

In the above two types - participant and non-participant observation - there is a chance of bias due to a possible defective perception of the phenomena. In order to avoid such drawbacks, different kinds of controls are exercised over the phenomena as well as over the observation. That type of observation is termed as controlled observation.

2.   Controlled Observation

In this type, an attempt is made to exercise control over the phenomena or observation. This is done according to a particular plan. Thus, it is possible to make an objective study and keep the observation free from biases and prejudices. As it is difficult to impose control on the phenomena in Anthropological observation, generally controls are imposed on the observer. Such controls increase precision, ensure reliability and increase objectivity.

The devices used for making control over the observer are given below. Could you complete the list?
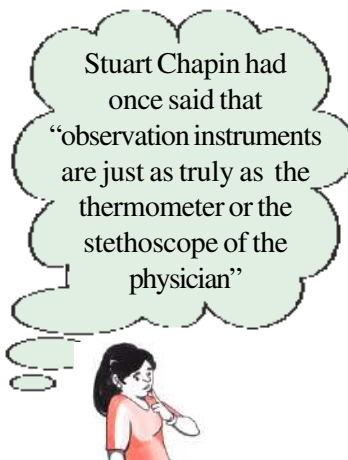
- Detailed observation plan
- Use of schedules and check-lists

- Use of socio-metric scales
- Use of hypothesis
- Mechanical instruments like………
- ………………………….
- ………………………….

You can discuss how the above measuring devices of observation lessen the chance of bias and prejudices in observation.

Mind map/prepare a chart showing the different types of observation

Stuart Chapin had once said that "observation instruments are just as truly as the thermometer or the stethoscope of the physician"

Though anthropologists widely make use of observation for data collection, many other data collection methods are also extensively employed. Case Study is one such method which is used by Anthropologists to undertake exhaustive study of a person, a group or institution, a place or an event. Case study research in social Cultural and Linguistic Anthropology consists of intensive periods of ethnographic field work.

Case Study method

Case Study means intensive study of a case. Case is a social unit with a deviant bahaviour. It is a method of qualitative analysis. It is extensively used in psychology, education, sociology, anthropology, economics and political science. It aims at obtaining a complete and detailed account of a social phenomenon or a social unit, which may be a person, family, community, institution or an event.

Essential characteristics of Case Study are:

- It is an intensive, comprehensive and detailed study of a social unit
- It helps to understand the personal as well as the hidden dimensions of human life

The Case study method helps retaining the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events – such as individual life cycles, small group behaviuor, etc.

It is like a case history of a patient. As a patient goes to the doctor with some serious disease, the doctor records the case history. Analysis of case history helps in the diagnosis of the patient's illness. Anthropologists study the case history of a group. Case history may

26

be obtained, using a combination of different methods and techniques such as interview, participant observation etc. However, questionnaire and schedule are highly ineffective in the Case Study.

Sources of Data for Case Study: In Case Study, information may be collected from various sources. The important sources include

- Life histories
- Personal documents, letters and records
- Biographies
- Information obtained through interviews
- Observation

Like every method, Case Study also has its own advantages and disadvantages.

Advantages of Case Study: The following are some of the advantages of Case Study.Enhance the list, by adding your own understanding.

- A Case Study helps to probe the indepth analysis of a social unit.
- It is suitable for collecting data pertaining to sensitive areas of a social phenomenon.
- It helps to collect details regarding the diverse habits, traits and qualities of the unit under investigation.
- The data obtained through Case Study is useful for formulation of hypothesis and also to provide clues for further research.
- …………………………

Limitations of Case Study

- Case history records could be open to errors due to faulty selection of case and inaccurate observation.
- It is very difficult to draw generalisations on the basis of a few cases.
- No uniform and standardised system has been developed for recording case history.
- The investigator's bias might distort the quality of the Case Study.
- Case Study is time-consuming and costly in certain cases
- …………………………

Select a case from your own surroundings and study it intensively following the steps noted below. Your teacher will guide you to follow the steps of Case Study method.

1. **Select a case/ problem for investigation**-consider the time constraint while selecting a case.

2. **Determine the status of the unit/phenomena under study**.

3. **Formulate a hypothesis** on the individual case.

4. **Collect data using appropriate methods and techniques** such as observation, interview etc.

5. **Analyse the data** by comparing, and reviewing the same with past experiences.

6. **Arrive at conclusions**

We have seen that case study is the detailed study of a social unit, whether it is a family, or any other phenomena or event under study. The analysis of family, social organisation or interpersonal relationships can be done through other methods also. Genealogical method is one among them.

Genealogical Method

Genealogy is the study of one's ancestors - parents, grandparents great grandparents and so on. The genealogical method was originally developed by W.H.R. Rivers during the Torres Straits expedition of 1898-99. Later it became one of the standard procedures adopted in ethnographic researches in Social Anthropology. The primary aim of genealogical method is the analysis of social organisation, i.e. the interpersonal relations and living arrangements between members of a society. The method required extensive interviewing of individuals in order to record their descent, succession and inheritance.

The genealogical method was used, along with observation method census and settlement plans, first by W H R Rivers in field research and produced his classical monograph on the Todas, and later by many anthropologists.

Genealogical method is very much helpful in studying kinship, and thereby in understanding the social structure or network of relationship among individuals. It is done through the collection of demographic and social data and by charting pedigrees and mapping residence details. In the studies of migration and to trace out early migrants, genealogical method is found very useful.

Internationally accepted simple set of kinship symbols are used in Anthropology to draw kinship diagrams or genealogical chart.Recollect the set of symbols you have studied in the previous year in the unit on Marriage, Family and Kinship.

Select a household known to you (or your own) and draw the connections of kinship, descent and marriage using genealogical diagrams and symbols.

Survey Method

Survey method is systematic collection of data from a population or sample of population through the use of personal interviews, questionnaires, schedules or other data gathering tools/devices. It is the most traditional and common form of data collection method. Through surveys, a researcher can elicit the views, attitudes, perceptions and sometimes bahaviour of different groups or individuals.

Surveys are the only data collection method through which desired information can be obtained more easily and less expensively from a large population.

Normally in a survey method, data can be collected through either conducting an interview or administering a questionnaire. You shall familiarise with interview and questionnaire techniques in the later part of this unit.

Characteristics of Survey method

• Survey mostly involves a representative sample of a population and enables to describe and generalise about the entire population.

• Survey seeks response directly from the respondents.

• Conclusions are drawn from the data collected from the sample population.

Procedures in survey method: The major stages involved in the Survey Method are:

1. Selecting the universe or field of study

2. Choosing the sample from the universe, selected for study

3. Selecting the tool and methods for collecting data

4. Analysis of data collected

5. Generalisation on the basis of analysis from the collected samples

Survey requires skilled personnel to gather data. Careful selection and training of interviewers is essential for conducting survey. Careful preparation of questionnaires and interview schedule is another important factor.

Types of surveys

A survey method is used to cover wider geographical area involving various languages, customs, races etc. On the basis of the subject matter and technique of data collection, it may be classified under the following heads:

General Survey: In this survey, data are collected in a general manner without any specific objective.

Specific Survey: Specific survey is just the reverse of general survey. When the survey is conducted for testing the validity of some hypothesis, it is called specific survey.

Regular survey: When the survey is conducted at regular intervals it is called regular survey. Banking, marketing and economic institutions generally conduct this type of surveys to frame and implement their policies and programmes concerning economic matters.

Sample Survey: When the survey is done only among a fraction of a total population, it is called sample survey. It is applied when one studies very large population where house to house survey is not possible. Samples are the representative unit of total population. Generalisation can be made on the basis of sample survey.

Advantages of Survey Method: Social science methodology today heavily depends upon survey methods in research activities.

- Data could be collected from a large population covering an extensive area.
- Survey research has its broadest application in public issues.
- It also has a great impact on political research especially in the area of voting studies. It is also used to study community and market bahaviour.
- Data obtained through this method are considered as more reliable and valid because survey method is based on statistical analysis, which is an objective method of data collection.
- …………………………………………………

Even though survey method has many advantages, it is not free from disadvantages.

Disadvantages of Survey Method: The important problems associated with the survey methods are detailed below:

- Low response rate or non-response rate where the questionnaires are mailed to respondents.
- Possibility of recording biased responses, especially if the interviewer is inexperienced
- Historical events cannot be studied through this method.
- Sampling error might affect the results of the research.
- Survey method consumes longer time and greater human resource.

Apart from the above methods, anthropologists usually employ a variety of techniques to gather information pertaining to the social and cultural life.

You have already studied that the research methods can be classified into qualitative and quantitative. Now you may classify the above listed methods under these categories and prepare a chart on it.

Tools and Techniques of Anthropological Research

Questionnaire and interview are two important techniques adopted in anthropological research. Different tools are used while using techniques. Schedule is a tool to conduct interview or observation.

> According to **Bogardus**, "a questionnaire is a list of questions sent to a number of persons for them to answer".

Questionnaire

Questionnaire is considered as the heart of social survey because it is the main technique of data collection employed in survey method. It is a better instrument for obtaining information about personal life, feelings, expectations or future plans.

- A questionnaire consists of a set of questions in a definite order and form.
- The systematic compiling of questions is necessary in a questionnaire.
- It is distributed to obtain responses from respondents.
- The respondent is expected to fill up the form by her/him self.

From the above description, the important features of questionnaire are obvious. Could you make a definition of questionnaire based on your understanding?

Format of Questions in a Questionnaire

Most of the questions in a questionnaire can be classified into factual questions and opinion questions. Two formats are given below: Could you find out whether it is a factual question or an opinion question?

31

Ex.   1.   What is your educational status (please tick the answer)

☐ Non- literate   ☐ 1-4 standard

☐ 5-10 standard   ☐ plus two   ☐ graduate

Ex.   2.   Most of the teachers do not understand the feelings of students

☐ Strongly Agree   ☐ Strongly Disagree   ☐ Agree

☐ Disagree   ☐ Undecided

Types of Questions in Questionnaire

Three types of questions are generally adopted in a questionnaire. They are open-ended questions, closed questions and contingency questions.

1.   Open ended questions are not followed by any type of specific answers. The respondents are free to answer the way one wants. An example of open ended question is given below:

"Which one do you think is the best teaching method?"

2.   In a closed-ended question the respondents are asked to select the response from the options provided. For example: Do you think nuclear family system is suitable for Kerala?

☐ Very suitable   ☐ not suitable   ☐ suitable

☐ not at all suitable

3.   The contingency question is a special case of close ended question which applies to only a sub-group of respondents. The questions that need to be answered only when the respondent provides a particular response to a question prior to them are called contingency questions. For example:

Have you ever participated in a tribal marriage?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

If yes how many times have you participated in a tribal marriage?

☐ Once   ☐ Twice

☐ Thrice   ☐ More than thrice

Types of Questionnaire

Questionnaires are divided into structured questionnaire, unstructured questionnaire, mixed questionnaire and pictorial questionnaire.

32

Structured questionnaire:- In structured questionnaires, the questions are prepared in advance and not constructed on the spot during the question period. In this type of questionnaire, same wording and same order are maintained to all respondents.

Unstructured questionnaire: - In unstructured questionnaires, the questions are not structured in advance. The questions may be adjusted according to the needs of the situation, with maximum flexibility to collect as much information as possible.

Mixed questionnaire: - A partly structured and partly unstructured questionnaire is called mixed questionnaire. This has the quality of both types of questionnaire.

Pictorial questionnaire:- In pictorial questionnaire, the selected alternative answers are given in the form of pictures. An example is given below. (Fig. 1…)

Question:- How large is your family?

The respondent has to select the appropriate picture from the given options. Could you say for which type of respondents the pictorial questionnaire would be helpful?

Would it be helpful to collect data from very young children and non-literate persons?

It is important to learn how to make a good questionnaire?

Characteristics of a Good Questionnaire

Construction of a good questionnaire is not easy. The following are some of the guidelines to be followed in making a good questionnaire.

a) The physical form of the questionnaire should be attractive i.e. the size of the questions must be small.

b) The appearance should evoke the interest of the respondents.

c) It should be printed legibly with a good lay out.

d) The item-wise classification should be done in the questionnaire. In the first part, the space may be provided for writing the name of the organisation and the name and address of the respondents. Space for factual data like age, members of family,

education, marital status and religion are to be provided. The subject matter or theme should be given in a separate section.

e) The questions should be analytical, clear, short and understandable.

f) Emotional, embarrassing and threatening questions should be avoided.

g) Questions must be asked according to the level of the respondent. Never assume that the respondent knows everything about the problem.

h) Never ask two or more questions at a time.

i) Questions should be well arranged to enable tabulation and analysis.

j) Correct instructions should be provided to make the questionnaire self explanatory.

k) After constructing the questionnaire a pre-test or trial in a sample of respondents is to be done. This will help to overcome the draw back in the questionnaire.

l) Selection of respondents should be done thoughtfully.

m) A carefully-worded introduction or covering letter should be prepared. It should explain the purpose and importance of the study.

n) Method of administering-*whether mailed, personal interview, telephonic interview* - should be decided in advance.

Merits and Demerits of Questionnaire

Some of the points regarding the merits and demerits of questionnaire are given below in the form of questions. Could you discuss these points or questions in groups and prepare a report on the merits and demerits of questionnaire including those points.

For merits

- How large the coverage could be in a questionnaire?
- Would it be expensive compared to other methods of research?
- Would it be easy to plan, construct and administer?
- Can we keep the anonymity of the respondents?
- Can we use it as a preliminary tool for conducting an in-depth study, later?

For demerits

- Could it be used to collect information from non-literate or less educated persons?
- Could it ensure adequate response rate – respondents who return the questionnaire
- What will happen if a respondent misinterpret a question or gives an incomplete answer?

34

- Is questionnaire suitable for collecting private or controversial information?
- How does lack of rapport affect the data collection through questionnaire?
- How reliable it is?

1. From the above discussion you will now be in a position to prepare a chart comparing the merits and demerits of questionnaire.

2. Decide a topic for research with the help of your teacher and prepare a questionnaire containing both closed and open-ended questions. Collect data using the questionnaire, analyse them and prepare a report.

Are there other tools and techniques available for data collection? How can we elicit information from another person through conversation? This is possible through interview.

Interview

We often come across interviews with different personalities in Media. Interview is universally used for the study of human behaviour. In social life, the Lawyer, physician, journalist, social worker, and salesman depend partly on interviews to carry out their professional demands. Likewise, Anthropological researchers often use key informants as valuable sources of information, by carrying out frequent conversations with them, what is commonly known as key informant interview. They are persons identified by the anthropologists, in the course of one's field research, as those possessing valuable information than others about the people, incidents and social processes under study.

In simple terms, *interview means 'conversation with a purpose'*. It is a procedure used for collecting data through a person to person contact between an interviewer and respondent(s). In interview, data collection is done mainly through the verbal interaction between the respondent(s) and the interviewer. The views and ideas of other persons can be elicited through interview.

Interview can be defined as a system in which both the investigator as well as the informant discuss the problem under research, the former usually taking the initiative with the object of extracting maximum information from the latter.

According to Goode and Hatt, *interviewing is fundamentally a process of social interaction.*

From the above description the important characteristics of interview can be drawn.

35

Characteristics of Interview

- Interview is a direct method of data collection.
- In interview there is a face-to-face contact between the individuals.
- It is mainly through close contact or interaction including dialogue between two or more persons.
- It can be used for all segments of population.
- Past events can be studied through interview.
- Information that could not be collected through survey method and questionnaire can be collected through interview.
- It is possible to study the events that are not open to observation.
- Interview is also helpful to find out the reactions of different individuals in different situations.

However, in interview, too much importance is given to the respondents. The researcher is fully at the mercy of the respondent and has to believe in what the respondents say. Lot of subjectivity and individual feelings may creep in interview.

From the above discussion, you will be able to list out the merits and demerits of interview. You can prepare a chart based on it.

Interviewing is not an easy task. A lot of care and skill are required for a successful conduct of an interview. An interviewer may have to interview more than one person at a time. Moreover, the researcher may or may not interview an interviewee with pre-determined questions. In order to understand these aspects, we have to examine the different types of interviews.

Different Types of Interviews

Interviews can be categorised based on different criteria. On the basis of persons involved, there are Individual interview and Group interview. On the basis of nature of questions included, it could be classified as structured interview (Formal interview) and unstructured interview (Informal interview). Let us examine each.

Individual Interview: When an interview is confined to an individual informant it is called individual interview or personal interview.

Group interview: If a group of persons is interviewed for ascertaining their views and opinions, it is known as group interview.

Structured interview (Formal interview): The interview based on pre-determined questions and standardized techniques is called structured interview. Here the number and nature of questions, order of asking , wording of questions, recording etc. are standardised. The response pattern is also standardized in the form of 'know' or 'don't know' or 'yes' or 'no'. The questions are mostly closed-ended. Because of the insistence on specific form, this method is also called *formal interview*.

The advantages of structured interview are uniformity and precision. It provides safe basis for generalisation. To a great extent, the interviewer's bias can be reduced. It is also easy to administer.

Unstructured interview (Informal interview): The unstructured interview allows greater flexibility in the number, method, and sequence of questions. Depending upon the situation, more freedom is given to the interviewer to choose the form of questions. The interview can also be adjusted to the level and conditions of the respondent. The wording and sequence of questions can be changed, keeping in view of the response. This type of interview emphasises the purpose rather than the form. It aims at collecting maximum information. Because of the informal form, this interview is also called *informal interview*.

Whatever may be the type of interview, it has to be conducted in a sequential order. One cannot directly or suddenly initiate the interview. The success of interview depends upon how scientifically interview is started, continued and concluded. The different phases involved in interview process will be helpful for the successful conduct of interview.

Process of Interview

There are three important phases of interview. They are, rapport building, probing and recording of the response.

Rapport building: The success of the interview mainly depends on the capacity of an interviewer to build rapport with the respondent(s). The term 'rapport' means keeping a friendly relationship with the respondents.

Probing: Probing is an exploratory action to obtain information on a remote or unknown topic or theme. The right type of questions should be asked in the right manner and using the right language. In interview, sometimes, the respondent may talk many things which may not be relevant for thye given research. the researcher will mbe able to bring back the respondent to the topic of discussion without hurting the feelings of the respondent.

Recording the response: Recording of response can be done in two ways.

a)   Recording at the time of interview.

b)   Recording after the interview .

When recording is done at the time of interview, all relevant information can be noted. If the interviewer records the data after the interview, there is a possibility of error, mainly due to the failure of memory.

Like the process of interview, preparations for the conduct of interview are also equally important.

Preparations of Interview

If the interview is to be conducted successfully, preparation for it has to be done on a scientific basis. It should be done before the interview takes place. The following steps are to be followed.

Understand the problem: For this, the interviewer should study the problem in advance.

Prepare interview guide: Interview guide is a brief written document which gives an outline of different aspects of the study. It is more helpful in unstructured interview due to the flexibility of the questions asked. It is only a guideline and the interviewer has to apply one's own intelligence while handling the interviewee.

Select informants: Selection of informants should be carefully done. The *key informants* should be those who are thorough with the problem under study.

If you have conducted a research using an inquiry form such as questionnaire, you might have felt that gathering data is not an easy task, especially when the respondents are not willing to fill up the questionnaire. This will become more difficult and impossible when the respondents are non-literate or less-educated. In such situations, the researcher has to fill the data using some other device. Schedule is one such device. Let us examine how it can be constructed and administered.

Schedule

We have already learned that how information could be elicited using questionnaire. When the response is filled by the respondent, the device is termed questionnaire. However, if the researcher fills the inquiry form in the presence of the respondent, it can be termed as Schedule.

Schedule is a set of questions asked and filled by the researcher.

How is a schedule more advantageous than a questionnaire?

38

A schedule provides an opportunity to establish rapport with the respondent. The researcher has a chance to explain the meaning of certain unclear items and the purpose clearly. To get more clarity with regard to questionnaire and schedule the following questions are to be discussed.

- Is there any difference in the construction of schedule and questionnaire?
- Can complete and usable returns be ensured while administering schedule?
- Is Schedule more economical in terms of time and money? Your conclusions on the above discussion may be shared in common.

When we use the term 'Schedule' in research, it is with reference to the Interview Schedule. But Interview Schedule is only one of the types of schedules.

Types of Schedules

Normally there are five types of schedules as explained below.

a) *Observation Schedule*: - An Observation Schedule contains some specific aspect on which, the observer has to concentrate and collect information. For example, if an anthropological researcher has to collect details of food gathering and forest products by a given tribal group, an observation schedule can be prepared.

b) *Document Schedule:* -This is used to collect data from official documents, auto biographies and records.

c) *Rating Schedules: -* These are used to measure attitudes, behaviour and opinions in psychological and sociological research.

d) *Evaluation Schedules: -* These are used to get information about some institutions and agencies.

e) *Interview Schedule: -* This is normally used as a synonym for Schedule. It contains questions to be asked by the researcher and space for recording answers. House hold Schedule is a type of Interview Schedule widely used in anthropological field research to collect data on demographic profile of households.

We have discussed different methods and techniques of data collection in Anthropology. However, entire activities connected with research, including the methods and techniques of data collection have to be planned well in advance. This is formalised through the preparation of a research design. We have to examine what a research design is and how it is prepared.

Research Design

What do we do if we want to construct a house or building?

Land has to be acquired area for construction in the land has to be ascertained, the type of house, its area, mode of construction, total cost, estimate, and many other factors are to be decided before the actual construction of house. In research also, everything has to be planned well in advance. It also involves process with a series of steps as it is done in the case of house construction.

Can you identify the essential ingredients in a research design?

A definition of research design is given below.

Miller has defined research design "as the planned sequence of the entire process involved in conducting a research study"

You can make similar definitions of research design after understanding the features of a research design.

- A research design is a detailed outline of how a research will take place.
- It includes how data is to be collected, what research tools and techniques are to be employed and how the collected data are analysed.
- Such research designs would be of great help to researchers in achieving the aims and objectives of research, provided it fulfills certain essentials of a good research design.

Essentials of a Good Research Design

The following are the essentials of a good research design

- It is a plan that specifies the objectives of study.
- It is a blueprint that specifies the sources, and methods of data collection relevant to the research.
- It is a plan that ensures that the obtained information is objective, reliable, valid, and can be generalised to a large group or population.

Steps in Preparing a Research Design

After deciding on the aims and objectives, area, sources and methods of study, a formal research plan is drafted. An anthropological research design is prepared depending on the purpose and type of study. However, the following steps are generally followed.

40

1. *Title of the research*: - The title should be brief, precise and reflect the scope of the problem under research.

2. *Statement of the problem*: - After accumulating all knowledge of the subject under study, the researcher should state the research problem in clear and precise terms.

3. *Purpose of the research*: - A brief description of the significance of the area of study in the present context of social life, by highlighting the main purpose which inspired the researcher.

4. *Review of literature*: - The researcher should be acquainted with all available literature related to the problem. The researcher should ascertain whether the same topic has been investigated before, and if so, how and to what extent. A critical appraisal of all previous studies is to be done and the gaps, if any, are to be ascertained.

5. *Scope of research*: - The researcher should delimit the scope of study depending upon the time, money available, the size of the sample, and the ability to collect information. Then the researcher should state the scope of investigation in explicit terms and provide the limitations of study.

6. *Objectives of the study*: - The objectives of the study are stated clearly within the scope of research and in the form of statement.

7. *Concepts and variables used in the research*: - The researcher should provide clearly the conceptual and operational definitions of the concepts and variables used in the research.

8. *Formulation of hypothesis*: - Hypothesis is unsure guess or solution to a problem. It should be clear, specific and capable of empirical test. It should be related to a body of theory and available technique. Hypothesis will help the researcher in delimiting the scope of the study. However, many of the anthropological researches are more of exploratory in nature.

9. *Selection of the sample*: - In this section, the researcher should mention the definition, size, representatives of the sample population in the design, if relevant.

10. *Methods of data collection*: - The researcher should decide upon the methods of data collection and spell out clearly, explaining their necessity and relevance.

11. *Data analysis*: - Depending on the nature of data collected, the researcher should mention in the design how the data is going to be subjected to analysis - qualitative or quantitative.

12. **Interpretation of data**: - In the research design how the results of the investigation are going to be interpreted may be mentioned.

13. **Chapter scheme:** - The chapter scheme of the report should be outlined and the purpose of each chapter is to be stated.

14. **Time budget: -** The time period required for each stage of work and the total duration of study are to be specified in the design.

15. **References**: -Here, the researcher should mention the possible secondary sources that may be consulted or relied upon stream lining and strengthening the research. It should contain the name of the author, year of publication, title of the book/journal, volume number, and place of publication.

> Select a topic of research with the help of your teacher from broad areas like description of culture, problems of people, issues of development and change etc., and prepare a research design.

After completing the research, report writing is the last activity of the research process.

Writing a Research Report

While writing a research report, whether it is a thesis, monograph, or a journal, article, utmost care is to be taken. The content of the research report differ according to the type of research. However the content can be classified into *preliminary section*, *main body* of the report, and the *reference section*.

The preliminary section comprises title page, certificate, declaration, acknowledgements, preface or forward, table of contents, and list of tables and figures.

The main body of the research report broadly contains an introduction, review of literature, design of study, presentation, analysis of data, summary and conclusion.

The reference section includes the list of books referred in alphabetic order followed by appendix, glossary and index. The tables and figures are referred to by number and properly compiled and arranged. Quotations and foot notes are to be used cautiously.

Field work

You have now learned the basic methodology of an Anthropological research. Making use of the following steps, undertake a field work lasting not more than a week in the coming festival vacation. The following steps can be followed.

- Select a topic and field area for a short-term research, with the help of your teacher.

- Prepare a research design on the topic.

- Prepare the tools-Questionnaire, Schedule, or Interview Schedule- of research as the case may be.

- Make necessary preparation for carrying out the field work.

- Take field notes, decode, and transcribe them (See trivia for how to take field notes)

- Analyse data and write report.

- Submit your field report along with the field notes on time.

SUMMARY

- Research implies a search and re-search or a re-examination into the existing situations of humans. A Scientific Research could be defined as an organised and systematic enquiry into a phenomenon to discover new or to verify the existing knowledge.

- Anthropology comes under the realm of science as anthropological research uses scientific methods. The word 'science' is derived from the Latin word *scientia* which means "to know".

- Science includes the process and the consequent product. Identification of problem, formulation of hypothesis, the methods or techniques of data collection, conduct of fieldwork/experiments, classification, analysis and interpretation of data and the logical inference of generalisation would all come under the purview of the scientific process.The facts, figures, formulae, concepts, equations, principles, theories, laws, generalisations and conclusions are considered as the product of science.

- Scientific method consists of systematic observation, classification, and interpretation of data. The important steps of scientific method are: formulation of a problem, planning research design, collection of data, analysis of data and drawing conclusion.

- Objectivity and subjectivity assume immense significance in scientific research. Subjectivity is that in which the likes, dislikes, feelings, emotions and attitudes of the researcher influence the study. If one's likes, dislikes, feelings, emotions and attitudes do not influence one's study, then, it is called objective study.

- A research method is a way of conducting and implementing research, while methodology is the science and philosophy behind all research. Research Methods, Techniques, and Tools must also be differentiated. A method is a broader term than a technique and could make use of more than one technique.

43

- In Anthropology a researcher may use comparative, historical and cross-cultural method. Comparative method refers to the method of comparing different societies, groups or social institutions within the same society to show whether and why they are similar or different in certain aspects. Cross-cultural comparison is a method of studying cultural phenomena across cultures of the same period. In historical method, the origin, development and gradual evolution of institutions, societies and cultures are studied.

- Ethnographic method is the core of the anthropological research which is essentially based on field work.

- A researcher has to collect reliable and accurate data systematically. There are different types of data such as primary data, secondary data, qualitative data and quantitative data. Primary data is collected by the researcher directly from the field. Secondary data are the data collected by someone other than the researcher. The qualitative data are expressed in the form of words, whereas quantitative data are expressed in the form of numbers.

- Different methods and techniques are used in Anthropology. Observation is a method which means the accurate watching and noting of phenomena as occurs in nature. Observation may be divided in to uncontrolled and controlled observation. Uncontrolled observation includes participant and non- participant observation. Case study is another method employed in Anthropology which means intensive study of a case. Genealogical method is the study of one's ancestors - parents, grandparents; great grandparents and so on. The genealogical method was originally developed by W.H.R. Rivers. Survey method is systematic collection of data from a population or sample of population through the use of personal interviews, questionnaires, schedules or other data gathering tools/devices. There are general survey, specific survey, regular survey and sample survey.

- Questionnaire and interview are two important techniques adopted in anthropological research. Questionnaire is considered as the heart of social survey. Closed- ended questions, open-ended questions and contingency questions are used in questionnaires. There are structured questionnaire, unstructured questionnaire, mixed questionnaire and pictorial questionnaire. Interview is another tool/technique of data collection. Interview means 'conversation with a purpose'. There are individual interview, group interview, structured or formal interview and unstructured or informal interview. Rapport building, probing and recording of response are the process involved in an interview. Schedule is another tool employed for data collection.

44

There are different types of schedules like Observation, Schedule, Document Schedule, Rating Schedules, Evaluation Schedules and Interview Schedules.

■ One has to plan before starting the research. A design is the planned sequence of the entire process involved in conducting a research study. The steps in a research design includes, Title of the research, Statement of the problem, Purpose of the research, Review of literature, Scope of research, Objectives of study, Concepts and variables used in the research, Formulation of hypothesis, Selection of the sample, Methods of Data collection, Data analysis, Interpretation of data, Chapter scheme, Time budget and preparation of Reference list.

■ Report writing is the last activity of the research process. The content of research can be classified in to preliminary section, main body of the report, and the reference section.

TERM EVALUATION ITEMS

1. Fill in the blanks suitably
    a) Scientific method is …………in nature
        i) objective   ii) subjective
        iii) interrogative   iv) comparative
    b) The systematic collection, classification and interpretation of data are known as …………………
    c) The method used for comparing groups or social institutions within the same society is…………
    d) The method used to study origin and development of social institution is………
    e) Intensive study of single social unit is…………………

2. Distinguish between
    • Objectivity and subjectivity
    • Science as a process and science as a product
    • Comparative and cross-cultural method
    • Primary and secondary data
    • Methods and techniques of data collection
    • Interview Schedule and Questionnaire

3. Prepare an Interview Schedule for conducting interview with a shaman.

4. If you are asked to conduct an ethnographic study, which type of observation would you prefer and why?

5. Prepare a flow chart showing different types of observation and explain any two observations in detail?

6. If you are asked to conduct an interview what preparation would you take before interview and what are the steps of the interview?

7. What are the steps of research design?

8. Draw a genealogical chart of your own family and your neighboring family and identify the family type, residence pattern and descent type?

9. Prepare a questionnaire for conducting socio-economic survey of a village. It must include both open ended and closed ended questions.

10. If you are asked to collect a quantitative study of a large population. Which method would you choose and why?

GLOSSARY

Data: Any information collected for research.

Research: A re-examination into the existing situations of humans.

Research Method: Way of conducting and implementing research.

Research Methodology: Science and philosophy behind all research.
Scientific Research: Organised and systematic enquiry into a phenomenon to discover new or to verify the existing knowledge.

REFERENCE

Adams John, Hafiz T. A.Ghan, Robert Raeside and David White. 2007. *Research Methods for Graduate Business and Social Science Students*. New Delhi: Response Books.

Bernard, Russell H. 2008. *Research methods in Anthropology*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

Cauvery. R, Sudha Nayak U.K, Girija M., and Meenakshi R. 2003. *Research Methodology*. New Delhi: S. Chand.

Denzin Norman K,Lincoln Yvonna S. 2008. *The Landscape of qualitative research*. New Delhi: Sage.

Goode, William J and Hatt Paul K. 2006. *Methods in Social Research.* New Delhi: Surjeet Publications.

Hennik Monique, Inge Hutterand Ajay Bailey. 2011. *Qualitative Research Methods.* New Delhi: Sage.

Pelto, J Pertti and Gretel H. Pelto. 1987. *Anthropological research the structure of Enquiry.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Silverman, David (Ed.). 2012. *Qualitative Research* (3rd Edition). New Delhi: Sage.

Thanulingom.T. 2000. *Research Methodology.* Mumbai: Himalaya.

Young, Pauline V. 2009. *Scientific Social Surveys and Research.* New Delhi: PHI Learning.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORIES OF CULTURE

SIGNIFICANT LEARNING OUTCOMES

After completing this unit the learner will be able to:

- Identify the concepts and ideas related to various theories of cultural evolutionism, compare and classify different schools of evolutionism.

- Identify the concepts and ideas related to various theories of diffusionism, classify different schools of diffusionism and illustrate the parabolic style of cultural development.

- Demonstrate the scheme of functionalism, analyse the theory of need and distinguish the different levels of needs proposed by Malinowski.

- Distinguish the basic ideas related to structural functional and structural school of thought.

- Analyse the inter-relationship between culture and personality and analyse the role of culture in the formation and development of personality.

CONTENTS

Cultural Evolutionism

- Classical Evolutionism:

  British, American, German

- Neo Evolutionism:
  British, American

- Typology of Cultural Evolution
  Unilinear, Universal, Multilinear

Diffusionism

- British school

- German School

- American School

Functionalism

Structural-functionalism

Structuralism

Culture and Personality School of Thought

Do you know that zero was invented in India and Babylonia at the same time? Simultaneous inventions are common phenomena in scientific domain. William Ogburn and Dorothy Thomas, in 1922, listed a hundred and forty-eight major such simultaneous inventions. Look at the excerpts from www.newyorker.com magazine issued on 2008/05/12/ about some such simultaneous inventions.

Here are a few more examples.
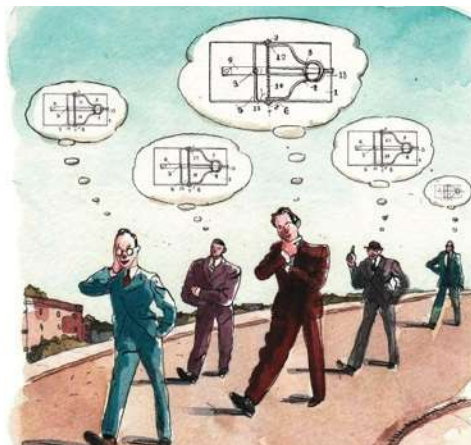
- *Newton and Leibniz both discovered calculus.*
- *Charles Darwin and Alfred Russell Wallace both discovered evolution.*
- *Colour photography was invented at the same time by Charles Cros and by Louis Ducos du Hauron, in France.*
- *There seem to have been at least six different inventors of the thermometer.*
- *There were less than nine claimants for the invention of the telescope.*
- *Typewriting machines were invented simultaneously in England and in America by several individuals in these countries.*
- *The steamboat is claimed as the "exclusive" discovery of Fulton, Jouffroy, Rumsey, Stevens and Symmington.*

How does it happen? How did the anthropologists view such phenomenon? Early anthropologists were of the view that human beings all over the world shared the same basic psychological and cognitive make up. This hypothesis was originally formulated by Adolf Bastian, the father of German Anthropology and German classical evolutionist. He then passed on this postulate to Franz Boas who in turn, transmitted the same to all his students. This principle formed the foundation of 19th century evolutionism. It has taken into account the cultural differences. The psychic unity of humankind has influenced later anthropologists including Radcliffe Brown and Julian Steward. It has even laid the foundation for what had later came to know as diffusionism in Anthropology. Diffusionism holds the view that culture traits originate at one place and spread to other places and societies. Cultural evolutionists and diffusionists differ in terms of independent inventions and spread of culture respectively. It shows, studies among other culture all over the globe undertaken

by anthropologists have resulted in the formulation of different perspectives and understandings over time. These different perspectives are examined here.

In this unit, we are attempting to explore the way earlier anthropologists explored, in their quest for understanding and explaining human society, culture and behaviour. It ultimately led to the origin and development of various anthropological theories. Let us look into the different perception of different anthropologists to understand the human culture and society.

Origin and Development of Anthropological Theory

You have already learned about the contribution of Greek philosophers and social thinkers in the formative phase of Anthropology. The origin of Anthropological thought could also be traced back to the early Greek Philosophers like Herodotus and Aristotle. However, it emerged as a separate branch of knowledge during the nineteenth century with the path-breaking theories on the biological and cultural evolution. In this regard, the contributions of Charles Darwin, E B Tylor, and L H Morgan are worth mentioning. Later, other pioneering Anthropologists like Franz Boas, W H R Rivers, Malinowski, Radcliffe Brown, Levi Strauss, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead and several others had significantly contributed to the understanding of human culture and society. The early anthropological theories, developed since the later part of the nineteenth century can be grouped under the following schools.

- Evolutionism
- Diffusionism
- Functionalism
- Structural-functionalism
- Structuralism
- Culture and personality school of thought

Among the above schools of thought, the establishment of evolutionary theory in Anthropology literally marked the beginning of the subject Anthropology. You have already studied about theories of biological evolution in lower classes. Let us now examine how evolution is said to be operating in the cultural sphere.

CULTURAL EVOLUTIONISM

What is evolution?

You have learned that it is a process of gradual change from simple form to complex form. This is applicable to both biological aspects and social cultural aspects. In biological evolution, modifications or changes are seen in the physical structure of organisms. Likewise, in cultural evolution, where would we find changes or modifications?

Obviously the changes are taking place in the manifold aspects of culture including, technology, economy, social institutions, art and literature.

Differences of opinion exist among anthropologists regarding the evolution of culture. These differences in perception led to multiple theories of cultural evolution. All the theories related to cultural evolution are collectively known as cultural evolutionism in Anthropology.

Cultural Evolution may be defined as a process by which different successive forms in socio-cultural institution or culture of humankind are developed over different periods of time.

For systematic discussions of the views and contributions of evolutionists, they are classified at two levels - **classical evolutionists and neo-evolutionists**. Secondly, on the basis of nationality of the proponents, evolutionism is divided into British, American and German classical evolutionists and British and American Neo-evolutionists. This may be portrayed by the following chart:
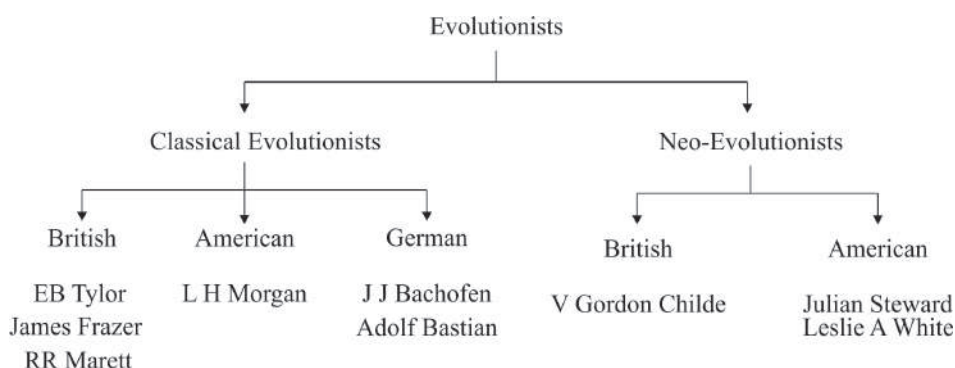
Fig 2.1 Classification of Evolutionists

Classical Evolutionism

The main proponents of classical evolutionism are E B Tylor, James Frazer, R R Marret, L H Morgan, J J Bachofen and Adolf Bastian. They are also known as unilinear evolutionists as they believed that human culture evolved in unilinear sequence, stage after stage, simple to complex. According to the unilinear evolutionists, culture of humankind was developed from the earliest stage of *savagery* to *barbarism* and finally to *civilization*. The evolutionists assumed that cultural parallel or cultural similarities come into existence

51

due to the *psychic unity of humankind,* suggesting that human minds share similar characteristics all over the world and react and think in similar ways in similar environmental conditions. This means that all people and their corresponding societies go through the same process of development. As pointed before, the invention of 'zero', simultaneously in Indian, Babilonian and Mayan culture is cited as an example of the psychic unity of humankind.

Like the invention of zero, you can find out similar instances that could be cited as evidences to the of psychic unity of human kind and prepare a note.

We have seen that the direction of cultural evolution is from simple to complex. Likewise there are certain features that are proposed by unilinear evolutionists.

Features of Classical Evolutionism

1. Human culture as a whole or social-cultural institutions evolve in *unilinear sequence*, *stage after stage- savagery, barbarism and civilisation.*
2. The direction of cultural evolution is from *simple to complex*, from *similarity to dissimilarity*, from *indefinite to definite* and from *homogeneity to heterogenity*.
3. Different stages of evolution can be established by *historical method* and *comparative method*.
4. Similarities in culture or cultural traits are caused by *psychic unity of humankind* and parallel inventions.
5. At the higher stage of culture, certain remains of the earlier stages can be traced, which are termed as *cultural survivals*. Such remains reveal the conditions about the earlier stages of human culture.

As we have seen earlier, on the basis of nationality, E B Tylor is considered as the proponent of British classical evolutionism.

British Classical Evolutionism: E B Tylor (1832-1917)

E B Tylor talked about the unilinear form of cultural growth. Hence he was called as unilinear evolutionist. Unilinear evolution means human culture evolved in unilinear sequence, stage after stage, simple to complex. Accordingly, human culture has developed through the stages of *savagery* to *barbarism* and finally to *civilization*.

Savagery ⟶ Barbarism ⟶ Civilisation

Animism $\longrightarrow$ Polytheism $\longrightarrow$ Monotheism

Tylor is called the father of modern anthropology for his contribution to the concept of culture. He gave the classical definition of culture in his book *Primitive Culture* (*1871*): "culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society".

The basic idea underlying Tylor's theory was the continuity of culture in the process of its development from previous stages to the succeeding stages. Humanity as a whole passed through the process of cultural evolution from a primitive, pre-historic stage to middle stage and finally to more advanced civilised stage, which has now been attained in our world.

E B Tylor was not an anthropologist by training. He was privately educated and was only an undergraduate. He was the first person to hold a chair in a British University. He first became a lecturer, then a reader and finally a professor at Oxford University. In 1856 he visited Mexico where he witnessed the exploration of the Perigord cave. This led to the publication of Tylor's first book *Mexico and the Mexicans,* published in 1861 from London. In his major work *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and Development of Civilization (1965)* he presented his scheme of evolution.

Stone Age $\longrightarrow$ Bronze Age $\longrightarrow$ Iron Age

Tylor opined that ***Animism*** (belief in soul) was the earliest form of religion from which ***Polytheism*** and the present stage of ***Monotheism*** have developed.

Magic $\longrightarrow$ Religion $\longrightarrow$ Science

According to Tylor, the evolution of material culture has developed from stone age, bronze age and finally to the Iron Age.

James Frazer views, all societies progress through three successive stages of evolution. These are magic, religion and science. The primitive human was unaware of things happening around them. They believed magic can control everything including nature.

American Classical Evolutionism: L H Morgan (1818–1881)

L H Morgan, in his book *Ancient Society (1877),* classified development of culture into three major periods. They are savagery, barbarism and civilization. The first two periods are again sub divided into lower, middle and upper periods. These ethnic periods and their subdivisions were defined by the following sequence of technological developments.

53

L H Morgan (1818-1881) was born in New York. He studied Law and became interested in American Indian tribe- Iroquois. He found that the culture of Iroquois Indians was rapidly changing and it should be recorded as early as possible. He gathered information on the culture of Iroquois and published a book entitled *League of the Iroquois* in 1851. He published his famous book *Ancient Society* in 1877 in which he envisioned human history consisting of three major "ethnical periods"-Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization. The first two periods were divided into sub periods denoted lower, middle and upper. Karl Marx bought a copy of Morgan's *Ancient society* and found in it a confirmation for his materialistic interpretation of history. After the death of Marx, as per the instructions left by him, Engels published *The origin of family, private property and the state, in the light of Researches of Lewis Henry Morgan* in 1884.

Morgan studied in detail the Iroquois Indian, which was published in the book *League of the Iroquois (1851)*. While he was enquiring into the rules of descent, he was struck by their system of naming the kins. An Iroquois child called one's mother's sister as "mother", father's brother as "father", grandmother's sister as "grandmother" and so on. Children of two or more sisters called each other 'brother" and "sister". Morgan called this as "*classificatory kinship system*" contrasting it with the "*descriptive system*" in which the terms of address reveal the exact relationship. Further, he received the information that the Tamils in India used a classificatory system, which led Morgan to conclude that the American Indian tribes were of Asiatic origin.

The classificatory and descriptive system of kinship may be in vogue in our society.

Find out such kinship terms and prepare a glossary of such terms.

	Ethnic Period	**Technological Development**
1	Lower savagery	Invention of speech, subsistence on fruits and nuts
2	Middle savagery	Fishing and use of fire
3	Upper savagery	Invention of bow and arrow
4	Lower barbarism	Invention of pottery
5	Middle barbarism	Domestication of animals and agriculture
6	Upper barbarism	Iron smelting and use of iron tools
7	Civilization	Phonetic alphabets and writing

German Classical Evolutionism (Continental Evolutionism):

Johnn Jacob Bachofen (1815-1877)

J J Bachofen was a classical continental evolutionist. He believed that matrilineality was the early form of reckoning kinship, whereas patrilineality was a developed form of kinship descent. Bachofen observed that matriarchy was the second stage of development, before which existed a stage of '*heterism'* or '*sexual promiscuity'* or '*sexual communism'*. The present day monogamy has evolved through polyandry and polygyny. He published his findings on matrilineal societies under the title *Das Mutterrecht* or *Mother Right* in 1861. In this book Bachofen developed the sequences of development of patriarchy.

Heterism $\longrightarrow$ Matriarchy $\longrightarrow$ Patriarchy

In the early stage, women were merely treated as sexual objects. When the kinship lines were traced through mother, the women began to assume authority. The residence was matrilocal and the inheritance of property had been from mother to daughter. When patrilineality followed matrilineality, man's dominance emerged.

The nineteenth century classical evolutionists talked about the cultural evolution with a view to find out cultural regularities or laws. In the light of new researches, the findings of nineteenth century classical evolutionists were modified by the twentieth century evolutionism. These new generations of evolutionists are known as Neo-evolutionists. Let us have a glimpse of this new position.

Neo-Evolutionism

The neo-evolutionists are not ready to accept the unilinear sequence of cultural evolution. In order to overcome all the limitations of classical evolutionary theory, a new scheme was proposed by the neo-evolutionists. They argued that the *development of culture was not unilinear, but in the form of parabolic curve*. According to parabolic curve of cultural evolution, a social institution is born in specific form in the early stage. It then develops into an entirely different form in different direction. It again moves towards the original form, but in a modified form.

For instance, the institution of property born in the form of communal ownership took the form of private ownership. Today again the concept of common ownership through stages developed. Similarly, in the beginning, humans used no clothes and they used to remain naked. Invention of clothes made it possible to cover the entire body. But these days crazy notions of fashion make some adopt scantily dress style (Nudism). This sequence

55

can also be observed in the field of sexual relation. In the early stage, it was sexual promiscuity. In the process of evolution in successive stages, monogamy came into existence, and again in the present time, arguments are made in favour of the freedom of sex. The example can be shown in a graph as below.

The evolution of human societies, according to Childe, took place under the impact of these three major events. On the basis of these, he presented the evolution of archaeological or ethnical period and cultural development as follows.

His above scheme of evolutionary sequence reveals that he was very much influenced by the evolutionary schemes of Tylor and Morgan. As Gordon Childe discussed evolution of culture of humanity as a whole, he is known as *universal evolutionist*. He placed general stages of evolution applicable to humanity as a whole, not of specific or particular culture which was the creation of local environmental factors.

According to Childe, at each stage of cultural development, humankind also developed through technological change. According to him savagery is characterised by hunting and gathering, barbarism by animal domestication and invention of agriculture, and higher barbarism by use of tools and smelting process. The development of cities, invention of writing, literature etc. are the characteristics of civilization.

Childe relied more on archaeological data and proposed a universal scheme of cultural evolution. Later Julian Steward, an American neo-evolutionist, suggested a three-fold classification of cultural evolution which is known as Typology of cultural evolution.

American Neo-evolutionism: Julian Steward

Julian Steward's contribution to the study of cultural evolution is unique. In his book *Theory of Culture Change (1955),* he suggested the **typology of cultural evolution** as given below:

1. Unilinear evolution
2. Universal evolution
3. Multi linear evolution

Unilinear Evolution: In this evolutionary scheme, it is postulated that the cultures pass through different and successive developmental stages, as a result of which, simple forms change into complex ones, and homogeneity to heterogeneity. The classical evolutionists like E B Tylor and L H Morgan are considered as unilinear evolutionists.

56

I   Stage
i   Common ownership
ii   Shortage of cloth
iii Sexual promiscuity

II Stage
i   Individual ownership
ii   Body covered with cloth
iii Monogamy

III Stage
I   Common ownership
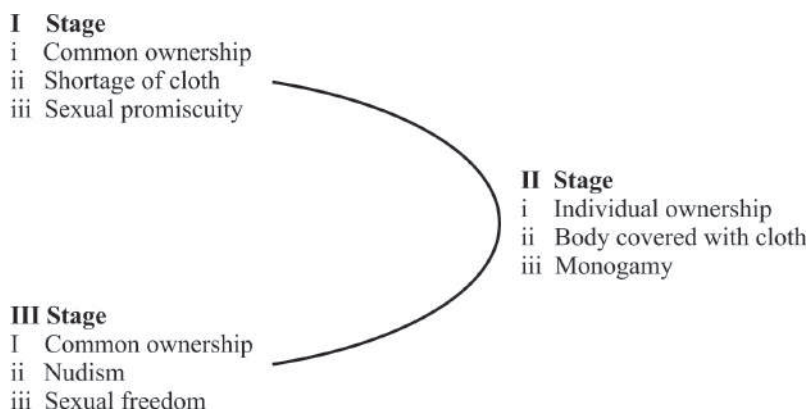ii   Nudism
iii Sexual freedom

Fig 2.2 Evolution in Parabolic Curve

We have seen that the evolution of human societies and culture is not developed on a unilinear sequence, but in the form of parabolic curve. Some of the examples are given above. You can find out similar examples and draw a parabolic curve.

The neo-evolutionism can be classified on the basis of the nationalities of the proponents. V Gordon Childe of Britain, Julian Steward and Leslie A White of America occupy the most significant place in neo-evolutionary theory. Among these scholars, V Gordon Childe is familiar to you as an archaeologist who proposed the concept of "Neolithic Revolution". We can examine his contribution as a neo-evolutionist.

British Neo-Evolutionism: V Gordon Childe

Gordon Childe was a trained archaeologist and the only pioneer of British school of neo-evolutionists. In his famous book *Social Evolution (1951),* he described evolution of culture in terms of three major events.

- Invention of Food Production
- Urbanisation
- Industrialisation

	Archaeological (Ethnical) Periods	Cultural Development
1.	Paleolithic period	Savagery
2.	Neolithic period	Barbarism
3.	Copper age	Barbarism
4.	Early Bronze age	Civilization

Multilinear Evolution: The multilinear evolutionists are interested in particular cultures. Julian Steward belongs to the group of multilinear evolutionists. Steward was of the opinion that all cultures of the world have not passed through same developmental stages, rather their stages were different in different areas. For e.g. the sequence of cultural development in ice area, desert area, forest area and plain area are different due to different environmental conditions. In order to study the interaction between environment and culture, he proposed the method of *cultural ecology*, which will be dealt in Unit 7 in this text book. According to him, various stages in evolution of different cultures are not uniform throughout the world.

Universal Evolution: It is concerned with the evolution of culture as a whole. Universal evolution of culture treats the whole culture of humankind rather than particular cultures. According to this view evolution is a universal phenomenon and every culture of the world is subjected to the process of evolution-whether it is pre-literate or advanced. This type of cultural evolution is represented by V Gordon Childe of Britain and Leslie A White of America.

Leslie A White

According to White, culture developed as the amount of energy utilised *percapita*, per year increases. The development of human being is directly proportionate to the amount of energy utilised. In other words, culture develops in direct response to technological 'progress'. This law of cultural development can be expressed through the following formula.

E x T = C

Where E = Energy;   T = Technology;   C = Culture development

His book *Evolution of Culture (1959)* deals with theoretical issues relating to neo-evolutionism. For White, socio-cultural system consists of three aspects.
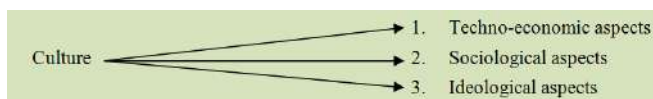
Techno-economic aspects: It includes tools and implements together with the technological and economic activities of man.

Sociological aspects: It includes social institutions like family, marriage, kinship, politics, religion, customs and laws.

Ideological aspects: This includes ideas, beliefs, knowledge, values, morals, expressions etc.

We have examined the major propositions of classical evolutionism and neo-evolutionism. Compare the basic principles of both and prepare a chart.

The evolutionists held the view that similarities in culture around the world are the result of *psychic unity*. Cultures without contact in distant areas had evolved independently. Thus, parallel inventions were the proof of *psychic unity*. However, these psychic unity positions of evolutionists were questioned by a group of anthropologists during the twentieth century. They represent the diffusionist school of thought in Anthropology.

DIFFUSIONISM

The theory of diffusion emerged in the early years of 20th century. Diffusionists view that various cultural traits and cultural complexes develop at various times in different parts of the world and later on diffuse over corresponding parts of earth. Thus, diffusionists are of the opinion that culture has growth, not because of evolution, but because of the spread of cultural traits and complexes due to historical happenings and mutual contacts. *Cultural diffusion is a process, by which cultural traits discovered or invented at one place or society are spread directly or indirectly to other societies or places.*

Discuss how the following factors are influential in the process of diffusion:

- *Relation and communication.*
- *Need for new traits.*
- *Competition with old traits.*
- *Respect and recognition towards new traits.*

59

Conditions for Cultural Diffusion

1. Any cultural group adopts the cultural traits of another cultural group, only when it is meaningful or useful either economically or socially or both.

2. In course of diffusion, cultural traits will not remain in its original form. Changes in it can take place due to different environmental situations.

3. Process of diffusion is always from high culture to low culture or developed culture to under-developed culture.

4. Process of diffusion may create culture change in the group, adopting the culture traits of other groups.

5. There are some obstacles or barriers for culture diffusion. These include lack of transportation and communication or some of the physical barriers such as ocean, river, mountain, desert etc.

Diffusionists have explained some characteristics of cultural diffusion. These are also considered as the conditions of cultural diffusion. Can you discuss the above conditions or characteristics of cultural diffusion by citing suitable examples like adoption of food items, dress pattern etc. from our surroundings?

Though diffusionists admit that cultural traits discovered or invented at one place or society, are spread to other places or societies, they have not shown unanimity as to which was the place from where culture traits reached to other parts. These differences resulted in three different Diffusionists Schools of thought in Anthropology.

Schools of Diffusionism

There are three major schools of diffusion

- British School of Diffusion
- German or Continental School of Diffusion
- American School of Diffusion

60

School of Diffusion		
British School	**American School**	**German School**
G E Smith	Franz Boas	F Ratzal
W J Perry	Clark Wissler	J W Schmidt
W H R Rivers	A.L.Kroeber	Greabner
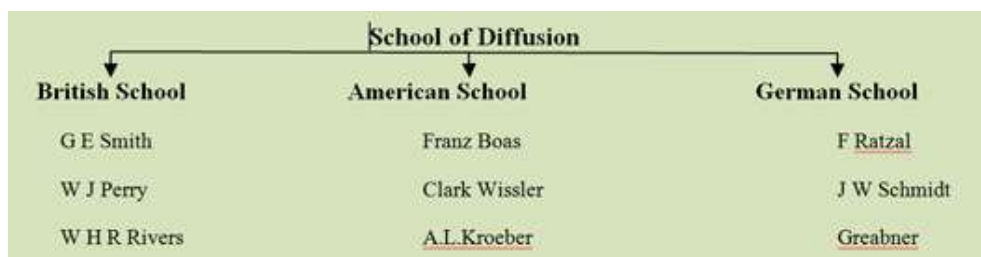
British School of Diffusionism

G E Smith, W J Perry and W H R Rivers were the main scholars of this school. They considered ancient Egypt as the cultural cradle of the world. This school of diffusion is also known as *Pan-Egyptian school.* G E Smith was the founder of this school and W J Perry was his true follower. They are also called as *extreme diffusionists* because, according to them, Egypt was the only centre of culture from where cultural traits spread or diffused to other parts of the world. As their works and findings mainly concentrated on Egypt, they are also known as *Egyptologists*. They also argued that the worship of sun which was originated in Egypt is to be found in all other parts of the world. They used migration as the main cause of diffusion.

According to Smith, ancient Egypt was favoured by natural and ecological setting and gave rise to cultivation. They invented pottery and later on, built cities. They established institutions like religion, government, laws etc. According to him, all the cultural traits developed only in Egypt, from where, it diffused to other parts of the world. Thus, he argued that ancient Egypt was the cradle of civilisation.

German or Continental School of Diffusionism

Unlike the British diffusionists, German diffusionists argued that development of culture took place not only at particular place like Egypt, but also at different places in several parts of the world, from where it was imitated or migrated to other places. They believed that discoveries of all things were not possible at the same time and at the same place.

They opined that different *circles* or *districts* were developed at different places. According to them each cultural trait and cultural complex had a circle or district from where they migrated to other places. As they talked about the spread of cultural traits from one circle to another or one district to another, their school is known as **'*Kulturekreise***

61

School' or *culture circle school* or *culture district school*. As this can be established on the basis of historical factors, their school is also known as '*culture historic school*'.

American School of Diffusion

The major proponents of American school of diffusion are Franz Boas, Clark Wissler and A L Kroeber. Franz Boas is known as the founder of American School of Diffusionism. The *culture area* is the dominant theme in the American school of diffusion. Besides, a number of other concepts such as *culture centre, culture margin, culture climax, age area* etc. are also used to explain the nature and process of diffusion.

American diffusionists divided the world into different cultural areas on the basis of geographical similarity. Clark Wissler emphasized the concept of *culture area* referring to the area in which similar culture traits or culture complexes are found. Hence American school of diffusion is also known as *culture area school*.
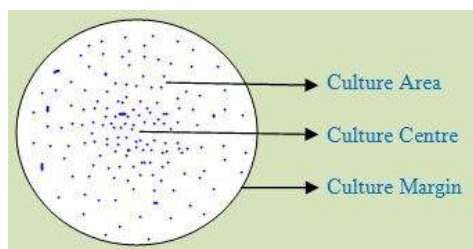
Wissler also pointed out that in each *culture area*, there is a *culture centre*. It is the core in a culture area, from where all social, economic, political and religious activities are controlled and governed. It is the geographical area where maximum culture traits are found and from where various culture traits diffuse to other parts. *Cultural margin* is the peripheral area of a culture where minimum culture traits are found. It also keeps border with other cultures.

Franz Boas (1858-1942) was born and educated in Germany. Boas became Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University in 1896, where he remained till his death in 1942. In American Anthropology, Boas occupied an image of father, hero and *guru*. He trained great many anthropologists, among whom special mention may be made of A L Kroeber, Herskovits, M F Ashley Montagu, Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead. Some of the important books of Franz Boas are: *Central Eskimo(1888), Kwakiutl Text (1905), Mind of Primitive Man (1911)* and *Primitive Art(1927)*.

A L Kroeber used the term *culture climax* as equivalent to the term *culture centre*. *Culture climax* is the portion of culture area from where most of the culture traits in the area are spread or concentrated. It also refers to that part of the area where people have the largest contact of culture.

Wissler also put forward the concept '*age area*'. It is the relative age of cultural traits based on geographical distribution. It means,

the most widely distributed trait around the centre would be the oldest one. According to Wissler, there are mainly two types of diffusions: *Natural diffusion and Organised diffusion.*

Natural Diffusion: In natural diffusion, cultural traits of one cultural group are diffused to one part of a different cultural group. It is transmitted through natural agencies or by trial and error method. It is time-consuming process and develops gradually.

Organised diffusion: In this diffusion, the cultural traits are transmitted through some organized agencies like missionary activities, military invasion etc. Organized diffusion is a very fast and quick process.

You can discuss the cultural diffusion in Indian context like diffusion of pre-Vedic and Vedic faith, Buddhism and Jainism and prepare a discussion note.

All the anthropologists hitherto mentioned have been either interested in the origin and development of culture or historical explanations of cultural origin and its spread from one geographical region to another. However, at the beginning of 20th century, Malinowski and Radcliffe Brown put forward, another approach to the analysis of culture. Malinowski put forward the theory of functionalism and Radcliffe Brown the theory of structural functionalism.

FUNCTIONALISM

The concept of function is an old concept. Take the analogy of human body and examine the function of each and every organ. Obviously, no organs exist without any function. Though different organs function differently, each and every organ is inter-related and integrated. What is the ultimate aim of the functioning of organs? It is the survival or existence of the body. Likewise, in a culture, different parts – institutions – have different functions to perform. Let us examine the position of Malinowski, an eminent Polish born, British anthropologist in this regard.

B K Malinowski was born in 1884 Poland. He received his Ph D in Physics and Mathematics. He got the opportunity to read Frazer's book *Golden Bough* and attracted to Anthropology. Later he became a Post Graduate Student at the London School of Economics. He had been trained by the greater field worker of the day, C G Seligman. He not only spend longer period than any anthropologists before and after him in a single study of 'primitive' people, the *Trobriand Islanders* of Malenesia, but he was the first anthropologist to conduct study in native language. Malinowski emphasised upon participant observation and writing ethnographic diary for all researchers, while conducting field studies.

Functionalism of Malinowski

B K Malinowski says culture is an instrumental apparatus for the satisfaction of human needs. Thus according to functionalism, institutions of a culture operate to satisfy human needs and the needs of a society as a whole. *Culture is a means to satisfy human needs.*

Malinowski views that every aspect of a culture has a function. They are all inter-dependant and inter-related. He cites the example of an engine, the different parts of which are inter-related and inter-dependant. The main function of these parts is to bring the engine in motion. If one part of the engine stops, the operation of the engine also stops. This indicates that there is a functional unity among different parts of the engine. In the same way, cultural traits and cultural institutions contribute differently to total functioning of a culture. Thus, *each culture trait or culture institution performs certain functions.* These *culture traits and cultural institutions are inter-related and inter-dependant in a culture* and fulfill the needs of humans. A culture trait, which is functionless, would not survive, and hence *there are no cultural survivals.*

Malinowski says a functionless cultural trait would not survive. Is there any cultural trait which has no function in the present context survive?

List out those "functionless" culture traits

- ………………
- ………………
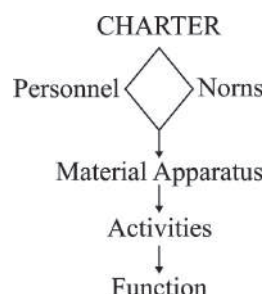
Malinowski conceives each institution as a social system consisting of personnel, a charter, a set of norms or rules, material apparatus (technology), activities and a function.

Malinowski's Theory of Need

Culture traits or cultural institutions are the means for the satisfaction of human needs. Malinowski points out that the humans have different needs such as social, economic, religious, biological, physical and mental. In order to satisfy these needs, the humans had established the social, religious, economic and political institutions. All these needs are inter-related in one way or another because they are related to the entire humanity as a whole.

According to functional approach of culture, institutions of culture operate to satisfy the needs of individuals or society as a whole. In his book, *Scientific Theory of Culture* (1944) which was published posthumously, Malinowski distinguishes three levels of needs of a society.

1. Primary/Basic/Biological needs.

2. Instrumental needs/ Derived needs.

3. Integrative needs.

Under primary needs, he includes sex and feeding. These are satisfied through the cultural institutions like marriage, family and kinship. Instrumental needs include those institutions such as economic, educational, legal and political, which help to achieve primary needs. By integrative needs, he means those that help society to integrate (cohere or unite) and include knowledge, religion, magic, art, morals and values. The theory of need provides a framework for a functional analysis of the relation among biological, psychological and cultural aspects.

From the above discussion we are now in a position to list out the salient features of functionalism proposed by Malinowski. List out those features.

Closely related to Malinowski's theory of functionalism is the theory of structural functionalism of Radcliffe Brown. he differed from Malinowski in that the latter conceived society as to fulfil the needs of the individual, while the former conceived society as to maintain its structure.

STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM

Alfred Reginald Radcliffe Brown showed how functions could be analysed in the context of structure. Hence he has been labeled as a structural functionalist.

Structural Functionalism of A R Radcliffe Brown

A R Radcliffe Brown, in his book *Structure and Function in Primitive Societies (1952)* elaborates his concept of social structure and its function. According to him, the concept of structure refers to an

A R Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955) was born at Birmingham in England. He began his career as a student of W H R Rivers in psychology, but became his first student in social anthropology in Cambridge in 1904. In 1906 he was sent out to Andaman Islands. He dutifully recorded Andamanese myths, ceremonies and customs up to 1908. His books *The Andaman Islanders* published in 1922. He read, wrote and taught social anthropology at many Universities viz. Sidney, Cape-Town, Chicago and Oxford and guided the destiny of many British anthropologists.

65

arrangement of parts or components related to one another. For example, the structure of a house reveals the arrangement of wall, roofs, rooms, windows, doors etc. Likewise, the structure of human body consists of different organs, cells, tissues, bones etc.

In social structure, the ultimate components are human beings or persons. Social structure consists of arrangement of persons in relation to each other. Within a society, the individuals are grouped into different social units and institutions. Each of these social units or institutions perform its respective functions. These are inter-related, inter- dependent and form the structure of a society.

For instance, in a village, we find an arrangement of persons into families. In family, the structure consists of the relations of father, mother, brother, sister, uncle etc. Thus, the structural feature of social life consists of the existence of social groups and its internal structure.

Types of social structure: We have seen that social structure is a continuous arrangement of persons controlled by social institutions. In a society, persons or groups change from time to time due to marriage, birth and death. This affects the structure of the society. On the basis of this, Brown classifies social structure into two:

1.   Actual social structure
2.   General social structure

Actual structure is the internal structure of the society. It is the relationsip of persons or groups, changes from time to time. New members come into being by birth or immigration, while some others will go out by death or out-migration. Besides this, there are marriages and divorces, whereby members change several times. Actual social structure may change many times.

General structure refers to the external structure of the society. This social structure is constituted by the social institutions, and it may remain relatively constant. Even though birth and death take place in society, the general structure of society remains the same. For example, the actual social structure of a family may change due to birth or death. But the institution of family remains relatively constant over a period.

Social Structure and Social Organisation: Radcliffe Brown differentiated social structure from social organization. Social structure refers to an arrangement of persons, while social organisation refers to the arrangement of activities of two or more persons. For example, organisation of factory means, it is the arrangement of activities or duties done by the manager, foreman and other labourers in a factory.

66

Why should we study the structure of a society?

In order to understand the society as a whole, one should study the arrangement of social relationships in institutionalised form.

Next to Radcliffe Brown, we can see the French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss and his approach to cultural analysis which has been known as Structuralism in Anthropology.

STRUCTURALISM

Levi-Strauss agrees with Brown that structure is an ordered arrangement of parts; but he rejected the position of Radcliffe Brown on social structure as the actual aspect of reality. That means, Brown believed that social structure is the reality. But Levi-Strauss opined that the term social structure has nothing to do with empirical reality but with the models which are built after it. Social relations are the raw materials for model building, but social structure cannot be reduced to mere social relations. The model must exhibit the characteristics of a system. For Levi-Strauss, it is a method applied in social studies.

Claude Lévi-Strauss was a French social anthropologist, Born in Brussels, Belgium in 1908 . He is often known as the "father of modern anthropology". Levi-Strauss became famous in social anthropology by implementing the methods of structuralist analysis. He conducted field research among the Indians of Brazil. He was introduced to Saussure, the legendary Swiss linguist and realized the importance of semiology for cultural analysis. His important publications include 'The Elementary Structures of Kinship' (1949), 'Tristes Tropiques' (1955), 'Structural Anthropology' (1958), 'The Savage Mind' (1962), 'Mythologiques' (4 volumes; 1964-72) and 'The Raw and the Cooked'(1970).

Levi-Strauss was concerned with the psychological factors and processes in order to explain the various cultural practices. He considered art, rituals and patterns of daily life as manifestation of culture. He related the myths, art, rituals and legends as the surface representations of the underlying structure of human mind. According to him, human mind undergoes a process of dualism. Thus there are conscious and unconscious levels of human mind. He wanted to understand how people perceive the things around them.

Could you differentiate the structural functionalism of Radcliffe Brown and the structuralism of Levi-Strauss? You can prepare a chart.

Could the study of culture or society proposed by evolutionists, diffusionists, fuctionalists and structuralists lead to any basic understanding of certain cultural practices?

67

Why do certain cultural practices emerge?

Why are there differences in personalities among cultures of same environments?

Did personality influence culture or culture influence personality?

In order to find an answer to these questions, anthropologists during 1920s analysed the cultural practices and individual psyches of communities. The result is establishment of new school of thought in Anthropology and emergence of a separate branch called Psychological Anthropology. *The primary aim of culture and personality school is to examine the interrelationship between culture and personality.*

CULTURE AND PERSONALITY SCHOOL OF THOUGHT

(PSYCHOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY)

We have studied what culture is. *Culture according to this school of thought is acquired, imitated and learned; it gives rise to character formation or development of personality traits before the period of adolescence.*

Personality refers to the integrated and dynamic organisation of physical, mental and social qualities of an individual as that manifests itself to the other people in the give and take of social life. It is a more or less consistent behaviour pattern of an individual.

Ruth Benedict was an American Anthropologist born on june 5th 1887 in New York state. She focused on the study of culture and personality. She was introduced to Franz Boas, the doyen of American Anthropology and later strongly connected with Margaret Mead. Boas became an important mentor to Benedict. The trio - Boas, Ruth and Margaret Mead- had contributed much to the development of Anthropology. In her book **Patterns of Culture** she presents ethnographic accounts of The Pueblo(Zuni) Indians The Dobu of New Guinea and Kwakiutl of the Northwest coast. Her field work among the Zuni is considered as the basis for her theory that "culture is personality writ at large". By studying these cultures, Ruth Benedict discovered the inter-connections between culture and personality. Later, she developed her concept of culture pattern in her famous book "**The chrysanthemum and the Sword**" in 1946. She died on 17th September 1948 at the age of sixty nine.

While we talk about personality we have certain notions that it is related with outward appearance and performance of an individual. But personality has certain other characteristics:

• Personality is acquired

• Every personality is unique

68

- Personality is influenced by social interaction
- Personality refers to the persistent qualities of an individual
- Personality is not a mysterious phenomena
- Personality is not related to body structure alone.

If the above listed features are the important factors related with personality, what are the determinants of personality formation? Obviously, *environment* in which one grows, *hereditary* factors, *culture* in which one is nurtured, and the *peculiar experiences* one undergoes emerge as the major determinants of personality formation.

Can you discuss how these factors influence in the formation of personality?

Let us now go through the contributions of anthropologists on the inter relationship between culture and personality.

American anthropologists such as Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Ralph Linton, and Abram Kardiner are the pioneers of Culture and Personality School of thought or Psychological anthropological theories. There are three approaches that had emerged from the contributions of these scholars to study and examine the inter-relationship between culture and personality. These include:

1. Personality builds culture.
2. Culture determines the formation of personality.
3. Culture and personality are inseparable and influence each other.

Personality Builds Culture

Ruth Benedict, the teacher of Margaret Mead and the first known woman anthropologist of America dealt with the impact of personality on culture. According to Ruth Benedict, *culture is personality writ at large*. Culture is not self-created but personality builds culture. Human beings are the creators of culture in order to fulfill their various kinds of needs. It is the individual (personality) who play significant role in handling down the culture from one generation to another. In this sense, Benedict says, culture is a gift of personality. She studied Kwakiutl, Dobu and Pueblo Zuni.

According to Benedict, there are two kinds of *genius* (personality) found in human society.

1. Apollonian
2. Dionysian

69

Apollonian: The word apollonian is from Greek god *Apollo*, the peaceful sun deity. Apollo is regarded as the god of peace, discipline, kindness and humanity by Greek people. Thus, in the apollonian pattern of culture, one finds the existence of peace, kindness and discipline. Benedict cites the example of Pueblo of New Mexico as the representative of Apollonian culture.

Dionysian: The word Dionysian is derived from the name of Greek god *Dionysius*. Dionysius is the symbol of luxurious life and drinking. In the Dionysian culture, a great deal of storms and changes are experienced. Benedict cites the example of Dobu and Kwakiutl cultures of North West coast of America as the representatives of Dionysian genius.

Dobu of Melanesia is exactly in contrast with the Pueblo in character and temperament. Among them occured frequently conflict, competition and violence. They usually used magic to harm others. People of Kwakiutl do not believe in religious practices. In their culture, wealth determines status and prestige. Everyone becomes busy in earning money by one way or another. Those with less money feel ashamed on account of it.

Benedict's study clearly reveals the influence of personality on culture. The cultures of these groups differ because their members have different characters and personality. Accordingly they behave in cultural groups.

Concept of Culture Pattern: This concept, which was already known among anthropologists to refer to the universal patterns of culture, is elaborated in her famous book *Patterns of Culture* (1934). Benedict tries to show the concept of patterns of culture as applicable to individual culture. A culture pattern is formed when many cultural traits and culture complexes become related to each other, and integrated in functional whole. In our Indian culture, culture pattern consists of Gandhism, spiritualism, joint family system, caste system, ruralism etc. Each of these culture complexes consists of numerous culture traits. All these, integrated in a functional whole, give rise to culture patterns of Indian culture.

Benedict's Study on National Character

During Second World War, anthropologists were not allowed to conduct field studies among the natives. Hence, Ruth Benedict turned towards the study of National Character. She was associated with the US government as a social science analyst. During the war, she made a significant contribution in developing ***content analysis method*** to ***study culture at a distance***. Ruth Benedict selected the Japanese prisoners kept in American concentration camp for studying national character of Japan. In the absence of intensive

70

field work, it was difficult for her to study Japanese national character. She selected the method by examining historical documents of Japanese literature and art forms. She interviewed Japanese prisoners in America, went through their diaries, took life histories and case study. She also interviewed Japanese immigrants in USA. As a result of this study, she came out with her book entitled *Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946). The book deals with Japanese national character.

Chrysanthemum is a national flower of Japan. It symbolizes socialization process of Japanese children. The Japanese parents take every care of their children who blossom like the chrysanthemum flower. During adolescence, they have to face the situations of utter strain. As a result, they become aggressive and violent. A sword is always hung on their necks. Ruth Benedict compares the personality of childhood in Japanese culture to is like Apollonian genius, but the personality of adulthood is like the Dionysian genius.

Culture Determines the Formation of Personality

Margaret Mead, through her study, attempted to show the impact of culture on personality formation. In her view, an individual adopts not only material aspects of culture i.e. house, tool, furniture etc. but also non-material aspects of

Margaret Mead was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on December 16, 1901. Mead was a student of Franz Boas at Columbia University department of Anthropology. She completed her Ph.D at Columbia. She has conducted fieldwork in Samoa to study the life of adolescent girls. She learned the native language and lived there as one of the girls in a Samoan household. She found that young Samoan girls experienced none of the tensions American and European teenagers suffered from. She showed that the kind of social organisation exist in Samoan culture was responsible for making the easy transition to adulthood from adolescent age. After that she beame the curator at American Museum of Natural History where she published her famous book, *Coming of Age in Samoa in* 1928. Her interest in psychiatry turned her attention to study the cultural context of schizophrenia and dissociation and went to Bali for field work, where she used a new technique called photographic method. She contributed much to the development of psychoanalytic theory by emphasizing the importance of culture in personality development. Mead has realized the importance of culture in developing personality. She had also contributed to the field of national character research. Her later works include Growing up in New Guinea (1930), Male and female (1949), Growth and Culture (1951). For her, anthropology was an urgent calling, a way to bring new understandings of human behavior to bear on the future. When Margaret Mead died in 1978, she was the most famous anthropologist in the world.

71

culture, such as religion, tradition, custom, rituals, beliefs, values and ideals. It is culture which teaches an individual to behave in a particular way. An individual learns a culture through the process of enculturation and assimilation. Mead studied the impact of culture on personality through her study of three primitive societies namely, Mundugumor, Arapesh and Tschambuli. Though these people live in the same geographical region, they have different characters and personalities because of difference in their cultures. In short, according to Mead, culture influence the personality formation of individual.

In her book *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935), which is a psycho-cultural study, Mead deals with the impact of culture on personality. Mead had selected three societies of New Guinea namely Arapesh, Mundugumour, Tschambuli, residing in the same geographical region. Mead was interested in the study as to why societies living in same area differ in their character and personality. Mead's study reveals that the difference in personality of male and female in the same society or in different societies are due to cultural differences.

In the personality of Arapesh, there is no conflict, competition and struggle. They are co-operative, peace-loving and kind. The character of Mundugumour, another cultural group living in the same area, is in contrast with Arapesh. The Mundugumour are characterised by suspicion, competition, quarrel and jealousy. Both male and female are aggressive. Because of these factors, the Mundugumour society is dominated by aggressiveness in the formation of their personality. The status of a male is determined on the basis of the number of wives he has. The greater number of wives one has, the higher is his status. The multiple wives disturb the peace of the family atmosphere. Marriage by exchange is also prevalent in the culture. Accordingly, a husband is capable of exchanging his own daughter for his new wives. Marriage by exchange brings conflict between father and son. Father wants to exchange his own daughter for his own marriage, so also the son. The mother does not like to exchange her daughter for a new wife. Hence Mundugumour culture is characterized by continuous struggle, competition and conflict among the members of society.

The third cultural group of New Guinea, which Margaret Mead studied, is Tschambuli. Here, the males possess submissive character whereas the females possess aggressive character. In this society, while the female is free to select her husband, the male is dependent upon the females. The males attend to the domestic chores like cooking, cleaning houses, caring children etc. Because of these cultural facts, the Tschambuli men developed kind, peaceful and submissive personality and the females possessed aggressive character.

72

Thus, through the comparative study of three cultures in the nearby geographical region, Mead has established the influence of culture on personality formation.

Mead's Contribution to the Study of National Character

A nation can be defined as a human group having the inhabitants within a particular geographical region, having common tradition, interest and common sentiments. National character is the totality of tradition, interest and ideal which are widespread in a nation. This includes geographical unity, language, community, races and political unity. The sum total of the common characters possessed by the individuals of a nation constitutes national character. In her national character study, Mead had concentrated on the analysis of films, scanning news papers, letters, and diaries of individuals and similar other documents. It is also supplemented by interviews with immigrants, their life histories and conducting psychological tests. Mead edited a book, entitled *Study of culture at a distance* (1953), based on her national character study. This book deals with methodology of studying national character without making direct observation, hence the name 'culture study at a distance'.

Mead published another book entitled *And Keep Your Powder Dry* (1942). In this book, Mead deals with the national character of America. She did not see differences in the personalities of the child in America and that of any other countries like Japan and Russia. Their early personality was similar. They gradually become different as the family education and school education differ. In this way, culture and personality developed in them reflect their national characters.

Culture and personality are inseparable and influence each other.

The scholars such as Ralph Linton and Abram Kardiner believed that culture and personality are influenced by each other. They are inter-related, inter-dependent and inseparable.

SUMMARY

- The origin of Anthropological thought could also be traced back to the early Greek Philosophers like Herodotus and Aristotle. However, it emerged as a separate branch of knowledge during the nineteenth century with the path-breaking theories on the biological and cultural evolution. In this regard, the contributions of Charles Darwin, E B Tylor, and L H Morgan. Later, other pioneering Anthropologists like Franz Boas,

73

W H R Rivers, Malinowski, Radcliffe Brown, Levi Strauss, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead and several others had contributed to the understanding of human culture and society.

- Cultural Evolution may be defined as a process by which different successive forms in socio-cultural institution or culture of humankind are developed over different periods of time.

- Classical evolutionists are classified at two - classical evolutionists and neo-evolutionists. The main proponents of classical evolutionism are E B Tylor, James Frazer, R R Marret, L H Morgan, J J Bachofen and Adolf Bastian. They are also known as unilinear evolutionists.

- Neo-evolutionists argued that the *development of culture was not unilinear, but in the form of parabolic curve*. According to parabolic curve of cultural evolution, a social institution is born in specific form in the early stage. It then develops into an entirely different form in different direction. It again moves towards the original form, but in a modified form. V Gordon Childe of Britain, Julian Steward and Leslie A White of America occupy the most significant place in neo-evolutionary theory.

- Cultural diffusion is a process, by which cultural traits discovered or invented at one place or society are spread directly or indirectly to other societies or places. Diffusionist school of thought is divided into three - British, German and American. British diffusionists argued that Egypt was the only centre of culture from where culture traits diffused to other parts of the world. German diffusionits opined that culture circles or districts were developed at different places from where culture traits and culture complexes migrated to other places. The culture area is the dominant theme in American school of diffusion.

- At the beginning of 20th century, Malinowski and Radcliffe Brown put forward, another approach to the analysis of culture. Malinowski put forward the theory functionalism and Radcliffe Brown the theory of structural functionalism. Malinowski says culture is an instrumental apparatus for the satisfaction of human needs.

- According to Radcliffe Brown, the concept of structure refers to an arrangement of parts or components related to one another. In social structure, the ultimate components are human beings or persons and they are arranged in relation to each other. Within a society, the individuals are grouped into different social units and institutions. Each of these social units or institutions perform its respective functions. These are inter-related, inter- dependent and form the structure of a society.

74

- Levi-Strauss agrees with Brown that structure is an ordered arrangement of parts; but he rejected the position of Radcliffe Brown on social structure as the actual aspect of reality. Social relations are the raw materials for model building, but social structure cannot be reduced to mere social relations.

- Anthropologists during 1920s analysed the cultural practices and individual psyches of communities. The result is establishment of new school of thought in Anthropology and emergence of a separate branch called Psychological Anthropology. They studied the inter-relationship between culture and personality. According to Margaret Mead culture determines the formation of personality. Ruth Benedict opined that personality builds culture. Linton and others viewed that culture and personality are inseperable and influence each other.

TERM EVALUATION ITEMS

1. Fill in the blanks.
    (a) The invention of 'zero', made at the same time in Indian, Babilonian and Mayan culture is an example for …………….
    (b) Human culture has developed through the stages of *savagery* to *barbarism* and finally to *civilization* is the idea of …………

2. Find the odd item and justify

    (a) E B Tylor, L H Morgan, J J Bachofen, A L Kroeber
    (b) Franz Boas, W.H.R Rivers, Julian Steward, Elliot Smith
    (c) Theory of need. Charter, Kula exchange, Social structure
    (d) Margaret Mead, V Gorden Child, Ruth Benedict, Abraham Kardiner

3. Differentiate:
    (a) General social structure and actual social structure
    (b) Classical evolution and neo-evolution

4. All the cultural traits developed only in Egypt, from where, it diffused to other parts of the world. Identify the school of thought mentioned here and also write a brief note on this school.

5. Match the column A with B and C.

A	B	C
Franz Boas	Evolutionism	Trobriand islanders
E B tylor	Functionalism	Culture area
Malinowski	Diffusionism	Coming of age in Samoa
Margaret Mead	Structuralism	Andaman islanders
A R Radcliffe Brown	Culture and personality	Primitive culture

6. Prepare a flow chart on evolutionism based on different school of thought and explain any one school in detail.

7. Explain Malinowski theory of need.

8. Write short note on:

    •   Functionalism

    •   Structuralism

    •   Culture and personality

    •   Diffusionism

9. Zero was invented in India and Babylonia at the same time. Identify the corresponding school of thought based on this idea and explain.

10. Write a brief report on personality school of thought.

GLOSSARY

Culture: Distinctly human; transmitted through learning; traditions and customs that govern behaviour and beliefs.

Culture and personality: A sub field of cultural anthropology; examine variation in psychological traits and personality characteristics among cultures.

Cultural Relativism: The position that the values and standards of culture differ and deserve respect. Relativism argues that culture should be judged solely by their own standards.

Diffusion: Processes by which cultural traits discovered or invented at one place or society are spread directly or indirectly to other societies or places.

Ethnocentrism: Tendency to view one's own culture as the best and to judge the behaviour and beliefs of culturally different people by one's own standards.

Psychic unity of mankind: Ability of human mind to think and react in similar ways in similar environmental conditions.

REFERENCES

Jha, Makhan. 1994. *An Introduction to Anthropological Thought*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishers.

Roy, Indrani Basu. 2003. *Anthropology-The Study of Man.* New Delhi: S.Chand & Co.

Upadhyay, V.S and Gaya Panday. 1993. *History of Anthropological Thought*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.

CIVILISATIONAL AND VILLAGE STUDIES IN ANTHROPOLOGY

You may be familiar with the Malayalam novel - *Indulekha* - written by O Chandu Menon. The novel commences with a conversation between Madhavan, the hero of the novel and his relatives in the *tarawad*, about a quarrel that Madhavan had with his *Karanavar*. The disagreement was about giving English education to Shinnan, a juvenile member of the *tarwad*.

The following is an abstract of conversation between Madhavan and his family members.

"What is the matter, Madhavan?" said Chathen Menon. "Why did you speak so rashly? Tut, man, this is not proper. The Karanavar must do as he likes, and we must obey him. Your tongue ran away with you."

"Not a bit of it" replied Madhavan. '-'Such partiality ought never to be shown, but if he will not do his duty, why, he need not. I will take Shinnan myself and have him educated."

Fig 3.1 Chandu Menon and cover page of Indulekha

"No, no, my dear, "interposed Kummini amma, "Shinnan and I have never been separated. You may take Chather or Gopalan and have them educated. Any how the head of the house is displeased with you. I know he used to be on bad terms with us, but he always thought a great deal about you."

Madhavan wished that his *Karanavar, Panchu Menon*, should educate the little boy Shinnan. Panchu Menon, the *karanavar* of the *tharawad* did not agree with Madhavan's views and refused to pay for the boy's English education. This resulted in passing harsh words between the old *Karanava*r and the young graduate.

Indulekha is a story of the conflict between two generations – the traditional and modern. The liberating influence of western education can be seen in the conversation between Madhavan and his relatives in the *tarawad*. The novel clearly portrayes how westernisation influenced the social life of Malabar. It also gives a vivid picture of the changing pattern of village life in Kerala and the *tarawad* politics, marriage customs and culture. Indian society and culture started changing with the influence of western contact since then. India still undergoes various processes of such social mobility like westernisation, urbanisation and modernisation. Similar processes of mobility are found not only in India but all over the world. Anthropology, in its earlier period of growth had concentrated on the study of simple homogenous societies. A paradigm shift can be seen in anthropological research towards the study of village and urban communities in the latter half of 20th century.

79

Civilizational School in Anthropology

The Chicago school of thought in Anthropology initiated such a paradigm shift, both in terms of methodology and perspective. The change was initiated by Robert Redfield of Chicago University, America. His works brought a movement in the history and development of Anthropology by introducing the study of civilization. He was able to correct the erroneous concept that 'civilisation is the most developed form of culture'. His effort in this regard made him to be known as the father of Civilizational Studies. According to Redfield all the societies, ranging from simple pre-literate societies to the most modern complex societies share the element of civilization. Thus it has folk and urban dimensions. Students and followers of Robert Redfield like Mc Kim Marriot, Milton Singer and Oscar Lewis contributed much to establish *civilization school of thought* in Anthropology. They developed various concepts to understand the inter-relationship between and within folk, peasant and urban societies. Robert Redfield viewed civilization comprising of the elements of both rural and urban dimensions.

Robert Redfield was born in Chicago in 1897. He was educated in law and was a lawyer by profession, his interest turned towards anthropology when he got an opportunity to visit Mexico. Later, he took his degree in Anthropology and became the professor of Anthropology in the University of Chicago. He died in 1958.

- Can you find such rural and urban dimensions in your locality?
- Are you able to identify the difference of cultures of these different segments?

You can see that even though society is divided in to different segments as you found, the people in different segments used to interact with each other. So a comprehensive study of society and culture require the analysis of all these divisions of society. Civilisational school under the leadership of Robert Redfield started to study **village** and **urban** communities, apart from the study of folk communities.

Let us familiarise the basic concepts related to the civilizational school of thought. The three important concepts discussed by Redfield are 'Folk', 'Peasant'/Village and 'Urban' communities. You might have heard these words earlier. How do you perceive a village and an urban area?

You may collect a poem or a picture of village and urban area. Discuss how the message conveyed in the creative work differs from a report of an administrator or a researcher about the village or urban area?

80

You can find that the reports will emphasis the current realities than imaginations. Let us examine how an anthropologist perceives a folk/village or urban area as a cultural entity.

Folk Society

The picture or poem you have collected may have depicted some special elements of the particular place. What are the differences that you can identify between village and urban area? Your image is based on your understanding, isn't it? Similarly, Robert Redfield also had the image of a folk society with certain special features. During 1927-28, Robert Redfield made a trip to a traditional Mexican village, Tepoztlan. He found this village as an ideal type of folk society. He studied this village using anthropological methods and published his book *Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village* in 1930. The important characteristics of folk society, according to Robert Redfield consists *of small, isolated, homogeneous and non-literate with a strong feeling of group solidarity.* Their behavior is spontaneous, traditional, uncritical and personal. What about the perception about your village or urban area? Discuss how far the above mentioned features fit with your locality. The features of folk society proposed by Robert Redfield are summarised as follows:

Isolation: Folk societies are isolated in nature. The members of folk society live far away from the mainstream.

Homogeneity: Folk society is homogeneous in nature. They have distinctive culture. They follow same customs beliefs and practices. They share uniform pattern of life.

Small in size: Folk society has very limited members and they have close contact with each other.

Low level of education: Literacy level among the members of folk society are very low.

Strong 'we' feeling: Folk society has a strong feeling of group consciousness. They have strong community sentiments and feelings.

Direct Personal Relationship: In a folk society, there is direct personal relation among members. They know each other very well.

Simple Division of Labour: In folk societies, division of labour is on the basis of age and sex, and not on specialisation.

Importance to Tradition: The way of life of folk society is guided by tradition and customs. Even in the fast changing world, these societies stick to their age old customs and traditions.

81

Simple Technology: Folk society uses indigenous technology. The tools and implements used by them are simple in nature.

Self-sufficient Economy: Folk society is independent and self-sufficient. As they produce for their subsistence, they do not depend on others for their living.

Redfield listed all these features based on his study at Tepoztlan. Can you find these features in any of the communities in your locality? The answer may be no. Most of these peculiarities has been diluted or changed over time. For instance, the subsistent economy has given way to market oriented economy. Technology became more sophisticated. All these changed the folk society into a new type of community. Redfield called this as peasant society.

Peasant Society

Who are peasants? From the laymen's point of view 'peasant' is one who is engaged in agriculture. The Oxford dictionary defines "peasant as a person who owns a piece of land and work on it, a country man or rustic". Based on the study of peasant societies, Robert Redfield, the father of peasant studies, defines a peasant as *"a person who has effective control over a piece of land to which he has long been attached by tradition and sentiments, the land and he are part of one thing, an old established body of relationship"*.

The above definitions show that peasants are attached to the land and the entire lives of the community revolve around it. A person who owns acres of land and does all agricultural jobs with the help of labourers and a person who owns no land and works in the field of agriculturalist do not come under the category of peasant.

According to Robert Redfield, the main difference between folk and peasant society is that peasant society developed a market system, and started their contact with urban traders. In his book *Peasant Society and Culture* (1956), Robert Redfield expresses his idea on peasant society. The peasant society is in between folk and urban societies. They share many characteristics of folk society and urban society. They have strong 'we' feeling, personal relation, common interest, cultural homogeneity, belief in traditions, strong kinship bonds, magical and religious beliefs.

Redfield studied a Mayan village of Chankom in Mexico, and a peasant society in England. Through these detailed studies and comparison, Redfield came to the conclusion that peasant societies everywhere in the world possess some common characteristics. It can be summarised as follows:

82

Small size of landholding: Peasant is a person who owns a piece of land and works on it.

Sentimental attachment towards Land: Land is not merely a piece of earth for peasant, but like mother, nurtures them and fulfills their requirements. Their entire economy is dependent on land. They have a reverent attitude towards land.

Fig 3.2 Peasants at work

Hardworking nature: Peasants consider hard work as the asset of peasantry. They believe in the dignity of labour. A lazy person always becomes a burden to the peasant community.

Simple Technology of Cultivation: The Peasants follow their traditional methods of cultivation using simple technologies.

Surplus production and market: Small size of land holding combined with traditional technology of cultivation results in low level of agricultural productivity. When the production was more than required for consumption, the excess item was taken to market.

View of Good Life: According to Robert Redfield, peasant's view of good life consists of peace, happiness, security, hard work, respect for elders and reverence for supernatural.

Wide Network of Relationship: The peasants maintain wide net work of relationship within their community as well as outside society. Different types of service relationships exist among peasants and between peasants and other groups.

Observe peasant life either in your area or your neighboring place and analyse how far the above features of peasant life well-matched?

Based on the above details, we can classify societies into different categories: viz. folk and peasant. But you can also cite examples of societies which share some other features of social life. People living in city may not have direct personal relationship with each other. How do they perceive land? The sentimental approach is replaced by business outlook. What else are the changes that have taken place?

Urban society is charecterised by the following peculiar features.

- In Urban Society size of population is higher than that of peasant society.

- Population is more heterogenous. They may have migrated from different places having their own culture.

- Inter-personal relationship is not limited to caste or kin group. Instead, occupational groups, political parties and trade unions occupy a major role in forming their social groups.

- Mechanisation and Industrialisation are the other features of urban area. It necessitates the assistance of skilled labourers. So the division of labour in urban area is based on technical skill and specialisations.

    You can also find many other features in urban areas. Discuss them in your group.

    You have been familiarised with the features of folk, peasant and urban societies. Now can you find in which society you live? If you are a villager, can you identify the limit of the village and the starting point of urban area? Most often it is impossible. In Kerala, we cannot clearly demarcate where a village starts and where it ends. This phenomenon is universal. Robert Redfield studied about such a situation in a Mexican society. Based on that study he introduced the concept Folk-Urban Continuum. Let us examine this concept in detail.

Folk-Urban Continuum

    Through his study of folk and urban societies, Robert Redfield realised that folk and urban societies possess entirely different characteristics. In practice, it is very difficult to demarcate where the folk society ends and urban society begins. Many characteristics of folk societies are accepted by the urban society and many characteristics of urban societies are accepted by the folk society. Hence, we can find a continuation from folk to urban. The situation in which there is a continuation in the middle with entirely different characters on either ends is called '***continuum'***.

    In his book *'The folk Culture of Yucatan' (1941)* Robert Redfield introduces the concept of *Folk-Urban Continuum*. He developed the concept, through the comparative study of four societies from a Maxican province, Yukatan. They were Marida, a city society, Diztas, a town society, Chankom a village or peasant society, and Tuski a village representing Folk society or simple society. He placed these societies in a polar continuum. The following diagram clearly shows the polar ideal type proposed by Redfield.

84

```
Pole End A                                                    Pole End B
         |        |          |           |
         ↓        ↓          ↓           ↓
      Marida    Diztas    Chankom    Tuski (Folk)
   (City Society) (urban)  (Peasant)
```
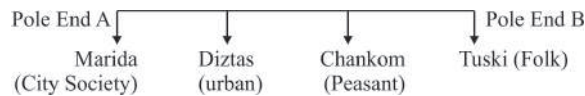
Here Tuski is at one end of the pole, representing Folk society and Marida at the other end, representing the city society. Tuski is characterised by over-dependence on nature and simple technology, with kinship-based groups and cultural homogeneity. Marida is characterised by artificial relationship with nature and advanced technology, with occupational groups and heterogenous culture. But Chankom, the peasant society resembles both the Folk society of Tuski and the urban society of Diztas in many aspects. At the same time Diztas, the urban society, shares many characteristics with peasant society Chankom, such as the presence of market, daily coming and going, existence of middleman etc. It also shares many characteristics with the city society Marida. Thus, there is a continuum with entirely different characters on either end. But Redfield considers both Marida and Diztas commonly as urban society and Chankam and Tuski as folk society.

When a folk society comes in contact with an urban society, it accepts many characteristics of the urban society, thereby losing its features in the passage of time. We cannot draw a demarcating line to separate folk society and urban society. The peasant society lies in between folk and urban i.e. between non-literate and literate, simple and complex, underdeveloped and developed societies. There is a continuum in the middle, a continuation with entirely different characteristics on either end that is folk-urban continuum.

Folk-urban continuum is a universal process taking place all over the world as a result of the interaction among folk, peasant and urban communities. Find out such communities in your area and prepare an article on the changes that occur in each society as a result of this interaction.

We can see that a tribal community living in an isolated region possesses many of the features of folk society. They continue to be the folk society as long as they follow their folk identity. When a group continues its beliefs and practices for long period, it establishes a tradition. While discussing the concept of tradition Redfield elaborates it in the following way.

Tradition

The word tradition means '*to transmit*'. Traditions are transmitted values and behaviour of any community which has been persisting over a period of time. Traditions

are part of culture, and it is observable through oral behaviour, social behaviour and material behaviour. Redfield categorised traditions into two-great tradition and little tradition.

Great tradition and Little tradition

According to Redfield, every society consists of two types of traditions, the tradition of elite class people, and the tradition of non-literate common people. He proposed these concepts in his book *'Peasant Society and Culture'* (*1956*). The tradition of elite people, transmitted through schools, religious centres, written books etc. in a formal way is called great tradition, and the tradition of common people which are transmitted orally from one generation to another is called little tradition.

Great tradition is formal, literate and written, whereas little tradition is informal, unwritten and oral. As great tradition is written and formal, it is spread in a wide geographical area, and little tradition is more or less localised. Though the great tradition and little tradition are separate in origin they are interdependent and interact with one another. Following is a chart showing difference between great tradition and little tradition.

Great Tradition	Little Tradition
Tradition of elite class people	Tradition of non-literate peasant/common people
Emerged from urban centres	Emerged from folk community
Based on religious text	Mostly based on traditional beliefs
Transmitted through formal centres and religious text	Transmitted orally
Spread in a wide area	More or less localised
Organised	Unorganised

These concepts can be understood from another angle also. That is, every society consists of great and little communities. The tradition of great community is called great tradition and the tradition of little community is called little tradition

In Indian context, the Hindu community is considered as great community and it carried great culture and social structure. Within the boundaries of great communities, there are many little communities and their traditions. These communities are found in the rural and tribal segments of the society. The beliefs and practices associated with the religious texts like Gita, Ramayana, Upanishads, Bible and Quran which are transmitted

through formal centres are called great traditions.The folklore, religious practices, magical rituals whose references are not found in the religious epics and which are transmitted orally constitute little tradition.

Mc Kim Marriot and Milton Singer, the students of Robert Redfield who came to India and studied village communities, applied these concepts in Indian context and formulated various theories like Universalisation and Parochialisation.

The religious centres like Gaya, Varanasi etc have great traditions, they have traditional temples where offerings of worship and teachings of Sanskrit is done by sacred specialists. These sacred specialists also try to popularise the myths and legends, associated with the places and shrines, to peasants. Thus religious attitude develop in the mind of peasants and as a result of which several rituals and practices come into being. These are performed by Hindu folk on different occasions. These sacred specialists mediate between great and little traditions and propagate great traditional elements to little tradition.

Universalisation and Parochialisation

You have already studied the concepts, great tradition and little tradition. You may also have cited local examples of these two traditions. At Andalloor kavu near Thalassaery in Kannur district, people worship *Daivathar, Angakkaran*, and *Boppooran*. Theyyams of these gods are performed during the festival. We can see that this belief which is local and transmitted orally is the part of little tradition. But these dieties are equated to the great traditional deities such as Sreeraman, Lakshmanan, and Hanuman respectively. Here we cannot place this belief in either of the traditions. Why did it happen? It can be due to the upward and downward movement of traditions. This type of movement in different traditions was studied by Mc Kim Marriot, the student of Robert Redfield. While studying about different traditions, Marriot recognised that great and little traditions do not remain as separate compartments, but move towards each other.

Fig. 3.3 Theyyam Andaloorkavu, Kannur

According to Marriot, the elements of great tradition move towards little tradition and the elements of little traditions move towards great tradition. He named these movements as universalisation and parochialisation. The upward movement of the elements of little tradition to become a part of great tradition is known as *Universalisation*. *Parochialisation* is the

87

opposite process of *Universalisation*. It is the downward movement of the elements of great tradition to merge into little tradition.

Great Tradition

Universalisation ↑   ↓ Parochialisation

Little Tradition

Marriot introduced these two concepts in his book *Village India* published in 1955. He cites the example of *gobardan pooja* conducted by the people of Kishangarhi as an example of parochialisation. Govardhanagiri, a hill located about 40 KMs away from Kishangarhi is worshipped as part of great traditional belief. It was believed that Lord Krishna saved people from the furious Indra by taking Govardhan hill as an umbrella. This belief came down to become the local tradition. People at Kishangarhi worship heaps of cowdung, imitating the belief of gobardhan. Marriot consider this as a parochialised form of Govardhan puja. (Gobardhan, in Hindi means cowdung and govardhan means the hill govardhan) Likewise Marriot suggests the example of adoption of little traditional beliefs by the great tradition. For instance he says, the Rakhi or Raksha bandhan is a universalised form of *Saluno festivel* practiced at Kishangarhi.

You may site similar examples of Universalisation and Parochialistaion in your locality. Collect details about it and prepare a write up for discussion.

As you know, the above said concepts were the result of detailed anthropological study of villages. Some other American anthropologists conducted extensive village studies in different parts of the world following Chicago School of thought. They noticed the regularities in cultural behaviour among the people living in similar economic conditions. The concepts like *culture of poverty* and *rural cosmopolitan* were developed on the basis of such observations.

Culture of Poverty

Oscar Lewis, an American Anthropologist of Illinois University is well known for his contribution of two major concepts namely, *culture of poverty* and *rural cosmopolitan*. Through his studies of Mexican communities, Oscar Lewis demonstrated how poor economic conditions

Fig. 3.4 Oscar Lewis

pave way to similar behaviour and expectations. Mexicans belonging to the same poor social-economic background can be marked by the development of despair, fear, non-involvement in modern games and shy nature. He observed that this behavioral pattern is common to people living in similar economic status. So, he introduced the term *culture of poverty to indicate the regularities of personality among people living under deprived social conditions.*

Rural Cosmopolitan

The concept *rural cosmopolitan* was developed by Oscar Lewis through the comparative study of an Indian village Ranikhera near Delhi and Mexican village Topoztlan. According to him, in the Mexican villages, people are inward-looking, and marrying within the village. Inter-village relationship is found only in trade; no cultural bonds are recognised with other places. They are self-contained nuclear grouping. On the other hand, Indian villages maintain a complex network of relationship. Members of Indian village has a deep sense of ownness, which is not confined among humans, but between humans and land, house, cattle, bird, trees, and all other natural objects. The land relation, marital relation, religious order, political organisation and business build an extended relationship in Indian Villages. He called these extended relationship as rural cosmopolitan. Indian villages are part of multiple inter-village networks and lineage ties with over four hundred other villages and thereby making a kind of rural cosmopolitan.

In the above concept rural cosmopolitan, Oscar Lewis examines the inter village network and extended relationship in Indian villages. As you know, caste is one of the important factors that contribute this relationship. Indian caste system is a unique one that has to be studied seriously, because it has unprecedented influence not only on the day-to-day life of caste groups but on the entire social fabric.

What do you know about Indian caste system?

Study of Indian villages is incomplete without the proper knowledge of its caste system. Different aspects of caste system in India are detailed in the unit *People and Cultures of India.* There were many studies in India, by Indian as well as foreign scholars about the role of caste system in Indian villages. The study of M N Srinivas, the pioneer of village studies among Indian anthropologists was a prominent figure among them. His concepts of Dominant caste and Sanskritisation shed light on the under currents of Indian caste system and its mobility.

89

Dominant Caste

M N Srinivas developed the concept *dominant caste* on the basis of his study of Rampura village. He published this idea in his paper entitled *Dominant caste in Rampura*. According to M N Srinivas, a feature of rural life in many parts of India is the existence of dominant land owning caste. You can also find that there are certain castes which occupy dominance in your local social system. What help them to

Fig. 3.5
M N Srinivas and Cover page of his book

occupy dominance? Is it having a higher position in caste hierarchy? Is the caste having local dominance over other caste groups? M N Sreenivas identifies following factors of dominance for a caste to become dominant.

- Numerical strength
- Economic power in terms of control of resources i.e. land
- Possession of political power
- Socio-religious status

In each area, a caste having all these elements of dominance will be the dominant caste. They enjoy the decision making power regarding all aspects of that area. In some cases, a caste might possess only some of the elements of dominance, but would gradually achieve other elements and become a dominant caste.

Is caste still a dominant phenomenon in your area?

In addition to this, some other factors of dominance are proposed later on. They are western education, job in the administration and urban sources of income. They have become significant factors in contributing to the prestige and power of particular caste groups in the villages. The introduction of adult franchise and local self-governing system in villages after independence, have resulted in giving a new sense of self-respect and power to lower castes. They enjoy reservation of seats in all elected
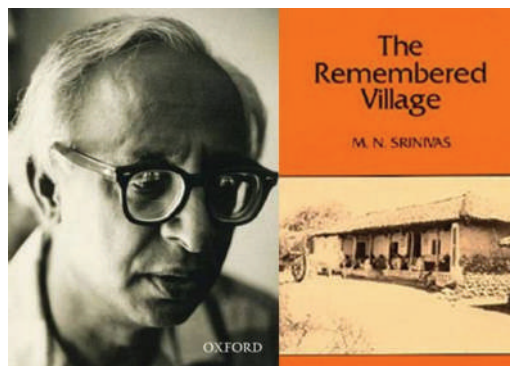
bodies from village to union parliament. In modern times all these factors effect in weakening the position of dominant castes. In most of the cases the decisive role is taken by political parties, dominant individuals and other dominant groups.

M N Srinivas has been talking about the dominance enjoyed by certain caste groups in our society. Society is changing fast and new types of dominance are seen emerging in the villages in India in course of time. Find out the kind of dominance existing in your area and prepare a report on the nature of dominance.

You know that the status of individuals in the society was once determined by the caste in which they were born. The lower castes were the sufferers under this system. In order to escape from the clutches of upper caste discrimination, several mobility tactics were employed by lower caste groups. One of such tactics was imitation of the life styles of upper twice-born castes. This phenomenon was also studied by M N Srinivas which was later came to be known as sanskritisation.

Sanskritisation

In Tamil Nadu, a lower caste known as "Padayachi" changed their name during census enumeration. Instead of their age old name, they returned themselves as '*Vanniyakula Kshatriya*''. We can consider this as a mobility tactics to change their status in the caste hierarchy.

Why do people try to imitate the caste who exploits them?

Have you observed similar mobility tactics employed by any caste groups in your area?

Similarly some caste groups are also seen imitating the life styles of higher castes in our area. This process of imitating higher castes is termed as sanskritisation by M N Srinivas.

The concept of Sanskritisation was introduced by M N Srinivas in his significant study, '*Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*' (1952). He was of the opinion that sanskritisation is the process by which people belonging to a lower caste in the caste hierarchy, try to imitate the life styles, customs, traditions and practices of upper castes, in order to improve their social status. By doing so, the lower caste people believe that they will be accepted as higher caste. In his study of the Coorgs in Karnataka, M N Srinivas noticed a tendency among the Adi-dravidas to imitate the Brahmins by accepting vegetarianism, following teetotalism,(avoid using alcoholic drinks) changing their objects

of worship, applying sandal paste on the forehead, and following the way of life of the Brahmins. They believed that by imitating this life style, they would be accepted as Brahmins, after one or two generations. M N Srinivas named this phenomenon as Brahminisation. Later, he observed that this process of imitation is not always limited to the Brahmins alone. The lower caste people also try to imitate the Kshatria and Vaishya models. Hence, he replaced the original term *Brahminisation* with the term '*Sanskritisation'* to give it a wider applicability.

M N Srinivas defines *sanskritisation as a process by which lower caste or tribe or other groups takes over the customs, rituals, beliefs, ideology and lifestyles of a higher caste and in particular, the twice-born caste.*

Suggest the instances of sanskritisation in your locality? Prepare a report on it and examine how it affects the local social structure.

In many cases, the lower caste people who try to sanskritise had to face the hostility of upper caste. Even if the lower caste people dressed neatly, and adopted a 'better' life style, new names, manners, customs and practice, it may not result in the upgrading of their status. You can discuss reasons for such phenomenon in the context of caste hierarchy in India. Upper caste people, in such situations, resort to another method of mobility-westernisation due to the impact of British rule in India.

There are many instances of higher castes claiming lower status in order to claim reservation. Is the process of sanskritisation still taking place in our society?- Debate and prepare a report.

Westernisation

Did you notice the uniform dress code adopted by judges and advocates in Indian courts? Was it part of traditional Indian dress pattern? This change in the dress pattern was due to the influence of British rule in India.

You can find out and discuss similar instances of such impact during and after the150 years of British rule in India. M N Srinivas has studied this process of imitating British way of life and introduced the concept known as westernisation. According to him, *westernisation refers to the changes bought to Indian society and culture during the 150 years of British rule.* These changes are visible in technology, institutions, structure, economic set up, education, ideology and values. Let us discuss how these changes are visible in our daily life.

Recall the conversation between Madhavan and his relatives on the matter of giving English education to Shinnan, given at the beginning of this unit. Discuss how British education brought changes in Indian society? Has it weakened the caste system?

The British brought a common rule in India instead of the rule of local kings. Introduction of education resulted in the weakening of rigidity in the caste system. British education had brought the members of all castes under a common roof. Educated people realised the evils of Indian caste system. The socio-religious reform movements fought against the evil practices like *sati* system, untouchability and ill-treatment of widows.

You have already studied about sanskritisation. Can you point out the major differences between sanskritisation and westernisation?

In westernisation, the emphasis is on materialism rather than spiritualism. It is characterised by individualism, liberal approach towards various problems of the society, humanism, equality, egalitarianism and rationalism. It also led to the establishment of scientific, technological and educational institutions, rise of nationalism, new political culture and leadership in the country.

Let us discuss how westernisation influenced the structure of our family, economy, political system, transport, communication and all other walks of social life. Westernisation led to the disintegration of joint family system and induced the emergence of different social reform movements. It led to the disintegration of small and cottage industries, promoted variety in cultivation, introduced new measures in land management, promoted democratic values and ideas, national consciousness, social justice and uniform administrative system in the country. Introduction of postal facilities, railways, newspapers and periodicals fastened the process of westernisation. Many castes had given up their traditional occupation and accepted new opportunities. They ignored the rules of ritual pollution, dietary restriction and began to marry outside their caste or religion. Thus, a total change in the socio-economic, religious and political level had been noticed as a result of the process of westernisation.

The so-called lower castes got more opportunities to sanskritise themselves, and subsequently raise their social status. When the lower castes try to sanskritise and improve their status, the upper castes try to westernize to improve their condition. There is an argument that westernisation promoted the process of sanskritisation. Do you agree with this? Let us debate on this topic.

We can see that the above discussed concepts of sanskritisation and westernisation deals with the changes in village and urban life. Changes in social structure and values are

93

affected by economic development also. Modernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation are some of the effects of economic development on traditional social structures and values. You shall discuss these concepts in the unit Social Cultural change.

Is modernisation different from westernisation?

Apart from proposing the concepts related to the process of social cultural changes like sanskritisation, westernisation, modernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation, Civilisational school of thought formulated other concepts related to the Indian civilisation.

The Sacred complex studies put forth by L P Vidyarthi is prominent among them.

Sacred Complex

Redfield's concept of great tradition and little tradition provided an insight to understand Indian civilization. L.P. Vidyarthi, a student of Robert Redfield, undertook studies of Indian villages, using the theoretical framework developed by Robert Redfield and Milton Singer, American anthropologists of civilizational school. Through his study of the Hindu pilgrim centre Gaya, located in Magadh, in Uttar Pradesh, L.P. Vidhyarthi developed the concept of *Sacred Complex*. According to L.P. Vidhyarthi, *it is a synthesis of Sacred Geography, Sacred performance and Sacred Specialists*. In his book S*acred Complex of Hindu Gaya*, L.P. Vidyarthi explains that this place of pilgrimage reflects a level of continuity, compromise and combination of great tradition and little tradition. In the sacred centres, sacred specialists transmit certain elements of great tradition to the rural areas of Indian population. The sacred performance consists of all shared activities in the sacred centres, and the sacred geography consists of the place which is significant in the pilgrim centre. Sacred performers are led by the Brahmin priests, who are part of the great tradition. At the same time, the pilgrims are from all over India, majority of whom follow the great tradition, for their existence many of them financing for the construction of temples and to provide livelihood to the priests.

You can find out the examples of sacred complex, consisting of sacred geography, sacred performance and sacred specialists across different religions. Prepare digital presentations on these different sacred complexes in India.

Robert Redfield has made unprecedented influence on various aspects of studies in Indian civilisation and change. Taking inspiration from his 'continuum', scholars like Bailey and Surajith Sinha had studied the social situation in India and proposed the concet tribe-caste continuum.

Tribe-Caste Continuum

You have seen that the concept 'Continuum' means a continuation with entirely different characters on either end. Such continuum is visible among the tribes and castes of India. When scholars like Bailey and Surajith Sinha studied the social situation in India, they realised that Tribe-Caste continuum, is the process of social mobility taking place among Indian villages and tribal communities.

Indian society is composed of large number of castes and tribes. The early census works found it difficult to differentiate the people belonging to castes and tribes. According to Bailey, both Caste and Tribe are being transformed; with one merging into another. Tribes had accepted many characteristics of castes, in addition to their own characteristics. Hence, there is a continuum, with entirely different characters on either end.

Surajith Sinha opines that the lower castes in India seem to share with tribes, the emphasis of equality in social behaviour within their ethnic group, by giving considerable freedom for women in cultural activities. On the other hand, some elements of caste system like beliefs in Aryan Gods, popularity of epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata, recognised in Tribal culture results in Tribe-Caste Continuum.

Caste is a reality in India and it influences not only the tribal cultures but the entire village life. Caste in Indian village maintains several kinds of service relationships with other castes. Each caste in India has a traditional occupation of its own. To ensure labour supply to the land owners and to get jobs for the labourers, caste system in India propitiated traditional occupation to the peoples of each caste group. There developed a socio-economic system of mutual inter-dependence in northern India, known as jajmani system.

Jajmani System

The concept of Jajmani system was first reported by William H Wiser in his pioneering work '_The Indian Jajmani System_' (1936). He carried out his study in a village called Karimpur in Uttar Pradesh. Under this system, each caste group within a village is expected to give certain standardised services to the families of other castes. Here, each person works for a particular family or group of families.

A typical study by Oscar Lewis from Rampur village of Utter Pradesh shows the relationship between Jats (land owners) and other servicing castes like Kumbar (potters-supply earthen vessels), Lohar (black smith-supply agricultural tools), Khati (carpenters- supply wooden tools and their repairing), Nai (barber-do shaving and cutting of hairs) and Benji (sweepers- sweeping the house of the Jajman).

Their occupation is based on hereditary ties. This tieup is continued generation after generation such as father to son, and son to grandson, and so on.

95

The jajmani system is essentially an agriculture based system of production and distribution of goods and services. Through jajmani relations, the servicing castes like artisans, barbers and washer men get linked with the land owning dominant castes. Thus, the barber dresses the hair of the villagers; the carpenter meets the wood work requirements; ironsmith makes agricultural implements. Jajmani system, in short, is a system of social, economic and cultural ties between different caste groups.

A *Jajman* is a higher caste person who receives service from a servicing caste. A *Kamin* is a lower caste person who perform his/her service to jajman (one who works for somebody – '*kam karne wala*').In Jajmani system, a *Jajman* earns so much respect that he is often referred to as Rajah (King) and Kameen as subject. Though, Wiser for the first time drew attention to Jajmani as a tradition and system, he did not know that jajmani system is universal in Indian villages.

The Jajmani System has the following characteristics:

1. ***Relationship under Jajmani are permanent***: While a Kamin has no right to leave his *jajman*, so also the *jajman* has no right to replace his kamin. This ensures life-long fixed and permanent relation between the two and rural economy remains undisturbed.

2. ***Jajmani is hereditary***: The rights of Jajmani jobs are passed on to the son, and if anyone has no male heir, jajmani rights are usually passed on to the son-in-law.

3. ***Goods against services***: This system operates without much exchange of money. The relation between jajman and kamin are not like an employer and employee. The kamin is paid either in cash or in kind. The amount of food grain given to kamin depends upon the nature of services rendered. The relation between them is not purely economic but more humanitarian. Accordingly, jajman takes full responsibility of the welfare of

Fig 3.6 Jajman and Kamin

kamin and kamin serves jajman with devotion and dedication.

4.   ***Peace and contentment***: The kamins of a jajman feel a sense of security as they are free from the worry of finding employment.

However, the jajmani system is not free from disadvantages.

- It is an instrument of exploitation and discrimination.

- It restrict the mobility of lower caste people

- ....

You can see some similarities between jajmani system of north India and *Janmi* system of Kerala. Discuss and prepare a note comparing both.

SUMMARY

- Anthropological studies up to 19th century were mainly focused on the study of pre-literate societies. Introduction of evolutionary theory of culture motivated the scholars of 20th century to study about civilization.

- Civilisational school of thought under the leadership of Robert Redfield studied different folk, village and urban communities and contributed various theories and concepts to understand the types and process of interaction taking place in these societies.

- Folk society is simple, homogeneous, isolated and independent. Peasant societies lie between folk and urban societies. They are also called as village societies. Peasants are the people who own a piece of land and work on it. They are closely attached to it. Urban society is entirely different from folk society. It is characterized by heterogeneous population, densely populated, business based occupational groups.

- Though folk society and urban society possess entirely different characteristics, in actual practice it is very difficult to demarcate where folk society end and urban society begins, there is a continuation in the middle, which Robert Redfield called folk urban continuum.

- Traditions are the transmitted beliefs and values of a culture. Redfield categorise traditions into two-Great Tradition and Little Tradition. The tradition of elite people is great tradition and the tradition of common people is little tradition. The upward movement of the elements of little tradition to become the part of great tradition is called universalisation and the downward movement of the elements of great tradition to merge into little tradition is called parochilisation.

- Oscar Lewis developed another concept - culture of poverty - by studying village communities. Culture of poverty indicates the regularities of personality among people living under deprived social conditions.

- M.N Srinivas, by studying the Village communities put forward the concept of Dominant caste, Sanskritisation and Westernisation. Dominant caste is the caste having local dominance over other caste groups in villages.

- Sanskritisation as a process by which lower caste or tribe or other groups takes over the customs, rituals, beliefs, ideology and lifestyles of a higher caste and in particular, the twice born caste. Westernisation refers to the changes bought to Indian society and culture during the 150 years of British rule.

- L.P Vidyarthi, under the influence of Chicago school of thought, studied the sacred centres in India and developed the concept sacred complex. According to him, Sacred complex is a synthesis of Sacred Geography, Sacred Performance and Sacred Specialists.

- Tribe-caste continuum is another social process seen among Indian villages, which means, though tribe and caste possess entirely different characteristics, in actual practice it is very difficult to differentiate them. However, many tribes had accepted the characteristics of castes and many castes had accepted the characteristic of tribe.

- A sort of socio-economic condition exists in North Indian villages, which was termed as *Jajamani system*. It was first reported by W H Wiser.

TERM EVALUATION ITEMS

Fill in the blank boxes

1. Father of Civilizational Studies is
    a) Robert Redfield   b) Oscar Lewis
    c) Franz Boas   d) M N Srinivas

2. Robert Redfield introduces the concept of *Folk-Urban Continuum* in his famous book ....

3. The concept introduced in Indian context based on the continuum put forward by Redfield ....

4. Who among the following is related with Tribe Caste continuum

    a) Robert Redfield   b) Surjith Sinha

    c) W H Wiser   d) M N Srinivas

5.   Say true or false

    a. Peasant is a person who owns acres of land

    b. Literacy level among the members of folk society are very low

    c. Great tradition is the tradition of elite thinking people

    a. Little traditional elements are transmitted through religious text

6.   a) Match the column A with B and C

A	B	C
M N Srinivas	Nature Man Spirit complex	Kishangarhi
Oscar lewis	Universalisation and parochialisation	Rampur
L P Vidyarthi	Folk urban continium	Rampura
Mc Kim Marriot	Rural cosmopolitanism	Yocuatan
Robert Redfield	Dominant caste	Maler

    b) Select any two concepts from above and write short note on it?

7.   Identify the concepts introduced by M N srinivas and write a brief description about any two.

8.   Dominant caste is an important concept introduced by M N Srinivas. Identifies the factors that determine a dominant caste.

9.   Write short note on *jajmani* system.

10.   Elements of great tradition and little tradition does not remain constant it move upward and down ward. Examine?

11.   Prepare a chart showing features of folk and peasant societies.

12.   Prepare a chart showing the features of great tradition and little tradition.

99

13. Members of Indian village has a deep sense of ownness between humans and land, house, cattle, bird, trees, and all other natural objects.

   a. Identify the concept and the anthropologist behind this concept.

   b. Write short note on this concept.

GLOSSARY

Caste: An endogamous and hereditary sub division in Hindu society.

Continuum: Continuation with entirely different characters on either end.

Folk: Small, indigenous and homogenous community.

Jajman: A higher caste person who receive service from a servicing caste.

Kamin: A lower caste person who perform his/her service to jajman.

Peasant: One who own a piece of land and work on it.

Tradition: Shared set of beliefs and practices.

Tribe: An endogamous, isolated, homogeneous group claimed to have descented from a common ancestor.

REFERENCES

Hasnain, Nadeem. 2003. *Indian Anthropology*. Delhi: Palaka.

Srinivas, M.N, 1972. *Social Change in Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Singh, Yogendra.1986. *Modernisation of Indian Tradition.* Delhi: Rawat.

Srinivas, M.N. *Caste in Modern India and other Essays*. Bombay: Media promoters.

Upadyay, V S and Gaya Pande. *Introduction to Anthropological Thought.* Delhi: Concept publishers.

MEDICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

SIGNIFICANT LEARNING OUTCOMES

After completing this unit, the learner will be able to:

- Differentiate health, illness and disease and identify the role of culture in determining health.

- Evaluate the pluralistic nature of medical systems in India and examine the emerging sub-fields of critical and clinical Medical Anthropology.

- Identify features of traditional medical systems and distinguish it from modern medicine

- Identify the problems of ageing and suggest measures to protect the aged persons.

- Differentiate clinical medical anthropology from critical medical anthropology and evaluate its relevance in modern globalised world.

- Identify the concepts of diet, nutrition and illness.

CONTENTS

Meaning and scope of Medical Anthropology

- Concept of health, Illness and disease

Relationship among Culture, Health and Disease.

- Culture influence perception of disease
- Cultural practices influence disease
- Culture influences distribution of certain disease
- Culture influences the perception of treatment

Medical Pluralism in India

- Traditional and Modern Medical Systems
- Ethnomedicine

Specialised Areas of Medical Anthropology

- Critical Medical Anthropology
- Clinical Medical Anthropology
- Gerontology
- Cultural Psychiatry
- Nutritional Anthropology

Some of the people in Japan believe in the concept of 'gotai'. It refers to the ideal of maintaining bodily intactness in life and death. It is kept to the extent of not piercing one's ears (Ohnuki-Tierney 1994:235).

I want re-birth. Please dont operate me.

When Crown Prince Naruhitao was considering whom to marry, one criterion for the bride was that she has not pierced ears. Underlying the value on intactness is the belief that an intact body ensures rebirth. Historically, a warrior's practice of beheading a victim was the ultimate form of killing. It violated the integrity of the body and prevented the enemy's rebirth. 'Gotai' is an important reason for the low rates of surgery in Japan and the widespread popular resistance to organ transplantation.

The above case clearly indicates that medical practices have a direct relationship with the cultural practices of people. You can discuss similar cases and instances of relationship between health and culture in your society. You know that the branch of anthropology dealing with the relationship between health, disease and culture is called Medical Anthropology. Let us examine this new area of Anthropology in detail.

Medical Anthropology focuses on health behaviour as a way to learn about social values and social relations - Foster and Anderson (1978). Right from the very beginning, scholars of medical anthropology focused on understanding and responding to pressing health issues and problems around the world which are often influenced and shaped by human social organization, culture, and contexts (Singer, 2004:23).

Meaning and Scope of Medical Anthropology

Medical Anthropology looks at cultural conceptions of the body, health and illness. It is a sub-branch of anthropology concerned with the application of anthropological theories and methods to the questions about health, illness and healing.

102

Medical Anthropology on the grounds of its broad objectives is defined as "that branch of 'science of man' which studies biological and cultural aspects of man to understand the medical, medico-legal, medical-social and public health problems of human beings"(Hasan and Prasad,1959:21-22).

Some more definitions are given below:

- Medical Anthropology enquiry is concerned with the bio-cultural understanding of man and his works in relation to health and disease". (Hochstrasser and Tapp, 1970)

- Medical Anthropology "encompasses the study of medical phenomena as they are influenced by social - cultural features and social-cultural phenomena, as they are illuminated by medical aspects." (Lieban 1973)

You can find out more definitions of Medical Anthropology and examine its broad nature and scope.

Since the 1970s, Medical Anthropology has been one of the fastest growing areas of inquiry in Anthropology. The three main areas of interest in this are health, disease and culture. All the three concepts are interrelated and interdependent.

Concept of Health, Disease and Illness

What is meant by health in our society? Can you consider a physically strong person a healthy person? Is the concept of health the same in all societies? A close analysis of this will reveal that the lay men concept of health is different from a medical concept. Likewise, the concept of disease also varies from society to society. Let us examine the case of normal headache, cold or diabetics. Is it affecting the routine activities of a person? Do you consider it as a "disease" in your society?

From the above discussion we can find that both health and disease are culture-specific concepts. It is evident that perception of health and disease of a person living in small isolated simple society is different from that of a person living in highly complex society. The cultural variations reflect in health and disease of a given society. This is evident in some of the definitions of health.

Let us examine some of the definitions of health.

- Webster (1969) defines health as "the state of being happy, healthy or prosperous".

- World Health Organisation (WHO) has given a comprehensive definition to this concept: "Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity."

Likewise, the concept of disease is also culture specific. The term disease has two parts, dis and ease. It means 'not at ease'. ***In modern medicine, any state, organic or psychic, real or imaginary that disturbs a person's wellbeing is considered as disease.***

Disease refers to a scientifically identified health threat caused by a bacterium, virus or any other pathogen. Disease is an objectively measurable category suggesting the condition of the body. The concept of illness is different from this.

> **Concept of Illness.**
>
> The Yap islanders consider the intestinal worms necessary for digestion (Saunders, 1954), whereas Mayan Indians of Guatemala regard worm infestation unpleasant but seek treatment only when they emerge through the oesophagus (Adams, 1953).

Illness is a condition of poor health perceived or felt by an individual, belonging to a particular culture. **Illness refers to culturally specific perceptions and experiences of a health problem.** The understanding of disease is universal whereas, that of illness is culture-specific. Cross-cultural researches show that perceptions of good and bad health along with health threats and problems are culturally constructed. That is why, cold and headache are not perceived as disease, but only an illness in certain cultures.

'Illness' is a broader, term implying dysfunctional behaviour, mood disorders, or inappropriate thoughts and feelings in the social or cultural context. Medical anthropologists study both disease and illness within their cultural contexts. English-speaking people refer to a "diseased brain" rather than an "ill brain," but of "mental illness" rather than of "mental disease" (Cassell, 1979).

Many cultures have their own distinct perceptions regarding disease and illness. Find out such culture specific perception found in your society and discuss on it.

Similarly all cultures have their own concepts of health, hygiene, disease and cure. An analysis of the relationship among health, disease and culture is necessary for a comprehensive understanding of health behaviour of a given society.

Relationship among Culture, Health and Disease.

The concept of health and disease are directly related to culture in many ways. Following are some of the relationship among health, disease and culture.

Culture Influence Perception of Health and Disease

Every culture has its particular explanation for disease and health. All cultures have shared ideas of what makes people sick, what cures them and how they can maintain good health through time. The knowledge about health and disease that exists in a society is part of the cultural heritage. The medical system evolved in a given society is the result of this cultural heritage.

In modern societies a person is considered to be in a condition of disease when his/her physical, mental and emotional condition is made improper due to the affect of micro organisms. But in certain tribal communities disease is considered to be the condition that makes the person incapable of doing any routine activity. If one can do his regular activities even when he/she is attacked by micro organisms, he/she will not be considered in a state of disease. Like this, the concept of disease and health varies in cultures according to the concept of hot and cold.

Hot and Cold Concept: The belief regarding diseases and the hot cold relationships vary from culture to culture. Tribal people classify some health problems like cold, fevers and other respiratory infections as illnesses of cold (sardi ki bimariyan) and problems like ulcers, piles, genitor-urinary disorders etc., are believed to be illnesses of heat (*garmi ki bimariyan*). The cold or heat does not correspond to body temperature but rather to internal humoral state.

The concept of hot and cold is applicable to food also. This classification does not correspond to the physical properties of food. In Kerala among certain communities chicken, cardamom, wheat, egg etc are considered hot food while milk, pepper, tea, curd etc are considered cold food. Moreover the same food is classified differently in different cultures. For instance egg is considered a cool food in Thailand but it is considered hot in Bangladesh. Basic notion in the hot and cold dichotomy is that health is a temperate condition and that a balance between hot and cold elements must be maintained to avoid disease.

Find out the hot and cold concept in your culture, prepare a report and discuss it in your class.

Cultural Practices Influence Disease

Culture is considered as the collective life style of a society. Some of the modern diseases are the result of change in life style. They are termed **life style diseases.** With

rapid economic development and increasing westernisation of lifestyle in the past few decades, prevalence of diseases like hypertension, diabetis mellitus and over weight or obeisity has reached alarming proportions among the Indian people in recent years. AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Diseases(STDs) are also the result of change of culture. Smoking alone is estimated to be responsible for 22% of cardiovascular diseases in industrialised countries. Cancers and chronic respiratory diseases are also caused by smoking. According the estimates of WHO (2002), alcohol abuse is considered to be the source of 8-18 per cent of the total burden of disease in men and 2-4 per cent in women. Overweight and obesity account for an estimated 8-15 per cent of the burden of disease in industrialised countries, while high cholesterol accounts for 5-12 per cent.

Apart from this, there are recent trends to avoid food to maintain slimness of body and there by enhance 'beauty'. Anorexia nervosa (self-starvation) and a

Kuru is a neurodegenerative disease that reported among the South Fore of New Guinea. The term "kuru" is also known among the Fore as the "laughing disease" because of laughter display when affected with the disease. Kuru was transmitted among members of the Fore tribe of Papua New Guinea via funerary cannibalism. The kuru epidemic reached its height in the 1960's. The scholars who first studied the disease incorrectly suggested that it was a genetic disorder. After this possibility was ruled out, scientists next asserted that kuru was the manifestation of a slow virus. It will become evident later that both of these hypotheses were incorrect. For now, the specific symptoms of kuru are relevant in gaining a more complete understanding of the disease as a neurological disorder.

In 1961 famous anthropologist Shirley Lindenbaum conducted extensive field studies among the Fore accompanied by Michael Alpers. Lindenbaum's and Alpers research finally demonstrated that kuru spread easily and rapidly in the Fore people due to their endocannibalistic funeral practices, in which relatives consumed the bodies of the deceased to return the "life force" of the deceased to the hamlet.

related condition called bulimia (regular purging) are the recently emerging culture-bound syndromes. Anorexia nervosa's cluster of symptoms includes self-perceptions of fatness, aversion to food and hyperactivity. As it progresses, it will result in weight loss due to avoiding food and may often lead to death.

Certain cultural practices also give birth to different types of disorders among human being. Kuru disease is an example to this. Kuru is a rare and fatal brain disorder that had occurred among the 'Fore' (a tribal people) in the highlands of New Guinea. People who follow the practice of Family Mortuary Cannibalism were the victims of this disease. They consumed the bodies of a dead person, contrived of Kuru, to return the "life force" of the

deceased to the hamlet. Often they would feed pieces of brain to young children and elderly relatives as part of the ritual. Brain tissue from individuals with kuru was highly infectious, and the disease was transmitted through eating of brain.

Dam is required for development. But it may cause for disease also.

Fig 4.1 Disease of Development.

As we know, culture aims at development of humanity. But in certain cases the development will lead to diseases. They are called Diseases of Development. Diseases of Development are the diseases caused or increased by socio-economic development. Examples of diseases in this category are malaria, and tuberculosis. Malaria, one of the greatest killer diseases was unknown to hunting gathering societies. But due to the onset of agriculture, people began to clear tropical forest. It gave favourable condition for mosquito breeding, which caused malarial infection.

Kyasanur Forest Disease (KFD) was another disease of development. This viral disease was first identified in 1957 in Kyasanur forest in the state of Karnataka, in southern India. Resembling influenza, at beginning, KFD is marked by sudden chills, fever, frontal headaches, stiffness of the neck, and body pain. Investigation of the social distribution and causes of the epidemic revealed that KFD especially affects agricultural workers and cattle tenders who were most exposed to newly cleared areas near the forest. In the cleared areas, international companies established plantations and initiated cattle-raising. Ticks, which spread the disease had long been existed in the local ecosystem. It increased in number in the cleared area as they can live in the cattle and their tenders. Thus, human modification of the ecosystem through deforestation and introduction of cattle-raising caused the epidemic and shaped its social distribution

Culture Influences Distribution of Certain Disease

It is also noticed that the distribution of certain diseases are also influenced by culture. For instance genetic disorders like sickle cell anemia, thalassemia and lactose dehydrogenase deficiency occur in rather high frequency among a number of tribal populations in the country (N.Viswanathan Nair, 1995, Pp. 9 to 20). At the same time these disorders are not widely noticed among caste population.

Discuss why sickle cell anemia is wide spread among the tribal people where the practice of consangunous marriage is frequent?

Culture Influences the Perception of Treatment

Treatment of disease also varies according to societies. In certain culture there is no distinction between mind and body. So there is no category of "mental illness". Treatment is more holistic in such cultures. But in modern societies physical, mental and social factors are considered to be associated with disease. Hence there are separate treatment systems associated with these areas. Apart from this specialised treatment systems for different organs are also developed in modern societies.

As perception of disease and treatment varies according to culture, difference of culture may promote different types of medical systems. People in different cultures prefer to practice different types of medical systems. It leads to the existence of more than one medical system within a territory. This is called medical Pluralism.

Medical Pluralism in India

Medical pluralism may be defined as the synchronic existence of more than one medical system in a society. Each of them may be grounded on different principles or based on different worldviews. In most parts of India, multiple treatment systems and a diversity of health behaviour patterns co-exist. India has a rich heritage of medical knowledge. In addition to codified traditional system such as Ayurveda, Unani and Siddha, there is ethno-medicine, religious healing and folk medicine. "Medical pluralism offers a variety of treatment options that health seekers may choose to utilise exclusively, successively, or simultaneously" (Stoner, 1986:4).

Fig 4.2 Sand bath

Medical systems are the means by which people attempt to prevent, relieve and cure suffering and disease. Indian Medical systems can be classified in to different types as follows.

Traditional and Modern Medical Systems

Basically, Indian medical systems are classified into two. One is **Modern medicine** and the other is **Traditional medicine**. Modern medicine is also known as bio medicine

or western medicine. It is also called **Cosmopolitan Health Culture** or **Professional Health Culture.** Modern medicine is entirely based on the scientific knowledge of body and disease. It is more uniform throughout the world. Science and technology directly influence modern medicine. Practitioner in modern - medicine is professionally trained persons. Scientific technology and mechanical devices are used for the diagnosis of disease. Treatment involves use of chemical compounds and surgery.

Traditional Medicine

"The health practices, approaches, knowledge and beliefs incorporating plant, animal and mineral based medicines, spiritual therapies, manual techniques and exercises, applied singularly or in combination to treat, diagnose and prevent illnesses or maintain well-being" (WHO)

According to the estimates of WHO, as many as 80% of the world's, more than six billion, people rely primarily on animal and plant-based medicines.

The concept of **traditional medicine** is a conventional term that refers to the indigenous medical systems used in different cultures all over the world. Traditional medicine includes any kind of therapeutic method that had been handed down by the tradition of a community or ethnic group. All kinds of folk medicine and unconventional medicines come under this category. World Health Organisation defines traditional medicine as **"the sum total of all knowledge and practices, whether explicable or not, used in diagnosis, prevention and elimination of physical, mental or social imbalance and relying exclusively on practical experience and observations handed down from generation to generation, whether verbally or in writing"** *(WHO 1976).*

The traditional health system in India comprises two social streams. One is the local health beliefs and practices relying on directly available local resources. It can well be considered as Little **Traditional Medicine.** Folk medicines or ethno medicines are included in this category. In this system the medical knowledge is transmitted from one generation to other orally. This system is practiced mostly among the pre literate tribal people. In this system, magic and religion has great influence in medical practices. Practitioners in this system are generally known as shaman. Apart from using herbs and roots, magical- religious rituals are also conducted to cure diseases. Beliefs and practices have a vital role in little traditional medical systems. The detailed description of ethno medicine is given in the following pages.

The organised knowledge based on theoretical foundations comes under the second category, called **Great Traditional Medical Systems.** In this system knowledge can be transmitted either orally or in writing. Practitioners in this system are traditional healers or

trained persons. Along with chemical compounds natural resources are also used as medicine. Ayurveda, Siddha, Unani and many other medical systems with codified medical knowledge are included in it. A brief note of them is given below.

Ayurveda is one of the world's oldest medical systems. It is also known as Vedic Medicine. It originated in India more than 3,000 years ago and remains one of the important traditional health care systems. The term "Ayurveda" combines the Sanskrit words ayur (life) and veda (science or knowledge). Three ancient books known as the Great Trilogy were the main texts on Ayurvedic medicine. They are Charaka Samhita, Sushruta Samhita, and Ashtanga Hridaya. The 'Tri Doshas' theory forms the base of Ayurvedic science. They are the fundamentals of Ayurvedic treatment. Tri Doshas are Vatha

Fig 4.3 Charaka

(vayu), Pitha (yellow bile) and Kapha (phlegm). When the tri-doshas are in normal proportion, a human is in perfect health. Dhanvandhiri, Charaka, Susrutha and many other prominent acharyas contributed greatly for the promulgation of Ayurveda. It can be said that Ayurvedic medicine is concerned with preserving and promoting total health. Hence, Ayurveda is called as the 'Science of long life'.
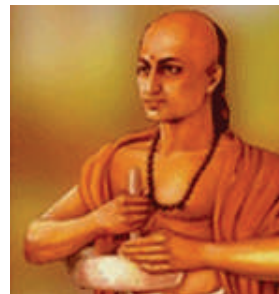
Homeopathy was first proposed by German physician Samuel Hahnemann. The basic concept of homoeopathy is contained in the words or by the maxim; "Similia Similibus Curantur" (Let likes be cured by likes). Apart from the symptoms, homeopaths use aspects of the patient's physical and psychological state in recommending remedies. Basic concept of Homoeopathy is creating resistance for the body by administering small doses of medicines. In this system, practitioner uses highly diluted preparations. The remedies are prepared by repeatedly diluting a chosen substance in alcohol or distilled water, followed by forceful striking on an elastic body. This process is called succession.

Fig 4.4 Samuel Hahnemann

Unani medicine, also called Tibb, developed in the ancient Greek medical concept of Hippocrates and Galen. It is a Greek medicine, taken over during the early Islamic period. Hippocrates is known as the father of this system of medicine. The theoretical framework of Unani medicine is based on his teachings. Unani medicine is based on the 'Humoral Theory' of the Greeks. It assumes the presence of four Humors - *Dam* (blood),

Balghum (phlegm), *Safra* (yellow bile) and *Sauda* (black bile) - in the body. Relative proportion of these four humors determines the health of a person. Environment has a pivotal role in maintaining the balance of these humors. According to the principles of Unani medicine, disease is a natural process, and its symptoms are the reactions of the body to the disease. The primary function of the Unani physician is to aid the natural forces of the body. In India, the Arabs introduced the Unani system of medicine and soon it caught the attention of the masses.

Siddha system is one of the oldest systems of medicine developed in South India. The term Siddha means achievements. Siddhars were saintly persons who achieved results in medicine. They have the extra power to understand the body. Eighteen Siddhars were said to have contributed towards the development of this medical system. Siddha literature is in Tamil and it is practiced largely in Tamil speaking part of India and abroad. The Siddha System is largely therapeutic in nature. In this system minerals and metals are used as medicines for treatment

Naturopathy is a distinct primary health care system. It gives importance to prevention, treatment and optimal health through the use of therapeutic methods and substances. These substances encourage the person's inherent self-healing process. The principle of naturopathy is to maintain optimum health in the patients by emphasising nature's inherent self-healing process. Gandhiji popularised this health care system by practicing it in his own life. Living in harmony with nature is the basic principle of this medical system. In this system food itself is the medicine. Toxic elements are removed from body as part of the treatment. Natural herbs and roots are used as medicine. Sun bath, mud bath and meditation are some of the treatments in this system.

Yoga is an ancient discipline designed to bring balance and health to the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual dimensions of the individual in this system breathing exercises physical postures and meditation re suggested as treatment. It is believed to calm the nervous system. In this medical system diseases are prevented by keeping the energy meridians open and life energy (Prana) flowing. Yoga has been widely used to controle blood preassur e reduce stress and improve concentration, sleep and digestion.

The above description of the traditional medical system can be further elaborated by incorporating information about various aspects of its practices. You can contact different practioners of the above medical systems of your locality to gather details like cause of disease, treatment mode, pharmacopia and preventive measures pertaining to the respective medical systems. You may have to prepare pamphlets/ brochures on each system.

111

Fabrega an American Medical anthropologist (1972) points out two focal areas of medical anthropology, one pertaining to **ethno medicine** and the other to **bio-medicine.** When health and disease are dealt within the knowledge of western scientific medicine, it is termed as bio-medicine. The ethno-medicine describes all the aspects of health -seeking behaviour of an ethnic group or a community. The practice of ethno medicine is a complex multi-disciplinary system constituting the use of plants, spirituality and the natural environment. It has been the source of healing for people for millennia.

Ethno Medicine

In the 1960s, when the term ethno medicine first came into use, it referred only to non-western health systems. At that time it was used synonymous with the now abandoned term, 'primitive' medicine. In fact, all medical systems-including biomedicine are "ethno medicine," as they are grounded in particular social, historical, and cultural contexts and are culturally constructed. Most often, the term ethno medicine is used to refer to those beliefs and practices related to disease which are the products of indigenous cultural development and are not explicitly derived from the conceptual frame work of modern medicine. This system is also variedly known as Folk Medicine, Indigenous Medicine, Popular Medicine and Popular Health Culture. In this system, causes, diagnosis and treatment of disease and preventive measures are related to beliefs and practices.
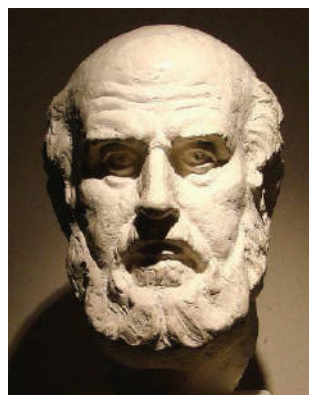
Fig 4.5 Hippocrates

Causes of disease: The cause of disease in this system is generally attributed to the relationship between the sufferer and his surroundings. Polgar (1962) shows mechanical and emotional as well as magical and religious causes for illness, while Glick (1967) emphasises upon religious and malevolent beings. Generally, the causation of diseases in ethno medicine is classified into Naturalistic or Physical Causes and Personalistic or Super Natural Causes.

The Physical causes include Physical impurity, ritual impurity, improper weather and improper food.

Physical impurity: - As per ethno-medical belief, one will be physically impure with the contact of restricted persons or non hygienic situation. For instance, physical contact of a higher caste person with a lower caste person is believed to cause impurity.

Ritual impurity: - A person will be ritually impure during the period of life cycle rituals like death, delivery etc. of any relative. During this period of pollution, such persons are not permitted to take part in religious rituals. Violation of this would lead to disease.

Improper weather:-Disease caused by improper weather includes ailments due to the changes in the climatic condition. Disease due to the extreme cold or hot are the examples of this type of diseases.

Improper food: - Improper food means incorrect use of food. Having cold food in cold season and hot food in hot season may cause disease. Likewise consecutive use of hot and cold food also supposed to bring diseases. Some food items are considered as matching and others not.

The supernatural cause includes Anger of god, evil spirit, evil eye, sin of previous life etc.

Anger of god: - God is believed to punish the wrongdoers (e.g., those who violate taboos) and the diseases are the result of such anger. Small pox, cholera etc are believed to be caused by anger of god.

Evil spirit: Ancestors and other Ghosts punish with disease if they are soon forgotten or not recognised.

Evil eye: - People in certain areas believe that eyes of some persons posses certain special power. Due to this super natural power they can cause harm to children, buildings or any other properties of other persons.

Sin of previous life: People believe in life after death. The disease in the present life is considered to be caused by the sinful acts of the persons in the previous life. Blindness, leprosy etc are considered to be caused by this.

Prepare charts showing medical pluralism in India and causes of diseases in ethno-medicine.

Practitioner

In ethno-medicine, treatment is conducted by specialists who are actually involved in administering the different types of curative procedures. The specialists in ethno medicine are generally known as Shamans. It includes diviners, herbalists, mid-wives, snake bite healers and bone settlers.

Fig 4.6 Practitioners in different medical systems

Diagnosis

If pain has been experienced and the person with the condition decides to seek help for it, diagnosis is the first stage in treatment. Diagnosis is the attempt to find out what the problem is and to determine the proper form of treatment. How will a medical doctor diagnose the problem when you approach her? You can see different procedures employed by a doctor. At times she may go for laboratory procedures. The diagnosis of disease in ethno-medicine is different from that of modern medicine.

It includes magical-religious techniques such as divination. In this a specialist uses techniques to gain supernatural insights, and secular techniques such as asking the ill person to supply detailed descriptions of the symptoms. Diagnosis of disease is also made based on the inspection of eye, face and pulse. A good shaman can identify many different types of pulses.

Treatment of Illness

It includes magical religious, mechanical and chemical procedures. In ethno medical treatment often more than one therapy is applied simultaneously, aiming at quick relief. Even when chemical and herbal methods are employed, magical religious elements also significantly form a part of the treatment.

PRG Mathur in his paper on ethnomedicine of the Irular of Attappady explains some of the therapeutic recipes of Irular tribe.

Name of Illness	Local Name	Treatment
Headache	Thalvettu	1. Crush a piece of f resh stem or leaves of *thalasithari* (Clematis gouriana) and squeeze the juice and pour it onto the nose 2. Juice collected from tender leaves of Mookkuthikodi and smeared over the forehead. 3. Keep a paste of tamarind for an hour on the forehead
Fever and headache	Kachelu - thalavettu	1. Mash the roots and leaves of Kurumthotti and apply it over the head before bath. 2. Prepare a potion, using Kolijeerakam, Cherukanthari and seasoned tamrind and drink it.
Ear ache	Kathukuthel	1. Grind the tuber of Pinaki plant along wi th common salt and mix this in warm water and filter through a cloth. This is used as an ear drop.

(Ref. *Anthropology of Tribal Health and Medicine in Forest Environment* - Edited by N. Viswanathan Nair - 1995)

114

Ethno medicine treatments are undertaken according to the disease causation. It may include magical religious practice like sorcery, witchcraft, prayer and offerings to god, mechanical procedure like bone setting, other medications utilising, herbs, plants, roots and tubers.

Collect information on medicinal plants in your locality and prepare a report on its medical use. You can also cultivate medicinal plants to make a garden in your home or school.

Preventive measures

You are aware of the preventive measures adopted in bio medicine. Vaccinations to Polio, BCG, Hepatitis, and Rubella vaccinations are some of the preventive measures in bio medicine. Do you think preventive measures are adopted in ethno medicine? Let us discuss.

Collect details about preventive measures of disease like Karkidaka kanji, post partum medicines etc. in yo ur locality.

Ethno-medicine also believes that "prevention is better than cure" for which it takes sufficient precautionary measures. Steam bath, oil bath, massaging, mud bath, magical religious measures etc. are followed to prevent diseases. In order to retain and rejuvenate health seasonal food patterns are also adopted. In Kerala medicinal porridge (pettu marunnu) are prepared and used as a precaution to avoid any disease for mother

Fig 4.7 Massage

during post-natal periods. Along with this, charms, prayer, offerings to super natural power, and use of amulets are also resorted to prevent disease.

We have seen to what extent cultural factors are taken care of in ethno medicine. However, in modern health care systems, bio-medicine plays a key role in determining the health condition of people.

Based on the above discussion you can compare both ethno-medicine and modern medicine and prepare a chart, showing the differences

115

Specialised Areas of Medical Anthropology

There is difference of opinion regarding the importance of any particular medical system. Even though, proposition for medical integration is getting importance, controversies regarding the usefulness and importance of some medical systems continues. Most often consent is made on the basis of a 'hegemonic common sense'. This eventually resulted in the streamlining of medical anthropology. Two different views in this regard were Critical Medical Anthropology and Clinical Medical Anthropology

Critical Medical Anthropology

Critical Medical Anthropology takes a very different approach regarding health. Critical Medical Anthropology believes that there exists a hegemonic relationship between the ideology of the health care system and that of the dominant ideological and social patterns. It critically views the labelling of a particular issue or problem as medical and requiring medical treatment. In fact that issue or problem may be social, economic or political. For instance doctors used to suggest using of iodised salt to avoid certain diseases like Goiter. But it is viewed that, in a society, where sea foods are consumed in abundance, it is not mandatory to use iodised salt. Hence, the proposition to consume iodised salt is to be viewed critically.

Clinical Medical Anthropology

Clinical Medical Anthropology refers to the application of anthropological knowledge to further the goals of health care providers. For example, in improving doctor-patient understandings in multicultural settings the knowledge of local culture will be very much useful. This will also help in making recommendations about culturally appropriate health intervention programmes, and providing insights about factors related to disease that medical practitioners do not usually take into account.

While critical medical anthropology and clinical medical anthropology may seem entirely opposed to each other some medical anthropologists are building bridges between the two perspectives. Such a consensus is required for alleviating problems of old age. It is discussed in another area named Gerontology.

Gerontology

It is the branch of bio-medical sciences that studies ageing. The process of getting old is considered as ageing. With the increasing trend in life expectancy, ageing is becoming

116

one of the major concerns not only in the developed but also in the developing world. The issue is booming large in the states like Kerala, with its life expectancy moving above 75, on par with many of the developed nations. Increased life expectancy in Kerala is considered to be the result of many factors including better health care facilities, high literacy rate and better standards of living.

Ageing is an important part of all human societies reflecting the biological changes that occur, but also reflecting cultural and societal conventions. It represents the accumulation of changes in a person over time. Ageing refers to a multi-dimensional process of physical, psychological, and social change. Some dimensions of ageing grow and expand over time, while others decline. Reaction time, for example, may slow with age, while knowledge of world events and wisdom may expand.

Ageing process is of course a biological reality. Generally the age of 60 or 65, roughly equivalent to retirement ages is said to be the beginning of old age. But in many parts of the developing world socially constructed meanings of age are more prevalent. What are the peculiar features of old age? Collect data from your locality and elaborate the following hints.

- Old age is charecterised by a sense of hopelessness towards the world.
- A feeling of insecurity persists among the aged.
- Expectations are most often childlike. .
- Loss of health.
- ………………

The incidence of a number of diseases increases with age. These include type-2 diabetes, heart disease, cancer, arthritis, and kidney disease. But the incidence of some ailments, like sinusitis, remains relatively constant with age. At the same time the disease like asthma, sometimes decline. Therefore, it is important to stress that aging is not merely a collection of diseases.

Don't you think that the aged people need more care and consideration? Are

Malnutrition
A pathological state resulting from a relative or absolute deficiency of one or more essential nutrients.
Under-nutrition
The pathological state resulting from the consumption of inadequate quality food over an extended period of time.
Over-nutrition
The pathological state resulting from the consumption of excess quality food and hence a caloric excess over an extended period of time. (WHO-1966)

you aware that they are great resources of knowledge accumulated through years of experience?

Find out the actual problems faced by the people of old age by interacting with them. Conduct interview with old relatives or inmates of old age home. Prepare a report based on the findings and discuss them in the class.

As the perception of old age, the concept of certain mental disorders is also culture specific. The area of study in medical anthropology related to this is cultural psychiatry. Let us examine this.

Cultural Psychiatry

This area of Medical Anthropology is closely allied with ethno-medicine. Cultural psychiatry emphasises on the knowledge of local culture in order to diagnose certain folk psychic disorders. Many folk illnesses or "Culture-Bound Syndromes" (CBS) such as hysteria, or amok shows a combination of psychiatric and somatic symptoms. Knowledge of the culture is indispensible to identify these symptoms. Thus they appear to be psychogenic, although environmental stress play a role in their onset. These folk illnesses do not fit easily into Western diagnostic categories.

Nutritional Anthropology

Nutritional Anthropology examines how economic systems, nutritional status and food security are inter-related. Nutritional status affects overall health status, work performance and the overall potential for economic development. Similarly, some economic systems yield limited food supply which in turn cause decline in nutritional status. Nutrition is defined as "combination of process by which the living organisms receive and utilise the material necessary for the maintenance of its functions for the growth and renewal of its components". (Turner 1959). We need food for energy, growth and maintenance and also for protection. When the right kind of food are not taken, the body fails to grow and function properly. This leads to various diseases. Protein energy malnutrition is a common deficiency disease in India.

From the very beginning of this unit we have been examining the inter relationship among three concepts health, disease and culture. Now you can find that culture is essentially required to perpetuate the humanity. Almost all the walks of our life are influenced by culture. Medical anthropology which examines the above said relationship thus gets much importance in the four field of anthropology. The knowledge of this field will enable not

only the laymen but the professionals to widen their world view and have a comprehensive understanding on medical practices and culture.

SUMMARY

- **Medical Anthropology** is the sub-branch of anthropology concerned with the application of anthropological theories and methods to the questions about health, illness and healing.

- **Health** is a state of complete physical, mental and social well being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. **Disease** refers to a scientifically identified health threat caused by a bacterium, virus or any other pathogen but **illness** refers to the condition of poor health perceived or felt by an individual, belonging to a particular culture

- The concept of **culture is related to the concepts of diseases and health.** For instance the perception of the concept of health and disease varies from culture to culture. The belief regarding the hot cold relationships is also culture specific. Culture practices and ways of life also have a positive relationship with disease. Certain diseases are found to be distributed more among tribal people than caste people.

- India is a country with **medical pluralism** as more than one medical system is co existing in India. The multiple medical systems in India consists little traditional medicines like folk medicines, great traditional medicines like Ayurveda, Unani, Sidha, Homoeopathy, Naturopathy and Yoga and Western medicine.

- **Ethno-medicine** refers to those beliefs and practices related to diseases which are the products of indigenous cultural development. **Causes of disease** in ethno-medicine are divided in to physical cause and supernatural cause. Physical cause includes physical impurity, ritual impurity, improper weather and improper food and super natural cause consists angry of god, evil spirit, evil eye and sin of previous life. **Diagnosis of disease** includes magical religious techniques, secular techniques such as inspection of eye, face and pulse. **Practitioner** in ethno-medicine is termed shaman. To prevent disease, along with massage, mud bath and steam bath, use of amulets and prayer are also resorted in ethno-medicine.

- Other Specialised Areas of Medical Anthropology include Clinical Medical Anthropology, which use anthropological knowledge in treatment, Critical Medical

Anthropology, that views the hegemonic ideas in the field of medicine critically, Gerontology concerned with the study of ageing and Cultural Psychiatry associated with the importance of the knowledge of local folk culture in dealing with psychic disorders.

TEARM EVALUATION ITEMS

1. Fill in the blanks
   a. Study of the relationship between health, disease and culture is ………….
   b. Any condition, organic or psychic, real or imaginary that disturbs a person's wellbeing is considered as …………….
   c. Synchronic existence of more than one medical system in a society is………………..

2. Distinguish between
   a) Disease and illness.
   b) Physical and supernatural causes of disease.
   c) Clinical medical anthropology and critical medical anthropology.

3. Identify the hot and cold concept of food prevalent in your area and identify its relevance in the health care system.

4. Health and disease is culture specific. Examine this statement based on your understanding.

5. Ayurveda is known as the science of long life, comment?

6. Prepare a flow chart on medical pluralism in India and explain traditional medical system.

7. Prepare a comparative chart on ethno medicine and biomedicine.

8. Find the pair.

a. Homeopathy: Samuel Hahnemann , Ayurveda:………….

9. Write any four ethno medical recipes prevalent in your area. It must include name of disease, medicinal plants used and the way of preparation.

10. Write a short note on diseases of development.

GLOSSARY

Medical anthropology	: The branch of anthropology dealing with the relationship among health, disease and culture.
Health	: A state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing
Disease	: Any state organic or psychic that disturbs a person's sense of wellbeing.
Illness	: Culturally specific perceptions and experiences of a health problem.
Life style diseases	: The diseases caused by the change in life style.
Anorexia nervosa	: Self-starvation and trends to avoid food to maintain slimness of body.
Kuru disease	: A rare and fatal brain disorder that had occurred among the 'Fore' (a tribal people) in the highlands of New Guinea which is caused by virus.
Diseases of development	: The diseases caused or increased by socio economic development.
Kyasanur Forest Disease or KFD	: A disease of development caused by virus and first identified in 1957 in Kyasanur forest in the state of Karnataka.
Medical pluralism	: The synchronic existence of more than one medical system in a society.
Ethno-medicine	: The beliefs and practices related to disease which is the products of indigenous cultural development.
Critical medical anthropology	: The labeling of a particular issue or problem as medical and requiring medical treatment even when the problem is social, economic or political.
Clinical medical anthropology	: The application of anthropological knowledge to further the goals of health care providers.
Gerontology	: The branch of biomedical sciences that studies the issues of ageing.
Cultural psychiatry	: The knowledge of local culture in order to diagnose certain folk psychic disorders.
Nutritional anthropology	: The area of medical anthropology that examines the relationship among economic systems, nutritional status and food security.

121

REFERENCE

1. Pramukh, KE Raj. 2009. Health illness and Healing: Themes and Issues in Medical Anthropology. New Delhi: Serial Publications

2. Viswanathan Nair, N. (Ed.). 1995. Anthropology of Tribal Health and Medicine in Forest Environment. Kozhikode: KIRTADS

3. Kleinman, Arthur. 2011. Anthropology and Cross-Cultural Mental Health. Charité Universitätsmedizin, Berlin. Freie Universität, Berlin. June 28, 2011

4. Pappachan, M.J. Increasing Prevalence of Lifestyle Diseases: High time for Action. Department of Medicine.

5. Bhasin, Veena. Medical Anthropology: A Review. Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi

6. Eckersley, Richard. Culture, Health and Well-being

7. 2007. Ethnomedical Practices of Chenchu - A Case of Integrated System Kamla-Raj

ECOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

SIGNIFICANT LEARNING OUTCOMES

After completing this unit, the learner will be able to:

- Identify the inter-relationship between culture and ecology and evaluate the role of culture in the process of adaptation with environment.

- Assess the impact of culture on environment.

- Evaluate the rehabilitation programmes envisaged for tribal people and analyse the symbiotic relationship between tribes and forest.

- Assess the importance of environmental movements and debate the idea of development in the context of ecological sustainability.

CONTENTS

Meaning and scope of ecological anthropology

- Ecology, Population Ecology, Cultural ecology and Ethno Ecology.
- Environmental Determinism and Environmental Possibilism.

Adaptation

- Types of Adaptation- Physical, Genetic and Beavioural/Cultural.
- Eco-cultural Adaptation at different stages - Hunting and Gathering, Pastoralism, Shifting Cultivation, Settled Agriculture and Industrialisation.

Ecology and Development

- Displacement
- Rehabilitation
- Deforestation and Ecological Imbalance

Environmental movements

- Chipco Movement
- Save Silent Valley Movement
- Narmada Bachao Andholan
- Save Western Ghat Movement (SWGM)
- Madhav Gadgil Committee Report

Did you read the story *Bhoomiyude Avakashikal* by Vaikom Muhammed Basheer, the famous Malayalam writer? He argues that earth is not alone for human but for all the living beings.

The famous words by the Seattle chief, a respected leader of one of the North West Indian nations, to the government in Washington DC who wants to buy its people's land also elucidates this symbiotic relationship. He said....

How can you buy the sky? How can you own the rain and the wind?

Every part of this earth is sacred to our people.

Every Pine needle, every sandy shore, every mist in the dark woods,

Every meadow and humming insect, all are holy in the memory of our people. ...

We are part of the earth and it is part of us.

The perfumed flowers are our sisters

The bear, the deer, the great eagle, these are our brothers.

The rocky crests, the meadows, the ponies

All belong to the same family.

Fig 5.1 We are part of earth and earth is part us

The shining water that moves in the streams and rivers is not simply water

But the blood of grand father's grandfather. ....

The air is precious.

It shares its spirit with all the life it supports.

The wind that gives me my first breath also received my last sigh....

Thus we know the earth does not belong to us. We belong to the earth.

From the above words, what inference would you make on the relationship between human and environment? Have you read the poem 'Bhoomikkoru Charama Geetham' by O N V Kurup? We should realise the necessity to conserve our earth.

Currently we observe different days like Earth day, Water day, Ozone day, Forest day etc. What is the relevance of the observations of these days? These celebrations indicate human concern over nature. Find other important days related to environment and prepare an action plan to observe them in your school.

Fig 5.2 No consideration towards nature

Do you think that earlier human had not such a consideration towards the nature? From the very beginning of their existence, human beings have been interested in their surroundings. They lived in tune with nature like all other organisms. The subsistence pattern, health conditions, vocabulary in language etc. are also influenced by the environment. With the technological advancement humans try to modify the environment to satisfy their needs. Population explosion and subsequent exploitation of natural resources have created a lot of problems in environment. It in turn has adversely affected the existence of all the organisms. Here we shall examine the inter-relationship between organisms and their environment and the related subject Ecological Anthropology.

Could you think of a world occupied only by humans? Of course the answer is 'no'. There is inter-dependence between humans and all other organisms. The study of these sorts of relationship comes under the purview of ecology.

What do you mean by ecology? Let us examine the concept in detail.

Concept of Ecology

The word 'ecology' was first coined by the German biologist Earnest Haeckel. It is derived from the two Greek words 'oikos' and 'logos'. 'Oikos' means 'place of living' or house and 'logos' means 'science'. Thus the word 'ecology' means science of environment. It is the branch of science which deals with the study of inter-relationship between organisms and environment.

- Eugene P Odum (1963) defines ecology as "the study of structure and function of nature".

- Haeckel (1870) describes ecology as "the body of knowledge concerning the economy of nature".

125

- According to Webster (1950), the biological meaning of ecology is "the mutual relations between organisms and their environment".

From the above definitions we can infer that ***ecology is the study of inter-relationship between organisms and environment.*** What constitutes the environment? As you studied earlier environment includes both abiotic and biotic aspects. Aboitic environment is the non-living environment like water, soil and air. Biotic environment is the living environment which includes all living organisms. Human being is one among them.

Anthropology, as we know, is a holistic discipline which studies all aspects of human life. Human beings and their culture are essentially influenced by heredity and environm*ent. Thus we cannot neglect the relationship between human being and their environment. The branch of anthropology which deals with the relationship between human being and environment is termed Ecological Anthropology.* This is also known as Environmental Anthropology. Now we shall go through the different areas of this branch of anthropology

Meaning and Scope of Ecological Anthropology

History of human life and culture reveals the never ending and reciprocal contact between human and the land, climate, plant, and animal species. Ecological anthropology focuses upon this complex relationship. It investigates the ways that a population shapes its environment and how the environment influences the population. Ecological anthropology is the branch of anthropology that is concerned with the inter-relationship between human beings and their environment. It studies how the environment influences the biological and cultural aspects of humans. The inter-relationship of human beings, their environment and culture is the subject matter of Ecological Anthropology.
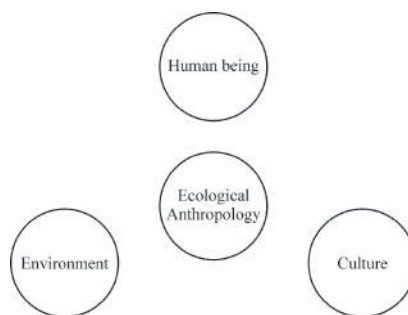
Fig 5.2 Scope of Ecological Anthropology

You have studied the definition of Anthropology given by Herskovits. He considers Anthropology as the study of human and his works. Here, 'humans' implies the biological being and 'works' refers to their adaptive behaviour, including all dimensions of human life. Thus Anthropology is inherently concerned with the study of environment. The biological aspects of human constitute both the genetic composition as well as the morphological

features like skin colour, shape, the form of nose and body stature. These manifestations are directly influenced by environment. Likewise, the cultural aspects such as the food habits, dress pattern, house types, occupation, language and density of population are all influenced and shaped by environment. On the other hand, the cultural activities of human beings have a direct impact on environment also.

In Assam, Kashmir, Burma and Norway wood is cheap and abundant. Houses are therefore built in wood. Wooden houses are again found in Japan and Himalayan region. It gives a protection against falling during earth quake and flood. Tribal people of New Mexico, Arizona and Spain primarily use stone, as these materials are easily available in their place. In Bengal huts are made of mud, straw and bamboo splits as such materials are very common in this region.(Indrani Basu Roy p. 481)

Can you find the instances of the influence of culture on ecology? As human beings began to practice settled agriculture, the prevailing stock of living species changed a great deal. Agriculture is the part of human culture. Cultivation of a particular crop at a particular place gave birth to the introduction of new organisms there.

You may site similar instances of change of ecology due to the impact of culture. Collect news paper cuttings, pictures etc related to this and prepare a slide presentation or write-ups.

Fig 5.4. Ecology influence settlement pattern

We can also see that the culture of humanity is shaped and determined by environment. Why do the Eskimos (Inuit) live in 'Igloo', the house built by ice? Why do you think people in Assam build their houses on wooden pillars? You will find that these cultural elements are shaped according to the prevailing ecological condition. Today we are trying to find materials other than sand from river to make buildings. Why this new requirement?

From the above discussion we can realise that, there is a reciprocal relationship among human beings, environment and culture. This becomes one of the core areas of Ecological Anthropological research and understanding. Ecological Anthropology is a recent development in Anthropological studies, especially with the contribution of Julian Steward. He developed the method of *cultural ecology* to study the relationship between environment and culture.

127

Cultural Ecology

The concept *cultural ecology* is developed by the famous American Anthropologist Julian Steward. Cultural ecology is the study of the relationship between human culture and environment. According to him human culture is determined by environment. This concept explains that environment and culture are not separate spheres but are involved in reciprocal causality. According to the needs of the humans, he controls the environment for settlement, food, cloths etc. The structures of house, dress and transport system are influenced by geographical and environmental conditions. Hence, the structures of the houses in deserts, hills, river valleys and plain area differ. In food habits, we also differ according to the climate and geography. Transport system in the plains, deserts and hills are adjusted according to the environment.

Fig 5.5 Julian Steward

Julian Steward points out that environment and culture are not separate; they are inter-related and reciprocal to each other. He was of the view that some sectors of culture are more likely to have strong environmental relationship than other sectors of culture. He focussed three major areas through which the relationship between environment and culture can be analysed.

- The inter-relationship between environment and productive technology
- The interrelationship between behavioural pattern and productive technology
- The extent to which those behavioural patterns effect other sectors of culture

According to Julian Steward, agriculture is the core sector which is directly influenced by environment. Changes in environment and nature of the area directly influence agricultural productivity. When a new productive technology is introduced it will have a direct impact on environment also. For example the technology like plough, tractor, irrigation, hybrid seeds etc. led to changes in environment. Similarly when the productive technology changes it increase the agricultural productivity. That will have an indirect impact upon the behavioural pattern like market system, ownership, class systems etc. The changes in the behavioural pattern will also affect the other sectors like political organisation, religion etc. All these aspects must be studied to understand the relationship between environment and culture. He also developed another concept, *population ecology* to study the environmental relationship of particular human population.

128

Population Ecology

Population ecology is the concept introduced by Julian Steward to study the environmental relationship within particular human population. It is the study of those factors affecting the distribution of ecological population. Ecological population is a local group of organisms belonging to the same species, with distinctive life style and common food habits. According to Steward the environmental characteristics like fertility of the soil, availability of water, temperature, rainfall etc. have a direct impact on the distribution of human population.

The concepts like cultural ecology and population ecology show that environment influence both biological and cultural aspects of humans. An insider's perception of their relationship with the environment is different from that of an outsider's point of view. The concepts related to this are detailed below.

Ethno-Ecology

Ethno-ecology is an approach to human ecology proposed by Harold Conklin and Charles Frank. It is a group's conception of biotic inter-relationship within its universe. It is an attempt to study the ecological relationship from the participant's point of view. It is a distinctive approach to human ecology that concerns itself with native conception of their environment. That is how the native people feel the relationship with environment. This includes the native terms

Fig 5.6 A deity for worship in Kavu

for plants, animals, insects or various aspects of environment, geographical features and its perception among the local people and their culture. *Kavu*, in Kerala is considered as a sacred area, where plants and animals are protected from the human intervention. While natives consider this as part of belief, an outsider will considers it as a mechanism for protecting bio-diversity.

You may find similar cases that propose different perceptions related to environment by insiders and outsiders. Thus they are unknowingly protecting the ecosystem. You can also list out such local terms of plants, insects and animals in your locality.

129

We have been discussing the relationship between human and ecology. But views regarding this relationship are different. Let us examine the different views concerned with this.

Environmental Determinism

Environmental Determinism explains that environment has a major role in determining all aspects of human life. This concept emphasises the role of environment in shaping human personality, human biology, size of population, health of population, morality and material culture. Letus examine the views of famous scholars in this regard.

- Hippocrates viewed human body consisting of four humours yellow bile, black bile, phlegm and blood, and held that its balance is necessary for good health. Climate is the agent which is believed to be responsible for these humours. Many studies reveal that climate is dependent on environmental factors.

- Plato and Aristotle explain the importance of climate in political affairs .They opined that temperate Greece is an ideal climate for democratic government and cold climate had no real form of government due to lack of skills and intelligence.

> **Culture-Environment Continuum**
>
> "Environmentalism and possibilism tend to separate man's culture from his environment and behaviour from biology, and in fact they tend to treat them as opposing entities. At one extreme of the continuum culture is viewed as passive and the environment as an active force moulding culture to its pattern. At the other extreme, culture is viewed as the active force reshaping the passive environment"
>
> - Anderson, James N. 1997. "Ecological Anthropology and Anthropological Ecology", in John J. Honigmann (ed.), *Hand Book of Social and Cultural Anthropology*. P.185

- During 19th century, Charles Darwin emphasised the importance of physical environment in organic evolution. He viewed biological diversity as an example for the influence of nature.

- Material culture and technology are believed to be affected by the environment. Transport and communication, structure of houses, dress pattern and food habits are determined by the environment.

In short we can infer that the different life style of the people in different parts of the world is determined by environment.

Environmental Possibilism

Environmental Possibilism says that physical environment play a limiting role in shaping culture. The proponents of environmental Possibilism argue, why some particular cultural traits occur in all types of environment. They also emphasise that culture has a decisive role even in shaping the environment. This is the basis of Environmental Possibilism.

Environmental Possibilism holds the view that environment has a limiting role in cultural development, not a determining role. Possibilists did not neglect the role of environment in cultural development. It is true that cultures are rooted in environment, and therefore cannot be understood except with relationship to environment, but they are not produced by the environment. Hence, environment plays a limited role.

Can you examine how cultural development of a desert area is limited by its environment? We can observe the same phenomenon in the context of Kerala. The economic development of Kerala cannot be completely attributed to the environmental conditions alone. Many other factors like education, politcal awareness, gulf money etc. have played an important role in it.

We know that the environmental conditions do not remain static. It undergoes fast changes. Can you cite examples to this? The flora, fauna and the weather conditions of a particular place will change with passage of time. According to this change, living beings are also trying to adjust to ensure its survival. How do humans adjust with the changing environment? The answer to this question leads to an important area of study in Ecological Anthropology - eco-cultural adaptation.

Adaptation

Adaptation is the ability and capacity of the organisms to adjust with the changing environment. It is the central concept in ecological studies. Adaptation refers to the interaction process between changes that an organism makes in its environment, and the changes the environment makes in the organisms. It is the ability of an organism to survive in a particular environmental condition. Thus, adaptation is regarded as the process of modification in the structure and function of an organism by which, it can survive and reproduce in the changing ecosystem.

Types of Adaptation

Human beings, just like all other organisms, maintain an adaptive relationship with eco-system. Different climatic zones prevail in this world, and people inhabiting each zone

131

struggle with the situation by means of cultural innovation. The effect of environment is visible in some biological traits like skin colour, hair colour and body structure, because of the process of adaptation. Different cultural traits and complexes are developed by humans to adapt with changing environment. Some traits are obtained by birth itself. There are three types of adaptations namely, physiological adaptation, genetic adaptation and behavioural or cultural adaptation.

Physiological Adaptation: Physiological adaptation is made possible through the adjustment between physical body of the organisms and environment. The weaker perishes and the stronger survives.

The inhabitants of Africa, South India, Australia and Melanesia show notable variation among them in terms of several biological traits but all of them have dark skin colour. This is regarded as an example of adaptation to hot climates because dark skin having more pigments prevents penetration of ultra violet rays of the sun to produce too much vitamin D which is harmful. In cold climates lightly pigmented persons are less susceptible to frostbite than the dark individuals. Nose form seems to be adapted to different environmental conditions. In colder zones noses are narrower. The arctic Eskimos have narrowest nose. But the equatorial Negroes possess very platyrhine noses.
B.M. DAS, Introduction to Physical anthropology

Physiological adaptation is the irreversible and reversible physiological responses' made by the individual. The reversible physiological adjustments to environment stress are called acclimatization. If an individual migrates from sea level to a higher altitude, physiological changes such as increased breathing and pulse rate, followed by increased level of haemoglobin concentration in the blood occur. In cold climate, heat loss is a major problem. Heat loss is minimised by reducing blood circulation by means of vasoconstriction and shivering, to increase food metabolism. On the other hand in hot climates, heat excess is a primary problem which is controlled by expansion of blood vessel. In this case, heat loss is increased through radiation and sweating. Plasticity is an example of irreversible response. Plasticity is the large lung capacity and slow skeletal maturation rate observed in individuals residing in high altitude.

Genetic Adaptation: Genetic responses are slow. If the climatic change last for a long period of time, physical responses are supplemented by more permanent adaptation called genetic adaptation. In genetic adaptation unfavourable characters of the organism are eliminated and favourable characters survive. Biological evolution is permanent genetic change which is mostly brought through natural selection. Variation among individuals is caused by genetic differences and is passed from parents to offspring. Changes at the genetic level require several generations.

Behavioural or Cultural Adaptation: Behavioural adaptation is the most rapid response that an organism makes. Behavioural adaptation is the adaptive response made by individual and group by way of cultural behaviour. This is also known as eco-cultural adaptation. For example an organism runs away from a predator, moves into the shade to get rid of the hot sun, or builds fire to keep warm in a cold climate. Similarly use of woollen clothes in winter and cotton clothes in summer are some of the examples of eco-cultural adaptation. These activities are rapid with temporary variation in the environment.

Behavioural adaptations are always done with the help of cultural elements. Technological, organisational and ideological elements of culture are used to adapt with changing environment. Technology is the means to exploit the resources of nature. With the increase in population, humans developed more effective technology like digging stick, bow and arrow and plough to meet increased requirements. Likewise organisational elements comprising social institutions like family, marriage, kinship, economic organisation etc. are developed to adjust with the social life. Ideological elements of culture like values, norms, morals and knowledge are developed to regulate individual as well as social behaviours.

Find out different ways by which your society adjusts with the changing environmental conditions. Prepare a material citing local examples of all the three types of adaptations.

Behavioural adaptations occur differently in different geographical areas. Now let us find out how behavioural adaptation takes place in different stages of cultural developments.

Eco-cultural Adaptation at Different Stages

As we found earlier, eco-cultural adaptation is an important process of survival mechanism of every human population. It could be seen along the cultural development of human society at different and successive stages. What do you think is the earliest stage of cultural development? Human beings in their initial stage of ecological adaptation lived by collecting the food resources available in their locality. Later on it gives way to newer ways of adaptation. Following are the important ways of eco-cultural adaptation practiced by humans in different periods of their cultural life.

1. Hunting and gathering
2. Pastoral stage
3. Shifting cultivation
4. Agriculture
5. Industrial stage

133

Let us examine each of these stages in detail.

Hunting and Gathering (Foraging): In the food gathering stage, the pre-literate societies depended upon the forest products for their survival. Fruits of wild plants, grains, tubers, roots, nuts etc. where the main food items of this stage. The people of hunting and gathering stage did not practice agriculture or domestication of animals. At this stage they fully depended upon nature. Their culture was entirely shaped by environment. They changed their food habits according to the seasonal change. The available resources in the forest ware used as their food item. If fruits were available in abundance, they depended on it. When the availability of fruits became less, they resorted to leaves, tubers, roots and nuts. They ate the flesh of the hunted animals. Animal skin and leaves were

Fig 5.7 Hunting and gathering - a painting

used for clothing. Horns, bones and stones were used for making tools. They live in natural shelters like caves and on the branches of trees to escape from the attack of wild animals. The branches of tree were used for making shelters also.

They wandered from one place to another in search of food and water. When the availability of food was in abundance they moved in large groups and during scarcity of food they split into small groups and moved to different parts of the forest. While the men-folk were involved in hunting, the females would go for collecting food.

The Bushman tribe of Kalahari Desert in Africa is a typical example of hunting-gathering society. During monsoon season, the Bushmen inhabited in a wide area and lead a nomadic life. During this time they depended on collecting forest products and hunting small animals. But during summer season, they settleed around water sources as they could capture big animals, approaching for water. As they had limited technologies, they dug pitfalls on the route of animals and captured them.
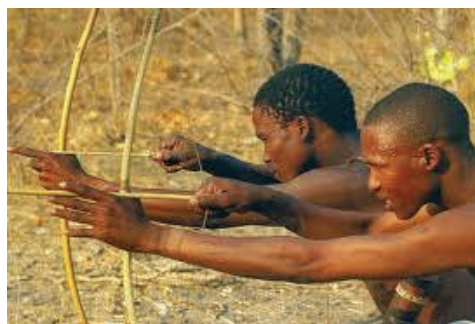

Fig 5.8 Bushman tribe of Kalhari desert

134

Thus hunters and gatherers adapted with the changing environmental conditions by utilising the available resources. When population increased, the demand for available resources also enhanced. Naturally it lead to a more advanced form of economy known as pastoralism.

Pastoral Stage: Pastoral stage began with the domestication and rearing of animals. The pastorals were semi-nomads. They wandered from one place to another in search of food for the animals. Since they moved from one place to another seasonally along with their cattle, this type of seasonal migration was known as 'transhumance'.

Fig 5.9 Gujjars of Kashmir and Ladakh

Herding of cattle provided specialised adaptation to grass areas where cultivation was impossible. Cattles were their property, wealth and symbol of social status. The cattle provided them with, milk and meat. Milk products like ghee and butter and dry meat were prepared to meet additional requirements. Dung of animals was also used as fuels. Division of labour was based on sex and age. Adult males were usually engaged with cattle rearing while the women and children were engaged in collecting wild foods and water. Pastoralists exchanged their food with neighbouring communities. The Todas of Nilgiri hills who reared buffaloes, the Gujjars of Kashmir who reared sheep and the Tshembago in New Guinea who reared pigs are the best examples of pastoral societies.

Collect information on the different ways by which modern pastoralists in our area adapt to changing environment.

As the earlier human needed more food items, they resorted to newer economic ways. Gradually they learned the art of food production which in turn forced them to change their subsistence pattern. This subsequently led to higher level of adaptation called shifting cultivation

Shifting Cultivation: It is another type of economy usually practiced by the people of

Fig 5.10 Shifting cultivation

hilly areas. It is an initial stage of cultivation using simple technologies. Shifting cultivation is a process in which the people shift their land of cultivation from one place to another. The process of shifting cultivation starts with the selection of appropriate land for cultivation. Thereafter, the land is cleared by cutting and felling of trees and other bushes. It is left for drying for a few days after which, it is set to fire. This adds to the fertility of the land for some years. After the loss of the fertility of the soil, the land is abandoned and they shift to another place. They come back to the original land after a cycle of rotation. The fields are cultivated extensively without the use of plough, manure or any other technique of irrigation. Instead of irrigation shifting cultivators mainly depend on seasonal rainfall.

Shifting cultivators adapt to the changing environment by shifting the field under cultivation by cultivating only very few varieties of seeds, with complete dependence on seasonal rainfall and use of simple technology like digging sticks.

Kurumbas of Attapadi and the Nagas of Nagaland have been known for their practice of shifting cultivation. Shifting cultivation is also known as 'swidden cultivation' or 'slash and burn cultivation'. In different places it is known by different names. In Kerala, it is known as 'punam', in Assam, it is 'jhum', and in Orissa 'podu'.

Although shifting cultivation is an adaptive mechanism of cultivation in hilly areas, it creates certain environmental problems also. Large scale cutting and felling of trees result in deforestation, soil erosion and ecological imbalance. Felling of trees and bushes leads to destruction of habitat of birds and other animals. Lack of irrigation and fertilisers resulted in low productivity in shifting cultivation.

As shifting cultivation is the cultural practice of certain communities, it is not fair to ban the practice. But it can be made more scientific by reducing its short comings. Can you suggest some measures to make this cultivation more eco-friendly and productive? Read the following and add more suggestions to it.

By avoiding cutting of big trees and reducing the period of jhum cycle the problem of deforestation can be overcome. Fertility of the soil can be increased by cultivating pulses. Use of adequate fertilisers and hybrid varieties of seeds and proper irrigation will help to increase the productivity. Apart from these, proper awareness programmes must be conducted to use advanced technologies of cultivation.

As population increased, movement from one place to another became more tedious. It also necessitated higher amount of food items. So in order to adapt with the change, people at that time sought newer ways of economic activity. It resulted in the invention of agriculture.

Agriculture: The intensive and permanent way of cultivation with the help of plough takes the economy to a higher level known as agriculture. It also involves the use of fertiliser and irrigation. Agriculture economy is characterised by high density of population, stable settlement, private ownership and division of labour based on age, sex and specialisation. It is also accompanied by technological development. Agriculturists have advanced technologies than the pastoralists and the hunting and gathering groups. Agriculture completely depends upon the seasonal availability of rainfall and other climatic conditions. When the environmental condition is favourable, the production would also be good. Different varieties of the same crop are cultivated according to season. The nature of the land also determines the type of crop to be cultivated. Crop rotation is another way to improve the fertility of soil and to adapt changing climatic conditions. Crops like paddy, pulses, tapioca and ginger are cultivated according to seasons. In hilly areas, people generally prefer shifting cultivation.

Protection of crops necessitated permanent settlement. Agricultural stage resulted in the formation of family, marriage and kinship in a more organised way. According to the change in the economy, with the development of agricultural production, the formation of social and political organisation also underwent changes.

Human beings from hunting and gathering stage to settled agricultural stage adapted to the environmental conditions. Development of advanced technologies made them shape the environment according to their needs. Mechanisation instead of manual work resulted in more advanced industrial stage.

Industrial Stage: The Industrial Revolution is the term used to describe the broad changes that occurred during the later part of eighteenth century in Europe. An industrial economy uses sophisticated technologies based on machinery, powered by advanced fuels to produce material goods. The People engaged themselves in factory and office work rather than in agricultural or foraging activities. Industrial economy also depends upon environment. They depend on environment to harness new sources of energy especially fossil fuel energy and coal. Technological progress is used for adaptation. They use electronic devices like television, fridge, air conditioner and room heater with the changing environment.

Industrial mode of technology resulted massive exploitation of natural resources. It made tremendous impact on ecology like pollution, shortage of natural resources, extinction of different species and health problems.

137

Ecology and Development

Environment is a natural condition that exists around us. It includes conditions that influence the characters like climate, water, soils, rocks, animals and plants. The developmental activities such as mechanisation, industrialisation and modernisation of the society have caused many problems and extra-ordinary stress on the environment. The problems include soil erosion, deforestation, flooding and destruction of various species of plants and animals. Landscapes are modified by network of highways, railways, dams, airport and bridges. Burning energy fuels on a large scale by cutting down trees and spread of urban and industrial wastes have heavily disturbed the eco-system. All these affected the symbiotic relationship between human and ecology and aroused threat to human existence.

> Do we give up developmental programmes for conserving ecology?

> Can't we conduct developmental programmes in an eco friendly way?

Developmental programmes initiated and facilitated the movement of people to other parts. For instance, in order to build a dam across a river, people living on the banks of the river needed to be evacuated. They had to seek other places for their living. Here we shall deal with this aspect of development.

Displacement

Displacement means uprooting of a particular section of a population from a permanent settlement. It can happen in the wake of big construction works, natural calamities, riots and conflicts. In the developing countries development related population displacement has grown rapidly over the past few decades. Most of the displacements have been due to infrastructure related programmes for dam construction, urban development and transportation. In many such cases progress is taking place at the cost of millions of people who were uprooted from their homeland, separated from their communities and were abandoned without adequate compensation. They are the forgotten victims of developments.

Most often there is agitation against big projects, as they cause displacement. In Kerala land resource is limited. So in order to implement big projects minimal level of displacement is indispensible. But the unrest of the people can be minimised by properly restoring them. The concept related to this is detailed below.

138

Displacement is an important issue among both the tribal and non-tribal population. There is an argument that in Kerala, where land area is limited, there is no scope for big projects. So people oppose such mega projects, arguing that it will lead to displacement. But there is also call for mega projects for economic growth and development of the state. Form different groups, collect relevant information about both the views and conduct a debate on it.

Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation (resettlement) means the settlement of displaced population permanently at a new place. The concept rehabilitation was widely discussed in India in 1947 when India was divided into two nations - India and Pakistan. Tens of thousands of people had been displaced and rehabilitated. In the wake of industrialisation and dam construction a great disturbance is caused to the normal life of people. It became a severe problem especially in the case of tribal people. Big industries started in tribal belts have resulted in the damage of tribal settlement and forest ecology.

Tribes and forest

The tribes were the original human settlers in the forest. The forest offers food, shelter, medicines, employment and cloth for them. The tribes receive food in the form of fruits, roots, tubers, honey fish, animals and birds. The tribes make shelter with timbers and bamboos. They practices craft work with the help of local raw materials like bamboos and shells available in the forest. In order to cure their disease they use medicinal plants and their roots from the forest. The forest environment is free from pollution and they are able to distinguish various plants, herbs and other medicinal materials in the forest.

For clothing they use leaves of plants and skin of animals. Different types of beads, seeds, shells, horns, bones etc. are used as ornaments. Agriculture also depends on forest. Agricultural implements or tools are made from wood poles and bamboos of good quality. The maintenance of cattle for agricultural purposes depends to a greater extent on the existence of gracing facility. Their religious life is also depend on forest. The tribal religion animism, believes in super natural power situated in tree, mountains, rocks, rivers etc. They also believed that their gods exist in forests. There are several rites and rituals in which forest products are used. Actually the religion of the tribes is controlled by the spirit of the forest.

The implementation of rehabilitation schemes by the administration is not always effective. We know that tribal culture is attuned to their habitat. Any change can lead to distorting the habitat. Hence utmost care is to be taken to rehabilitate the tribal people in a place adaptable to them. Tribal people generally live in and around forest. Their food, economic activity, religious belief, dress and many other aspects of life are closely related to forest.

139

What do you think is the distinctiveness of tribal habitat and culture? Have you noticed that the names of some of the tribal people are associated with forest? Identify those tribal groups and examine the significance of forest in their day-to-day life. You can utilise the information given in the trivia.

The rehabilitated tribal people do not stay long in the colonies and flee to the forest to live in the company of their deities. Hence, Anthropological input and approach become essential for the smooth resettlement of the displaced section of the society.

What else is the negative impact of development? We can see that most developmental programmes often lead to deforestation. The following paragraph deals with the deforestation and ecological imbalance.

Deforestation and Ecological Imbalance

Forest is important for the existence and survival of human beings, animals, birds and other organisms. It provides abode to many and plays an important role in maintaining the climatic conditions and preventing soil erosion. The demand for forest products is increasing with the growth in population and economy, whereas the forest cover in the country is diminishing. Trees have been cut down in large numbers, in the name of development, resulting in the destruction of great forests. It leads to the destruction of the bio-diversity. Trees are being cut for various purposes but without reforestation, the ratio between the trees cut down and the young trees gets widened, resulting in barren lands.

Fig 5.11 Deforestation

Deforestation is the intentional clearance of forests by logging and or burning. Most often it is the intention of human to acquire short term economic benefits that cause deforestation. Other reasons may include population growth, urbanisation, mining process, forest fire, hill road and transportation and commercial logging

- Population Growth: This necessitates a higher demand for space, houses, livelihood needs and industries to provide employment. All these directly or indirectly lead to the destruction of forest.

140

- Urbanisation: Urbanisation is a world wide trend. The higher the rate of urbanisation the greater is the

Do you know? About 33%of land area must be under forest for proper ecological balance

demand for industries to accommodate more hands. Ultimately industrialisation also causes deforestation.

- Mining Process: India is blessed with a variety of minerals. But the main problem is that these minerals are located in the forest. Therefore, in order to do mining, clearing of forest areas with abundant minerals, becomes a must.

- Forest Fire: Forest fire leads to entire destruction of forest. This not only creates deforestation but also destroys the entire biodiversity of the area.

- Hill Roads and Transportation: Tourism is a growing industry in India. Hill roads are constructed near the forest or in the middle of the forest, particularly with an aim to promote tourism. This may destroy birds, animals and affect the survival of the flora and fauna of that region.

- Commercial logging: Cutting trees for commercial purposes like paper industries and furniture also leads to the destruction of forest.

  Following is an extract from Mantukopanishath.

  Dasa koopa samo vapi (Ten wells equal a Pond)

  Dasa vaspi samo hrida (Ten ponds equal a sea)

  Dasa hrida samo puthra (Ten sea equal a son)

  Dasa puthra samo druma. (Ten sons equal a tree)

It indicates that the importance of afforestation was realised from the ancient times. Why do you think that forest conservation has become so important? In order to maintain the bio-diversity and ecological balance, adequate forest area is to be maintained. What would be the result of deforestation? Let us discuss.

Impact of Deforestation

As we learned earlier, deforestation will be a great blow to tribal habitat. Naturally that leads to the cultural alienation of the tribal people. Cutting of plants and trees also will affect bio-diversity. You had studied that soil erosion is a very important after effect of deforestation. What else can be its effects?

By burning trees and clearing the forest, the soil releases green house gases including carbon dioxide. More over when forest area decreases, the amount of carbon dioxide

141

used for photosynthesis will also reduce and it will lead to the increase in atmospheric carbon dioxide. Increase in carbon will result in the rise of global average temperature known as global warming. Destruction of forest also causes to the decrease in the concentration of oxygen which is necessary for living beings.

Even though deforestation leads to severe environmental problems we cannot say that developmental activities should be prohibited. So we have to think about other means to overcome these problems. Letus find out how to combat the problems of deforestation.

Most important is to plant trees (afforestation) to increase the forest cover, and to counter the effects of deforestation. Awareness programme can be conducted in the form of seminar and campaign to make understand about the harmful effects of deforestation. People can be involved in the forest activities as part of social forestry. Trees may be planted on the boundaries of the field. The programme is envisaged as farm forestry. In order to nurture the rare and endangered species, tissue culture method can be resorted.

Letus form different groups and prepare posters/slogans against deforestation. Collect information on the programmes implemented by the government, non-governmental Organisations and voluntary organisations in your school like NSS units, Nature Club etc to promote afforestation.

As we found earlier, developmental programmes implemented by government are sometimes criticised by environmental activists. The criticism in certain cases shaped into movements. Let us go through such environmental movements.

Environmental Movements

Concern over forest, water and other natural resources have been widespread throughout human history. The mid-seventies and eighties witnessed several environmental movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The womenfolk played a major role in spearheading such movements and contributing to the conservation of environment.

Chipko Movement: Chipko Movement or Tree Hugging Movement as it is popularly known is one of the powerful socio-ecological movements organised on the Gandhian principles of sathyagraha and non-violence. This movement was against large scale tree-felling and extensive deforestation. It was launched by Sunderlal Bahuguna and Chandi Prasad Jain to resist extensive tree felling by timber contractors in the Utterkhand hills. Sunderlal Bahuguna raised the slogan 'Ecology is the permanent economy' to highlight the noble mission of Chipko movement. This Movement had its resistance day on 26 March 1974 at Gopeswar in Chamoli district of Tehribb Garwal region. The tree felling in this

142

area was assigned to Simon and Company based in Allahabad. When the axe men came to cut down the trees, the local tribal women under the leadership of Bechni Devi rushed to the spot in large numbers and encircled the trees and embraced them, singing Chipko Chipko (chipko means to hug). The tribal women resisted tree felling to save the forest and to regain their traditional rights on forest which were denied to them. The axe men were forced to withdraw and go back. This

Fig 5.12 Chipco means 'hug'

movement spread to other regions such as Kumaon, Garhwall, Nanital and had its wide impact throughout the nation.

Save Silent Valley Movement: This is an organised mass movement, launched in 1970s. Silent valley is surrounded by Nilgiri forest in the north and the Attapadi forest in the east. This forest in Western Ghats is a precious gene pool and rich reservoir of bio-diversity, which is unique with many species of plants and insects, not seen elsewhere. Government of Kerala decided to construct a dam in Silent Valley across the river 'Kunthipuzha' for generating electricity. The reservoir of the proposed dam would store water over an area of 700 hectors of forest. This would nearly cause the permanent loss of the huge and invaluable genetic wealth, which nature has preserved for over a long geological time.

Fig 5.13
Sundarlal Bahuguna

Agitation initiated against government proposal and in a short time, it mobilised the general public, teaching community, students, youth employees and the people of all walks of life all over Kerala. Several International agencies and organisations supported this movement. Later India government declared Silent Valley as a bio-sphere reserve, recognising the view of agitators.

Narmada Bachao Andolan (Save Narmada Movement): Narmada Bachao Andolan is an organised movement launched by an environmental action group steered by Baba Amte, Medha Patkar and Arundhathi Roy. This movement has been against the construction of Sardar Sarovar, Narmada Sagar and other big dams across the river Narmada(Gujarat). The environmentalists countered the proposal on the ground that it would lead to the submergence of thousands of villages, displace a large number of tribal people, and destroy their cultural legacy.

Save Western Ghat Movement/Appiko Movement: The Western Ghats are a mountain range that runs almost parallel to the western coast of Indian Peninsula. The area is one of the world's ten "bio-diversity hotspots". Deforestation in the Western Ghats has caused severe problems for all of Southern India. The recurring drought in the provinces of Karnataka, Maharashtra, Kerala and Tamil Nadu clearly indicates watershed degradation. Appiko Movement is a revolutionary movement based on environmental conservation in India. It was organised by Pandu Ram Hegde of Karnataka in 1983 for protecting trees and forest. The local term for 'hugging' in Kannada is 'appiko.' Its activists hug the trees in protest against their felling. A pulp and paper mill, a plywood factory and a chain of hydroelectric dams, constructed to harness the rivers - sprouted in the area. The local population, especially the poorest groups, were displaced by the dams.

The movement achieved a fair amount of success: the state government has banned felling of green trees in some forest areas. Only dead, dying and dry trees are allowed to be felled to meet the local requirements. The movement has spread to the four hill districts of Karnataka Province, and has the potential to spread to the Eastern Ghats in Tamil Nadu and to Goa.

Gadgil Committee Report and After

The Western Ghats Ecology Expert Panel (WGEEP), also known as the Gadgil Commission was headed by the Professor Madhav Gadgil, eminent ecologist. This was a committee appointed by the Union Ministry of Environment and Forests of India to assess the bio-diversity and environmental issues of the Western Ghats. The panel which was set up on March 14, 2010 submitted its report to the Government on August 31, 2011, with strong recommendations to protect the Western Ghats. As there was protest among some sections of the people of Kerala against the implementation of the Gadgil Committee recommendations, the Kerala Government appointed a Committee headed by Dr. Kasturirangan to study the situation. However, the recommendations of the committee were also not free from criticism.

Read the full text of the recommendations of Madhav Gadgil committee and Kasturirangan report and discuss the relevance and feasibility of them in Kerala. Also collect reports of movements and agitations for saving ecology conducted in your locality and conduct a seminar on it.

144

SUMMARY

- Ecology is the branch of science which deals with the study of inter-relationship between organisms and environment. The branch of Anthropology which deals with the relationship between human being and environment is termed as Ecological Anthropology.

- The concept cultural ecology is developed by Julian Steward, famous American anthropologist. Cultural ecology is the study of the relationship between human culture and environment. According to him human culture is determined by environment.

- Population ecology is the concept introduced by Julian Steward to study the environmental relationship with particular human population. It is the study of those factors affecting the distribution of ecological population.

- Ethno-ecology is the group's conception of biotic inter-relationship within its universe. It studies the ecological relationship from the participant's point of view. That is how the native people feel the relationship with environment.

- Environmental determinism explains that environment has a major role in determining all aspects of human life. This concept emphasises the role of environment in shaping human personality, human biology, size of population, health of population, morality and material culture.

- Environmental Possibilism says that physical environment plays a limiting role in shaping culture in a particular area.

- Adaptation is the ability and capacity of the organisms to adjust with the changing environment in a habitat. There are three types of adaptation namely, physiological adaptation, genetic adaptation and behavioural or cultural adaptation. Eco-cultural adaptation is an important process of survival mechanism of every human population.

- Displacement means uprooting of a particular section of a population from a permanent settlement. Rehabilitation (re-settlement) means the settlement of displaced population permanently at a new place.

- Deforestation is the intentional clearance of forests by logging and or burning. Reasons of deforestation may include population growth, urbanisation, mining process, forest fire, hill road, transportation and commercial logging.

- Developmental programmes implemented by government leads to environmental movements. Chipco movement, Narmada Bachavo Andolan, Save Silent Valley movement, and Appiko movement are some among them.

TERM EVALUATION ITEMS

Fill in the blank area

1. The branch of Anthropology concerned with the inter-relationship between human beings and their environment is........................

2. The branch of science which deals with the study of inter-relationship between organisms and environment is.....................

3. The concept cultural ecology was developed by...............................

4. Uprooting of a particular section of a population from a permanent settlement is...........

5. Settlement of displaced population permanently at a new place is.........................

6. Match the column A with B and C

	A	B	C
a.	Appico movement	Sunderlal Bahuguna	Gujarat
b.	Chipco movement	Pandu Ram Hegde	Utterghand
c.	Narmada Bachavo Andolan	Medha Patkar	Karnataka

7. Find the pair
    a. Physiological adaptation: sweating, behavioural adaptation:...............
    b. Organism and environment: ecology, human and environment:.......................
    c. Hunting gathering: bushman, pastoralism:...........

8. Some argued that shifting cultivation leads to deforestation and hence, it should be banned . What is your opinion? Substantiate.

9. The mid-seventies and eighties witnessed several environmental movements in india. List out the environmental movements in india and explain any two movements.

10. Forest provides home to many and plays an important role in maintaining the climatic conditions and preventing soil erosion. But forest area is diminishing in Kerala .Find out the reasons for deforestation and their remedial measures?

11. The people of hunting and gathering stage do not practice agriculture or domestication of animals. Identify the eco cultural adaptation in hunting gathering stage?

12. Examine the problems faced by displacement and rehabilitation?

13. Explain adaptation and different levels of adaptation?

14. How the adaptation process takes place among hunting gathering tribe.

GLOSSARY

Abiotic environment	: it consists of non-living organism.
Acclimitization	: The reversible physiological adjustments to environment stress.
Adaptation	: It is the process by which organism cope with environmental stresses.
Biotic organism	: it consist of living organism.
Displacement	: Uprooting of a particular section of people because of development .
Ecosystem	: It consists of sum total of all the living and nonliving environment of a given area or habitat.
Habitat	: It is the place where an organism lives.
Kavu	: It is the sacred place surrounded by.
Plasticity	: Plasticity is the large lung capacity and slow skeletal maturation rate observed in individuals residing in high altitude.
Transhumance	: It is the movement of people from one place to another in search of food for animals.
Rehabilitation	: Resettlement of uprooted population permanently to a new place.

REFERENCES

Singh, Awadesh Kumar and Udai Pratap Singh. 1999. *Human ecology and development in India.* New Delhi: aph publishing corporation.

Honigmann, J John (ed.). *Hand Book of Social and Cultural Anthropology.* New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Donald, L Hardesty. 1977. *Ecological Anthropology.* New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Roger, M Keesing, 1981.*Cultural Anthropology - A Contemporary Perspective.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

James, N Anderson. 1997. *Ecological Anthropology and Anthropological Ecology.*

Basu, Roy Indrani. 2005. *Anthropology the Study of Man*. New Delhi: S Chand Publication.

PEOPLE AND CULTURES OF INDIA

SIGNIFICANT LEARNING OUTCOMES

After completing this unit the learner will be able to:

- Analyse the importance of geographical, demographic and linguistic factors in shaping the social system of India and appreciate its distinctiveness.

- Identify the pluralistic/multi-ethnic nature of Indian culture and appreciate its unity even in greatest diversities.

- Examine the features of early Indian civilization and society.

- Recognise the features of traditional Indian social system.

- Analyse the geographical, demographic and racial features of Kerala society and identify the features of Kerala culture.

- Evaluate the importance of Land reforms in Kerala.

CONTENTS

People of India
- Geographical background
- Demographic profile
- Linguistic profile
- Racial profile

Early Indian Civilisation and Society
Indian Social System
- Varna System
- Caste System
- Joint Family
- India as an Ethnological Museum
- Unity and Diversity of India

Kerala Society and Culture
- Geographical Background
- Demographic Composition
- Racial Profile

Kerala Culture - Historical Perspective
- Caste System
- Marumakkathayam
- Marriage Customs
- Janmi System

Land Reforms in Kerala

*U*nder severe pressure and protests against the untouchability wall, revenue officials on Saturday demolished two portions of a one kilometer long compound wall in Nagarajapuram on the outskirts of the city, which had denied Dalits in the area access to the main road. The demolition of the "untouchability wall" along two stretches of 30 feet and 23 feet has now provided residents of the Dalit colony an easier access to the main road".

Picture 6.1 Demolition of untouchability wall

The above given is an extract was of news published in an Indian daily on 27th December 2010. Does it remind you about the social injustice prevalent in the caste-ridden Kerala society of 19th century? Why do these social injustices still prevail in this century as well?

We can see that, caste system is a unique feature of Indian society. The deep rooted caste system causes the social stratification in India. Some other factors like language, ethnicity, religious beliefs etc. also make Indian society pluralistic. It is the birth place of Hinduism, Budhism, Jainism and Sikhism. There are other influential religions in this country like Islam, Christianity, Zorastrianism, Judaism and Bahai faith. At the same time, atheism and rational thinking also play an influential role. It is one of the culturally diverse nations in the world.

People of India

The people of India differ in their customs, manners, habits, attitudes, beliefs and dress pattern. Thus we can identify that Indian population is distinctive in many respects. These characteristics can be observed in both material and non-material aspects of culture. The geographical location of Indian subcontinent has

Picture 6.2 Diversity in dress pattern in India

149

influenced and to a great extent determined the formation and development of rich and diverse social and cultural framework. Each Indian state which was formed on the basis of a particular language also maintains diverse social cultural fabric. Among these the state of Kerala may be specially mentioned because of its achievements in the economic, social, cultural and health sectors. In this unit, we shall examine the plurality of cultures of the people of India with special reference to Kerala.

The project launched by Anthropological Survey of India (AnSI) in the year 1985 and completed in 1992 was able to identify, locate and study 4635 communities in all the states and union territories of India. This study proves undoubtedly that unlike many other countries India is a plural society with many religions, languages, castes, communities and different ethnic groups.

Fig 6.3 Diversity of house types in India

You have already learned that geographical diversity has correspondingly affected construction of houses in various ways. For instance, the construction of houses in the north eastern states like Assam is quite different from that of Deccan plateau. What does this show? Geographical features definitely influence all aspects of culture and housing is one among them. Let us now examine how Indian geography influenced the formation of a unique society and culture in India.

Geographical Background

The geographical features of the country influence the social, economic and political development of India. India occupies a central position in Asia and Eastern world. India is a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-linguistic country. It has political boundaries with Pakistan in the North-West, Nepal, Bhutan and China in the North-East, Bangladesh and Myanmar in the East. Arabian Sea in the West, Indian Ocean in the South and the Bay of Bengal in the East demarcate the Indian peninsula. Climatically, there are regions ranging from extreme heat to extreme cold.

India is a vast peninsula with a total land area of about 3.3 million sq. km. Its length from north to south is about 3200 kilometers and breadth from east to west is nearly 3000 kilo meters. India has a variety of land forms, the main physical divisions are:

1. Northern Mountain Region
2. North Indian Plain
3. Thar Desert
4. Peninsular India
5. Coastal Plain
6. The Island Regions

Northern Mountain Region: It includes the Himalayas and the North-Eastern hills. Some of the world's tallest mountains include these mountainous ranges. It acts as a wall and prevents foreign invasion. The Himalayas act as natural barriers to the cold polar winds and regulate the climate in India by facilitating the monsoon winds. They also serve as the source of water for a number of rivers such as Indus, Ganga and Brahmaputra, which originate from them.

North Indian Plain: This is also known as *Indo-Ganga plain* or *Gangatic plain*. This area is very fertile because Indus, Ganga and Brahmaputra deposits organic remnants and

> Why the growth rate has been high in the Northern Region of India than that of Southern Region?

large quantity of alluvial soil on both sides of these rivers. Ancient Indian civilization flourished in the river valleys. The important religious centres and townships flourished along their banks. Rivers also serve as one of the important means of transportation and communication.

Thar Desert: The Thar Desert is one of the largest deserts in the world. More than 60 per cent of its geographic area is situated in Rajasthan. It plays an important role in determining the weather condition of the country.

> What would have been the cultural pattern iin Rajasthan if Thar Desert did not exist there?

Peninsular India: It lies in Northern plain and in between Western and Eastern Ghats. There are a few natural harbours along the western and eastern coasts. Peninsular India carried marine trade with other parts of the world. Goa and Mumbai are on the western coast and Chennai and Vishagpatnam are along the eastern coast. Krishna, Kavery and Godhavary rivers of this area have played vital role in the development of South India.

Coastal Plain: Among the Eastern and Western coastal plains in India, the Eastern coastal plain lies between Eastern Ghats and Bay of Bengal. It is known as Coramandal

> How has the Vindya-Sathpura mountain range influenced North and South Indian cultures?

Coast. The Western coastal plain lies between Western Ghats and Arabian Sea and includes the Konkan Coast and Malabar Coast.

151

Can you discuss how the coastal areas, the Eastern and Western Ghats influenced the development of diverse cultures in these areas? How have these ghats become the abode of indigenous tribal cultures?

The Island Regions: Apart from these geographical zones, India also has a "sixth zone" consisting of islands, which includes the **Lakshadweep Islands** in the Arabian Sea and the **Andaman and Nicobar Islands** in the Bay of Bengal. The Lakshadweep Islands are the smallest Union Territory in India, with three main islands, namely, Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands. The people inhabiting the islands show ethnic similarity to the people of Kerala.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands, a Union Territory of India, are bigger in size than the Lakshadweep and has about 572 islands. These islands lay at the juncture of the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea.

The Andaman Islands can be divided into two groups namely "The Andaman Group of islands" and "the Nicobar Group of islands". Geologically speaking, these islands are located on part of the land mass of South-East Asia, including Malaysia, North-East India, Burma, Thailand and Indonesia. The zone comprises long range of hills with evergreen forests, and also has rich biodiversity. However, human inhabitation is recorded only in about 34 islands. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands are very popular for tribal inhabitants such as Sentinelese of Sentinel Islands, Shompens of Great Nicobar, Great Andamanese of Strait Island and the more isolated Onges of Little Andaman, Jarawas of South and Middle Andaman. The southernmost tip of India – Indira point- is located in Andaman and Nicobar islands.

Can you now draw the map of India and locate the above geographical divisions in it?

In fact Indian geographical peculiarities have resulted in the complex spatial distribution of human population. This is evident while examining the demographic profile of India.

Demographic Profile

Demography refers to statistical study of the size, composition and spatial distribution of human population. The factors like fertility, mortality, marriage, migration, and social mobility affect the demography of a particular place. India is an over populated country. The economic growth of India is comparatively slow while the population growth is very fast. India is the second largest populous country in the world after China. More than one

sixth of the world population lives in India while it accounts for only 2.5% of the world's total land area.

The projected Indian population scenario after 20 years (in 2026)

Total population	-	140 Crores
Birth rate	-	16 per 1000
Infant mortality rate	-	40 per 1000
Male female sex ratio	-	1000:930
Population growth (2001-2026)	-	36%
Age group (0-15 years)	-	327
Age group (15-64 years)	-	957
Age group (65 and above years)	-	116
Population density	-	426 persons per sq.km.

(Source: Technical group of National population commission 2000)

As per the 2011 census, the total population of India is about 121 crores, an increase of about 7.5% since the 2001 census.. According to the demographers the major cause for increase in population is the rapid fall in the death rate.

Sex Composition/Ratio: The sex composition of India's population shows that there are more males than females. According to 2011 census the male-female ratio is 1000:940, while it was 1000:933 as per the 2001 census. The only state in which female population exceeds the male population is Kerala (1000:1084). The only Union Territory which holds more females than males is Pondicherry with 1000:1034.

Literacy Rate: According to 2011 census, the literacy rate of male is over 82.1% and that of female is over 65.6%. Thus over 74% of Indians are literate today, an increase of 10% from 2001 to 2011. The state with the highest literacy is Kerala (93.91%) and the lowest is Bihar (63.82%)*.*

Increase in literacy rate has resulted in many social phenomena in India. People are migrating to urban areas from rural in search of better education, job and better standard of living. This has resulted in the influx of urban population. Let us see the statistics as per the census.

Rural-urban population: According to 2011 census, 68.8% of Indian population lives in

villages while 31.2% of the people live in urban areas, with an increasing trend of urban population. The chart given clearly elucidates the growing trend of urabanisation since 1951.

Did you observe that the rural areas are shrinking in your area? Are the urban areas growing up? What can be the reasons? Prepare a report based on your observation and additional reading.

India is a highly stratified society. The people of India are stratified on many grounds, one of which is religious stratification.

Religious Composition*:* As per 2011 census, The Hindus constitute nearly 80 per cent of the total population of India, while the Muslims constitute about 14 per cent. The other religious groups include Christians (about 2.3 %), Sikhs (about 1.9 %), Budhdhists (0.8 %), Jains (0.4%) and the Animists and others (0.7 %).

Prepare a chart showing the changes in the demographic profile of India since 1951. It should include total population, sex composition, urban and rural population literacy rate and age group composition.

You would have already learned in your previous classes that language is the vehicle of culture. Cultural diversity can very well be manifested in language diversities as far as India is concerned. This will become clearer when we examine the linguistic profile of India.

Fig 6.4 Growing trend of urban population

Linguistic Profile

It is argued that the multiplicity of the languages is no bar to the nationhood. Most of the Indian states have been formed along the lines of their respective languages. The Indian constitution recognises 22 languages by including them in the eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. Besides these there are plenty of other languages and dialects in India. Hindi has been considered as the national and official language of India. English is an associate official language. Nagaland is the only state which recognises the official language and local language as English. Pali, Prakrit and Sanskrit languages were prominent in ancient India.

Each dialect or language is a unique category of a given community or group as it is their distinctive cultural expression. Any change or disappearance of a language or dialect
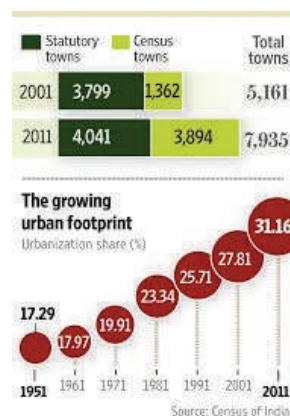
154

undoubtedly leads to the vanishing of those specific culture(s). In India, as it happened elsewhere, many dialects and languages have either undergone vast changes or are at the verge of extinction. So the preservation of language means maintaining or preserving our cultural heritage. An understanding of the Indian language families is obligatory for appreciating its heterogeneity.
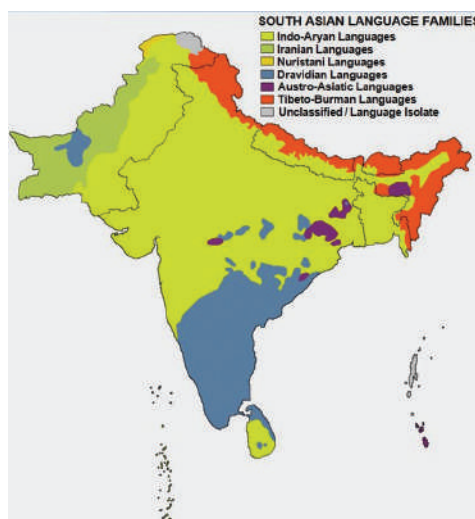
Language Families in India

The language families in India are given below:

1.   Indo-Aryan (Indo-European)

2.   Dravidian (South Indian Languages)

3.   Sino-Tibetan (Tibeto-Burman)

4.   Austric (Austro-Asiatic)

5.   Unclassified

Indo-Aryan: The Indo-Aryan language family includes the languages prevalent in the North and North West India. These include Hindi, Punjabi, Marathi, Gujrati, Rajasthani, Sindi, Konkani, Marwari, Mewati, Urdu, Chatisgarhi, Maithili, Kumayuni, Garhwali and Bengali. Indo-Aryan languages are spoken by about 73% of Indian Population.

Dravidian: The Dravidian language family includes south Indian languages like Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu and Tamil. The earliest among the Dravidian languages is Tamil. The Gondi language has also been classified under Dravidian language family. Dravidian languages are spoken by about 23% of Indians.

Fig 6.5 Distribution of South Asian Language families

Sino-Tibetan: Most of the people inhabiting the North-Eastern India including the states such as Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Megalaya, and Manipur speak Sino-Tibetan languages. Languages spoken by Kuki, Garo and Lepcha tribe of North India include this language family.

155

Austric: In this category the languages and and dialects of tribes of central India are included. The tribes like Santhals, Munda and Ho speak languages come under Austric family.

Unclassified: The language whose genetic affiliation has not been established is known as Unclassified Language. For instance, the languages spoken by the tribal people of Andaman and Nicobar islands are not identified and classified properly. Such languages are categorised under unclassified languages.

The above map depicts the distribution of South-Asian language families. You have to prepare a similar map of India showing the distribution of different language families.

When we talk about the influence of languages within the different language families, we can see that Sanskrit has once acted as a bridge between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. Sanskrit also served as a communication link between them. This is evident from the more number of Sanskrit words and usages in Malayalam language. During the medieval period of Indian history Persian language- Urdu – influenced many Indian languages like Marathi, Kannada, Telugu, Tamil and Bengali. These languages again influenced and contributed common elements to each other. The role of English language has been significant during British period and that influence and hegemony still continues. During the time of Indian independence struggle *Hindustani* language (an amalgam of Urdu, Hindi and words from different languages) got wide acceptance. After independence, Hindi was promoted to achieve linguistic unity.

Efforts to strengthen the regional languages are progressing on the one hand and we talk about national integration on the other. Could you discuss how linguistic heterogeneity and national integration go hand in hand? Utilise the above points and debate on "Do we need a common all India vocabulary and language?"

Apart from linguistic diversity, among Indian population, different observable morphological and metric features can also be seen. Population with these features is generally termed as races. Unlike other countries in the world India is characterised by a unique profile of multiple racial strains. Let us examine this racial profile to understand another dimension of Indian people and culture.

Racial Profile

Hutton, an Indian anthropologist says "race is a group of people having common characters". There are divergent views regarding the racial elements in Indian population.

Many anthropologists including H H Risely, J H Hutton, and B S Guha have classified Indian people into different races. H H Risley recognises three principal racial types in India. They are Dravidian, Indo-Aryan and Mangoloid.

However, the most accepted racial classification of Indian population was done by B S Guha in 1935 who listed 6 main races with 9 sub-races. They are listed below.

Negroids: The Negritos were regarded as the earliest inhabitants of India. They have survived in their original habitat in Andaman and Nicobar islands. The Jarawas, Onges, Shompen, Sentinalese and Great Andamanese are some of the examples. Some of the hill tribes of South India including Kadars, Irulas, Paniyans and Kurumbas also come under this category.

Proto-Australoids: It is believed that the proto-Australoid elements are widespread in Indian population. The Proto-Australoids are said to have come from the West and exhibit the features such as wavy hair, prominent eye ridges, sunken nose, thick jaw, low forehead, and small chins. Some proto-Australoid racial features have been noted from the skeletal remains found from Mohenjodaro. It shows that Proto-Australoids might have laid the foundation of Indian culture. The tribal groups of Central India, like Munda, Ho, Oraon, Santhals, Gond and Khond and the Kurichya tribe of Kerala represent this racial stock.

Mangaloid: These people, with yellow complexion, oblique eyes, high cheek bones, sparse hair and medium height, are found in the North-Eastern part of India, in the states of Assam, Nagaland, Misoram, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura.

Mediterranean: The Mediterranean are people with long head and represent several types. The Mediterranean are classified into *Paleo-mediterraneans, Mediterranean and the Oriental.*

The recent mitochondrial DNA studies in India throw strong doubt for a biological Dravidian "race" distinct from non-Dravidians in the Indian sub-continent. The only distinct ethnic groups present in South Asia, according to genetic analysis, are the Balochi, Brahui, Burusho, Hazara, Kalash, Pathan and Sindhi peoples, the vast majority of whom are found in today's Pakistan.(Tabassum; 2011;P. 67)

The Mediterranean are medium statured and dark skinned. They are found largely in Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam speaking areas. The south Indian Dravidian language speaking groups like Thiyyas/Ezhavas and Nairs are considered to be of Mediterranean stock.

157

Western Brachycephals: The Western Brachycephalic group is divided into *Alpinoids, Dinarics* and *Armanoids* sub types. The *Alpinoids* are represented by the Banias of Gujarath, Kathi of Kathiawar and Kayastas of Bengal. The representative population of Dinaric is found in Bengal, Orissa and Coorg. Brahmins of Bengal and of Mysore are the representatives of *Dinaric*. Both the Alpino and Dinaric people might have entered into India through Baluchisthan, Sindh, Gujarath and Maharashtra and penetrated to Sri Lanka from Karnataka.

The Armanoids show much resemblance with the Dinaric people. The Parsis of Bombay are the best representatives of *Armanoid*.

Nordics: The Nordics are said to have contributed the Sanskrit language and laid the foundation of the Hindu civilisation in India. They penetrated to India through Central Asia from Russia and Siberia. The original Nordics are tall-statured, fair-skinned, with golden hair and blue eyes. They are present in Punjab and upper Gangetic valley and Rajasthan. The climatic condition of India is said to have changed their physical colour into light brown and even into dark brown.

The classification of 'Aryan' and 'Dravidian' races is pseudo-scientific. It was used first by the British census authorities. The Aryan, Indo-Aryan, and Dravidian terminologies have now a days considered as linguistic terms rather than ethnic terms.

Major racial	Represen-	Picture of the caste/tribe/religious group	Brief description
Negroid	Jarawas		Found in Andaman and Nicobar islands. A rare tribal group on the verge of extinction ....
....	....		....

Major racial groups found in India are explained above. Prepare a chart/digital presentation/album showing the major six races found in India along with its representatives like caste/religious/tribal groups with their pictures. A sample is given below.

158

Different racial stocks migrated and settled in India during different periods. Many inter- mixed and established their own society and culture. Of course, some maintained their identity. These society and culture have many peculiar features. The features of Indian society and culture since its beginning are outlined below.

Early Indian Civilisation and Society

You have learned in your Archaeology classes that India has a rich pre-historic tradition starting from palaeolithic period. Several pre-historic sites excavated exemplify our rich cultural heritage. However, civilisations belonged to Metal Age were flourished on the banks of river Indus in India during the historic period.

Indus Civilization: Indus valley civilization or Harappan culture is one of the earlier civilizations of the world of human kind, that existed during the period between 2,500 -1,700 BCE (Before Common Era). It spread into a vast area including the parts of India, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. It is a fact that the Indus Civilization had emerged earlier than the Vedic Civilization and probably formed by the 'Dravidians'. The

Fig. 6.6 Indus Valley site

Indus valley people subsisted mainly on agriculture and animal rearing. The evidences manifest their exceptional planning skills in house and road construction and drainage systems, also indicating their consciousness about health, hygiene and sanitation. They seem to have had strong religious faith and the concept of Mother Goddess.

The decline of Indus civilisation led to the formation of a new society and culture, with advanced technology by the Aryan migrants. They formed the early Vedic society with an exclusive life style hitherto unknown.

Vedic Society: The Aryans are said to have migrated from Central Asia in several groups around 1500 to 1000 BCE and developed the Vedic Civilisation in India. They developed a new language and a new religion based on the *Veda*. The early Vedic period was the period of the Rig Veda (1500 -1000BCE). The Aryans had come into conflict with the earlier settlers and followed a mixed economy of both agriculture and animal husbandry. The cow was valued highly as a unit of exchange. Agriculture was the principal way of

159

subsistence. The emergence of new occupations and occupational groups such as, fishermen, washer-men, artisans and servicing groups as well as merchants and traders was another feature of this period. It became hereditary. The Vedic people were instrumental in the spreading of iron technology, supposed to be superior to the then prevailing copper technology and extensively used iron weapons. They have also used gold coins.

The domination of the Aryans led to the formation of two distinctive groups, the Aryans and the non-Aryans. The process of the rapid increase of aryanization and the spread of the Vedic culture, resulted in the stratification of the Indian population. The people of Vedic culture followed the *Dharmasastras* as their legal treatises, and social codes, based on the doctrines of *purusharthaa*, *karma* and *dharma*. The four Varanas and the four Asharamas came into existence on par with these doctrines.

Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism had also profoundly influenced in shaping the culture of Indians over a period of time. Above all, the traditional Indian culture has been deeply indebted to the tribal world of India. It was influential and instrumental in moulding it, along with the rich contribution of the migrants of India in different periods in the formulation of the Indian social system and culture.

Indian Social System

India, with its diverse cultures and social formations has developed a highly stratified social system with unequally ranked groups.

You have already heard about the *varnasrama* and *chathurvarnya* system.

• Who were responsible for such social systems?

• What are its characteristics?

• How did it affect the Indian social and cultural milieu? Let us examine.

The Indian Social system has emerged and evolved into a complex, stratified and hierarchical construction of Varna, Caste and Class. These social and cultural elements were carried from the Vedic and post-Vedic Periods.

The most important basis of the Indian social system was Varna, Ashrama, Purushartha and Caste system.

Varna System

Purusha sukta is one of the sections in *Rigveda*, in which the varna system is first mentioned. The word varna is derived from the Sanskrit word 'vri' which means colour.

According to Rigveda, during the early vedic phase, there were only two varnas namely '*arya varna*' and '*dasa varna*', the former being fair and the latter black.

Similar social divisions on the basis of colour are seen to have existed in other parts of the world. Can you collect such details and present it in your class

The early Indian texts (e.g. the Rigveda, and the Manusmriti) speak of Varna which means order, category, type, colour (of things) and groups the human society in India into four categories as, 1. Brahmins (the priests, scholars and teachers), 2. Kshatriya (the kings and warriors) 3.Vaishya (the merchants and cultivators) and 4. Shudra (the workers and service providers) in the order of hierarchy from the topmost to the bottom.

The texts also describe their creation as from the creator's mouth, arms, thighs and feet respectively. The first three varnas are known as 'twice born' (*dwija*). The associated racial notion was that the first two categories were fair and the third, yellow and the fourth one dark. Those who do not fall within the category of **chathurvarna system,** have been called as Avarnas (out the varna fold). They became an appendix to the Varna system, as Panchamas. Accrording to *Vishnu purana* everyone is born as a *Shudra* and it is only one's *karma* that entitles one to be a *Brahmin* or *Vaisya* or *Sudra*.

Social stratifications similar to *chathurvarnya* and caste system exist in different parts of the world. Stratification on the basis of class can also be seen. Collect such details compare it with Indian social stratifications and discuss in your group. You can prepare a chart comparing these different phenomena.

Caste System

The term caste has been derived from the Portuguese word '*casta'* meaning race which, in turn, is derived from the Latin word *castus*, meaning pure. It has been coined to refer to the traditional Hindu-based social organisation. In English, the term caste corresponds to the local term '*jati'*.

> H H Risely defines caste as "a collection of families or group of families bearing a common name and claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor".

The origin of caste system can be related to the *varna* system that existed during the *Vedic* period.

Features of Caste: Some of the important features of the traditional caste system in India are detailed below. Discuss the following points in your group and present your findings in class.

161

Segmental division of society: In caste system the whole Hindu society is divided into various social units known as caste.

Membership is by birth: A person ascribed a caste status as he/she is born to the members of that caste group.

Fig. 6.7 Heriditary Occupation

Hierarchy: The different caste groups are arranged in hierarchical order. Some castes are considered higher and some others are treated as lower.

Endogamy: The members of a particular caste are not usually allowed to marry a person from another caste.

Heriditary Occupation: Each caste group has its own traditional occupation. Conventionally, a person born in a caste is forced to pursue its traditional occupation.

Commensality (sharing of food): Persons in a particular caste shares food among the members. But inter dining with members of other caste is not permitted.

Closed system: Caste is a closed system as members from a caste are not permitted to move to another caste.

Disabilities and Privileges enjoyed by a special group: In caste system so called higher castes enjoy some privileges over the lower castes. Lower castes are restricted from enjoying many social, educational and economic attainments.

Identify the different caste groups and their traditional occupations in Kerala. Do they still follow the traditional occupation? What can be the reasons for occupational change? Prepare a report.

Caste system did not originate all of a sudden. Did you ever study about the origin of caste system? There are various theories related to origin of caste system in India like Divine theory, Occupational theory, Political theory and Racial theory. Collect details on such theories and discuss.

162

Another feature of Indian society is the joint family system. How is a joint family differentiated? What made the decline of joint family system in India? Let us examine.

Joint Family System

Iravati Karve defines joint family as "*a group of people who generally live under one roof, who eat food cooked at one hearth, who hold property in common and who participate in common family worship and are related to each other as some particular type of kindred*".

Joint family is based on blood relations extending over three or more generations having certain cultural norms. The main characteristics of joint family are the indivisibility and the common sharing of property. The property belongs to the family. Traditionally, the eldest male member of the family has the right to manage the property and to take decisions on economic and social matters on behalf of the entire family. Hindu joint family is mainly of two types, namely, the matrilocal joint family and patrilocal joint family.

Features of Joint Family

From the above definition we can infer that joint family is large in size as members of different families live together under a roof. All the members in a joint family trace a common ancestor. Property of the family is owned jointly by the members in the family. More over all the members share common residence and cook in same hearth. Can you identify other features of Joint family system? Prepare a report and discuss it in the class. Now joint family system is not prevailing in our state. What can be the reasons?

You can conduct a group discussion on 'why joint family system declined and nuclear family emerged'? The following points can be taken into account.

- Decline of feudalism • Emergence of capitalism • Market oriented economy
- Globalisation • Progressive laws • Social reform movements etc.

We have examined the Indian social system and found that Indian society is pluralistic in nature. Almost all racial groups, linguistic groups and people with variety of life styles are found in Indian sub continent. Have you visited an anthropological museum? Imagine India an anthropological museum.

India as an Ethnological Museum

The historians and social scientists consider India as an ethnological museum. A museum is a place where a large number of specimens belonging to different types are

163

exhibited. Ethnic group is a social collectivity having common race, language and descent. Large numbers of ethnic groups are present in India. It consists of about 426 tribal groups, about more than 3000 castes, different religions like Hindu, Muslim, Christians, Parsis, Sikhs, Jains, Budhists etc, different racial groups, and different language groups. You may remember the diversity of Indian population related to race, caste, language and religions described earlier in the unit.

Indian society is a mixture of multiple cultures including that of Aryan and Dravidian. The Muslims, Greeks and Europeans attacked India and later on mixed with Indian society. Indian population shows almost all variety of racial characteristics. It clearly describes the diversity of Indian society. Hence, India has come to be known as an ethnological museum.

Unity and Diversity in India

As mentioned earlier, India has witnessed a number of migrations of human populations, with diverse human cultures in different periods of time. India is a plural society and a resting place for multiplicity of cultures. Foreign invasions, immigration from other parts of the world and the existence of diverse languages and cultures and religions as discussed elsewhere, have made India's culture diverse. Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Islam, Sikhism, Christianity are the major religions in India. Besides, there are 22 constitutionally recognised languages and several hundreds of dialects in India. There is diversity not only in racial composition, religion and linguistic distribution, but also in the patterns of living, lifestyles, occupations, inheritance, succession of law, practices and rites related to birth, marriage, death etc.

Fig. 6.8 Ethnic diversity in India

In India, there is a unity in apparent diversities. The Indian Constitution guarantees to all the peoples of India, the right to profess any religion and live by any culture and language. The distinctive feature of India, in its unity and diversity is also reflected in its social ethos. The single Supreme Court, National flag, anthem and symbols and the rich

cultural heritage of India evoke a sense of unity in the minds of all the Indians. Moreover, the geographical boundary of India, and the social reform movements also helped to build unity in India. The secularism proposed by the constitution give equal consideration to all the religious belief and to those who not practicing any particular faith. Thus even amidst great diversity, all the Indians have a feeling that they are Indian.

The social cultural features of India are reflected in Kerala as well. Hence, Kerala can be considered a microcosm of India. Let us examine the features of Kerala society and culture.

Kerala Society and Culture

The word '*Keralam'* may be originated from the word '*cheralam'*, as the land was ruled by Chera rulers. Some scholars believe that the name Kerala is derived from '*kera'* (coconut) which was profusely cultivated in the land of Kerala. There is a proposition regarding the origin of Kerala namely volcanic eruption. As per this concept, the extensive coastal belt of Kerala was sub-merged under water at one time. Due to earth quake or volcanic eruption, the land of Kerala had come into existence.

Kerala is the southern-most state and an integral part of the Indian sub continent. It has the distinction of being an independent geographical and political entity from the ancient past. The land of Kerala comprises a narrow coastal strip bounded by Western Ghats on the east, and the Arabian Sea on the west.

Geographical Background

Kerala occupies about 1.2% of the total geographical area of the country. It has a total area of about 38864 km^2 and a coastal line of about 580 km long. The territory of Kerala may be broadly divided into three natural divisions, namely, High land, Mid land and Low land.

The Western Ghats which range along the eastern border constitute the high lands. This prevents large scale invasion from outside, by acting as a natural wall of protection. It is covered by thick forest in its upper range and in the lower range. The forest is intermingled with plantation. The low land constitutes the coastal plain on the western side of the state. The soil in this region is sandy. Paddy and coconuts are extensively cultivated here. The area between the low land and the high land is known as the mid land. The height of the mid land is from 8 to 75 meter above sea level. In this region, the soil is laterite. The agricultural products in this region include cashew nuts, tapioca and various other spices.

165

Kerala is rich in water resources. There are 41 west flowing rivers and 3 east flowing rivers. The rivers are relatively small and have considerably influenced the historical and cultural development of the area. In addition to the rivers, Kerala has a continuous chain of lagoons and backwaters. Sasthamkotta lake, Ashtamudi lake and Vembanatt lake are some of the important lakes in Kerala. Sasthamkotta lake is the only fresh water lake in Kerala.

Demographic Composition

As per 2011 census nearly 34 million people of Kerala constitute only 2.76% of the total population of India. The male-female ratio is 1000:1084. Among the districts, Kannur has the highest sex ratio (1000:1136), while Idukki has the lowest (1000: 1006). The density of the population is 859/sq.km. Thiruvananthapuram is the most densely populated (1508) district while Idukki is the least populated (255) district in the state.

Why is male female population ratio high in Kerala while it is low in India as a whole?

Why literacy rate health and standard of living high in the state of Kerala?

The literacy rate of Kerala is nearly 94 per cent, which is the highest among the states in India. The highest literacy rate is in Kottayam with 97.2% and the lowest rate in Wayanad with 89%. Kerala's density of population as per 2011 census is 860 per sq.km. The most significant information of the 2011 census report is that the proportion of children below 6 years declined from about 16% in 2001 to 13% in 2011. Kerala state had been acclaimed for its development in the fields of health, education, standard of living and women status. What is the all India status in terms of male female sex ratio and literacy rate? The population growth in Kerala has been steady, with a progressive decline over the successive decades since 1951 and slow in the last 20 years. It has grown about two and a half times between 1951 and 2011.

Racial Profile in Kerala

There are mainly three different racial elements present in the population of Kerala. It includes:

Negrito: The negritos are said to be the earliest inhabitants of Kerala. Their characteristics include black skin, broad nose, curly hair, round head etc. The tribes such as Kadar, Kattunaikan, Irular, Kanikar and Paniya fall under this category.

Proto-Australoid: Proto-Australoid constitutes the hill tribes like the Kurichians and Cholanaikans. The important characteristics include dark skin, broad flat nose, projected face etc.

Mediterranean: The Mediterranean race forms the main element in the Dravidian population of South India. It includes the non-Brahmin castes of Kerala like the Nairs, Ezhava, Mukkuva and also the Scheduled Castes like Pulaya, Paraya etc. The important characteristics of this race are short to medium height, oval face, long head and pointed chin.

Kerala Culture- Historical Perspective

Diversity is the important feature of Kerala culture too. It is evident in all fields such as art, architecture, religion, language, literature, philosophy, beliefs and practices. Some of the important features of Kerala Culture and society are outlined below:

Caste System: Caste system in Kerala was not entirely based on the *Varna system* existed in other parts of India. After the migration of Namboothiri Brahmins they became dominant in the social hierarchy. They enjoyed all social and religious power. Next to the Namboothiris were the *Nairs*. Initially Nairs were treated as sudras. Later on they were assigned the Kshatriya status with certain Brahminical rituals. Political power, land ownership, authority etc. were held by these castes. The so called upper caste enjoyed many privileges which were denied to the other castes. The social evils like untouchability, unapproachability etc. was observed by many castes. The lower castes were denied education and social status. They were not allowed to enter into the temples, schools and even to walk along the public road. The practice of untouchability was strictly observed. There was no inter-dinning and inter-marriage between different castes and sub-castes.

Fif. 6.9 untouchability curtailed the freedom of lower castes.

167

In the medieval Kerala society the Brahmins were allowed to marry the women belonging to a caste considered to be lower in the caste hierarchy. They also had higher status and privileges in the society. The Brahmins and the Nairs enjoyed the power of land ownership. The practice of untouchability was also prevalent in Kerala. However, the rigidity of caste systems weakened during British rule and the social evils of untouchability is abolished under the Indian Constitution.

Marumakkathayam: This is a matrilineal system of inheritance in which the right of property and wealth of a male passes to his sister's children. Under *marumakkathayam* system the wife and children of the male have no legal right to share the property or wealth. In this system, the *Karanavar* (mother's brother) emphasises an autocratic power in the family. The wife and children of *Karanavar* had no legal claim to his wealth. The *Karanavar* was the head of the family. The freedom of individuals was restricted.

Marumakkathayam was prevalent among the *Nairs*, *Ezhavas* and other caste groups. It was also present among the Muslims in Kannur and nearby areas and a section of Namboothiris of Payyannur area. When the new generation became aware of their rights, the unrest began in their families. Later on, the government of Kerala through different Acts, such as *The Nair Act of 1912, Ezhava Act of 1925, Mappila Marumakkathayam Act of 1939* etc. regulated the functioning of this system. Later on, *The Cochin Nair Act of 1938* abolished Marumakkathayam in the Nair community and declared the wife and children of a person as his legal heirs.

Marriage Customs: The composite nature of Kerala culture is visible in the case of marriage customs also. Some peculiar marriage customs were followed by different communities. The marriage rituals of Namboothiris used to last for several days and their marriage was known as '*veli*'. Only the eldest male member in the family alone was allowed to perform 'veli'. Others had to go for *'sambandham'*. Sambandham system of marriage was mainly followed by the Nair community. Here, the husband has no duty or responsibility for his wife and children. The commonly accepted form of marriage is monogamy, while the instances of polygamy are also noticed in some caste groups and Muslims. Matrilocal residence was in vogue among the Nairs and a section of Muslims in Kannur. However, patrilocal residence was persisted prominently.

In the 16th and 17th century, the belief and practice of untouchability was observed among the Namboothiris, and other upper castes including Nairs. In normal cases, they avoided inter-dinning (eating and drinking together). The practice of purity and pollution was widely seen in Kerala. As a result of this, people belonging to lower castes like the *Pulaya* had to walk a distance of 60 feet away from the Brahmins and Nairs.

Several agitations and social reform movements were started against these social evils like untouchability, unapproachability and other social discriminations. The details of such movements are discussed in the unit on *Tribes and Marginalised People*.

Janmi System: *Janmi System* exhibits a type of caste and economic relationship. It is the result of superimposition of superior land rights of Brahmins and temples. During this time, the Namboothiris acquired dominant position in socio-economic life. They became the trustees of temple property (*Devaswam*). They enjoyed all benefits from the land. All other castes were meant to serve them. The owners of land were called *Janmies*. Those who cultivate such lands were called *Kudians*. The title of janmi and kudian are hereditary. The condition of the kudians was very pathetic as they were exploited by the janmies. Land reform movement introduced by the government of Kerala helped to abolish the janmi system and the kudians became the owners of land.

We have seen some of the peculiar features of Kerala society and culture from a historical perspective. Discrimination and injustice based on caste, occupation etc. prevailed at that time. Today the situation has changed greatly. Reformation in castes was initiated by social reformers like Sreenarayana Guru among the Ezhavas/Thiyyas, Chattambi Swamikal among the Nair community, Ayyankali among the Pulaya community and Poykayil Kumara guru, also called Poykayil Johannan and Poykayil Appachan among the Paraya community. Apart from this, the contributions made by reformers like Vakkom Abdulkhader Maulavi and V T Bhattathirippad also worth mention.

Apart from this, different legal measures adopted by the governments from time to time also brought changes in the social system of Kerala. various land reform acts were significant among them.

Fig 6.10. Pictures of
SreeNarayana Guru, Chattambi Swamilkal, Ayyankali, Poykayil Yohanan,
Vakkaom Abdul Khader Maulavi and VT Bhattathirippad

Land Reforms in Kerala

A series of land reform acts were introduced by the Government of Kerala before and after independence in order to bring social order. *The Travancore Pattam Proclamation Act 1040 (1865)* is considered as the *'magna carta'* of Travancore riots. It conferred proprietary rights on the holders of Government land and protected the tenants from arbitrary eviction. *The Royal Proclamation 1042 (1867)* defined the rights and obligation of *janmi* and the *kudiyans*. Later, the government introduced the *Land Reform Act in 1964* (amended in 1969). The important provisions in them include:

Ceiling of land holding: The lands, obtained from the *janmies* through ceiling, were distributed among the *kudiayans*. The *Land Reform Act of 1964* also prevented inter-mediating rights of the janmies. The *Land Reform Act of 1969* conferred full ownership of land to the tenants. But, this act was criticised for not being fully successful in providing land to the labouring castes and tribals.

SUMMARY

- The people of India differ in various aspects like customs, manners, habits, attitudes, beliefs and dress pattern.

- India has the political boundaries with Pakistan in the North-West, Nepal, Bhutan, and China in the North-East, Bangladesh and Myanmar in the East. Arabian Sea in the West, Indian Ocean in the South and the Bay of Bengal in the East demarcate the Indian peninsula.

- The main physical divisions are Northern Mountain Region, North Indian Plain, Thar Desert, Peninsular India, Coastal Plain and The Island Region. The river Indus, Ganga and Brahmaputhra originated from Northern Mountain Region and gave a fertile soil in North Indian Plain.

- Demography refers to statistical study of the size, composition and spatial distribution of human population. The factors like fertility, mortality, marriage, migration, and social mobility affect the demography of a particular place.

- The language families in India are Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan, Austric and Unclassified.

- Joint family is a group of people who generally live under one roof, who eat food cooked at one hearth, who hold property in common and who participate in common family worship and are related to each other as some particular type of kindred.

- India as an ethnological museum with different varieties of races, languages, religion and culture.

- Kerala may be broadly divided into three natural divisions like High land, Mid land and Low land. The population growth in Kerala has been steady, with a progressive decline over the successive decades since 1951, and slow in the last 20 years.

- There are mainly three different racial elements present in the population of Kerala. It includes Negrito, Proto-Australoid and Mediterranean

- Diversity is an important feature of Kerala culture. Some of the important features of early Kerala Culture and society were caste system, marumakkathayam and janmi system.

TERM EVALUATION ITEMS

1. Fill in the blanks

   a. ……….is the oldest mountain in western India

   b. The only union territory which holds more females than males is……………

   c. The state with the highest literacy rate in India is ……….

2. Find the pair

   a. Eastern coast : Coramandal coast

   b. Western coast : …………………

3. Examine the importance of Himalayas shaping Indian culture

4. Find the odd item

   a. Hindi, Panjabi, Malayalam,Marathi

   b. Tamil,Telugu,Manipuri, Kannada

5. Write short note on:

   a. Varna vyavastha

   b. Unity in diversity of India

6. Explain the features of joint family system in India

7. Fill the blank area with the items given in bracket.

171

a. Ownership of land to tenents   ....

b. ....   The Nair Act of 1912

c. Magna Carta of Travancore riots   ....

(Travancore Pattam Proclamation,Marumakkathayam, Land Reform Act of 1969)

GLOSSARY

Alluvial	:	Fertile soil deposited by rivers and streams.
Caste system	:	Closed, hereditary social structure in Hindu social system.
Civilization	:	A complex society with a govt. and social classes.
Community	:	People experiencing social solidarity and togetherness.
Demography	:	Statistical study of size, composition and distribution of human population.
Sambandham	:	Marital relationship between a Namboodiri man and Nair woman.
Social mobility	:	Upward or downward movement of people from one social status to another.

REFERENCES

Dube, S C.1990. *Indian Society*. National Book Trust of India.

Hasnain, Nadeem. 1994. *Indian Anthropology*. Delhi: P P Publication.

Henna, Tabassum. 2011. *Encyclopedia of Caste, Class and Society in India*. New Delhi: Anmol publications.

Maharaj, Swami Chidatman Jee. 2009. *Hindu Customs and Traditions*. New Delhi: Anmol publications.

Menon,Sreedhara. 2007. *A Survey of Kerala History*. Kottayam: D C press.

Roy, Indrani Basu. 2003. *Anthropology-The Study of Man.* New Delhi: S.Chand & Co.

State Planning Board. 2014. *Economic Review-2013*. Thiruvananthapuram: Governemnt. Press.

SOCIAL CULTURAL CHANGE

*The cartoon given here shows the
changes in communication types over
time. What effect did these changes make
in our social life?*

*Gandhiji while leading the freedom
movement travelled all over the country
to educate the masses to rise against the*
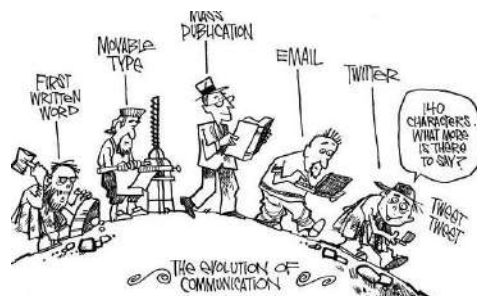
British rule. Today, social media has became a very good platform for communication and is very well utilised for forming public opinion related to social issues. These sorts of changes are visible in almost all aspects of our life.

What are the other areas that you can cite where drastic changes happened in the past?

How did it affect our social life? It is evident that humans and their culture and social institutions have evolved through time. The progress in science and technology has given them immense power over nature. Today, the world has become a 'global village' due to the modern means of communication. All these developments are helpful in strengthening the unity and integration of humankind, irrespective of geographical, cultural and territorial barriers and differences. But it is also widely felt that the humans are becoming more and more distant from each other.

Did you ever have the experience of feeling lonely amidst the crowd?

Whatever may be the present conditions, change is the law of nature. Everything undergoes change, so also the society. With the passage of time, every society must change. In some societies, changes are very slow while in others changes are very fast. But no society can escape from changes.

Are you not curious to know more about social and cultural change, its process, types and many other aspects of our social cultural life? Let us examine each of these aspects, in the following pages.

Social Cultural Change

The views and facts mentioned above clearly indicate that society and culture is changing at a great pace. We have already learned that society is the organised groups of people within a definite territory and culture is the distinctive life style of a given group in a society. Change in any one aspect of the structure and

According to Anderson and Parker, "social change involves alteration in the structure or functioning of social forms or processes themselves".

According to Jones "Social change is a term used to describe variations in, or modifications of any aspect of social processes, social patterns, social interaction or social organisation".

According to M.D. Jenson, "Social change may be defined as modification in ways of doing and thinking of people".

174

function of the group or the life style will affect the other. Hence social cultural change indicates the change in both the social and cultural aspect of human being. Thus it includes both social change and cultural change. Let us examine the concept of social cultural change in detail after examining the concepts of social change and cultural change.

Social Change

The term social change is used to indicate fundamental changes that take place in human society. It includes changes in the social structure, its organisations, relationships, institutions, norms, values, beliefs and attitudes. You can see that changes happen all over the world. Hence, it is a universal process. To get a vivid picture of social change, familiarise the following definitions.

Definitions

•   P. Fairchild defines social change as "variations or modifications in any aspects of social process, pattern or form".

•   For Lundberg, "Social change refers to any modifications in the established patterns of inter-human relationship and standard of conduct."

The above definitions clearly propose some of the **elements of social change**.

Could you identify and list them out?

Now look at the the following and verify them with the list you prepared.

Social change is:

•   A process.
•   Involves alteration in the structure or functioning of societal forms.
•   Refers to any variation in any aspect of social process, social pattern, social interaction or social organisation.
•   Refers to modification in ways of doing and thinking of people.
•   Implies change in the established patterns of inter-human relationship and standard of conduct.

Find out the local examples of the changes in the structure and function of society, social organisation, social interaction, thinking pattern and human relationship in your groups.

175

Can you identify the elements of change from joint family to nuclear family?

*   Disintegration of land holdings
*   Declining agricultural practices
*   Increasing influence of western education
*   ……………………..
*   ……………………..

Monarchy is replaced by democracy. In which element do you think this change happened?

*   Political awareness
*   Universal education
*   Inequality and exploitation
*   ……………………..
*   ……………………..

Find similar example for all the other elements and discuss it in your class.

Now you are in a position to identify that social change is a complex process and it involves changes in different aspects of society. By examining its characteristic features we can make the concept clearer.

Characteristics of Social Change

The phenomenon of social change is so complex that it is difficult to understand it in its totality. The following are some of the characteristics of social change:

Social Change is essentially Social: As society is a web of social relationships, any social change implies a change in the system of social relationships, in terms of social processes, social structure, social interactions, and social organisations. It also implies change, affecting a considerable segment of the population. Change in one individual or a small group of individual alone can not be considered social change.

It is Universal: It occurs in all societies and at all times, though the rate of change may vary from society to society. It is a universal law of nature.

It is Continuous: Social change does not cease to operate at any particular time. It is an ongoing process without any break.

176

It is Inevitable: As we learned earlier human beings are curious to know more. So the thinking pattern changes from time to time. Naturally human wants are unlimited and always undergo constant change. Thus occurrence of social change cannot be stopped. It is indispensible and inevitable for human life.

It is Temporal: Social change occurs chronologically through different periods of time. For instance hunting-gathering was replaced by agriculture not all of a sudden, but gradually.

The Degree or Rate of Change is not Uniform: The rate of changes is not uniform throughout the period.

It may be Small Scale or Large Scale: Social change may occur in specific aspects of a society or it may affect the entire social structure.

It is Multi-factoral: As the social phenomena are mutually inter-dependent, social change is affected by multiple factors. For instance, factors like education, economic condition, religious beliefs and many other factors affect the family structure of a society.

It may be Planned or Unplanned: Social change may be brought about through deliberate planning and conscious decision making. Family planning, educational policies, welfare policies for the benefit of the tribal people, women and other marginalised sections of the society are some of the examples for planned social change.

Social change may also take place naturally, spontaneously or accidentally, without any deliberate planning. For instance, floods, droughts, earthquakes, storms and any other natural calamities might bring about unforeseen social change.

Find out the instances of planned and unplanned changes in your society and analyse which type of change makes considerable impact in the micro society.

Social Change is Unpredictable: As social aspects are inter-related, social change in one aspect leads to change in several other aspects also. However, it is difficult to predict its likely impact on any of the social aspects.

The characteristics of social change cannot be limited to the above points. You may enrich this by enlisting more features.

As we observed earlier, any change in the structure and function of society may lead to subsequent changes in the life pattern of the group of people in that society. For example the size of population and different roles and statuses of social groups undergo change over time. It in turn, causes further change in the life style of the concerned period. The change in the life pattern can be considered as cultural change.

177

Cultural change

The term cultural change denotes modifications in the elements and patterns of a cultural system. It includes changes in the traditions, beliefs, religions, norms, values, customs, practices etc. Change or variation may also be noticed in the accepted pattern of design, in the method of preparing food, in the trend of fashion, or style of art, all of which leads to cultural change. Cultural change indicates changes in the way, people live, think and act. Generally, social and cultural changes remain closely related. Sometimes cultural change precedes or precipitates social change.

Culture Change	Social Change
Modification in the elements of culture	Changes in the structure and organisation of society
Includes changes in beliefs, values, customs, practices etc.	Includes changes in relationship and interaction among the members of society.
……………………..	……………………..

Now, after familiarising two concepts, social change and culture change, we can once again discuss social cultural change. Social-cultural change refers to changes in the structure and culture of a given society. There are different approaches employed for studying socio-cultural change. The important approaches are evolutionary, structural, cultural, dialectical and historical. The evolutionary approach explains the evolutionary changes that have taken place in the institutions like caste, family, marriage, kinship, village community etc. Structural approach analyses the status, roles, hierarchy of groups, social relations, land ownership, political power etc. Cultural approach mainly focuses on the study of caste mobility,

Fig. 7.1 Factors of social cultural change

education, and changes in values, beliefs and technology. Dialectical approach analyses caste, politics, modes of production, class relations, and distribution of accessibility to resources and opportunities. As we observed earlier, social and cultural change is a product of different factors in the social cultural life. Now let us examine each of them in brief.
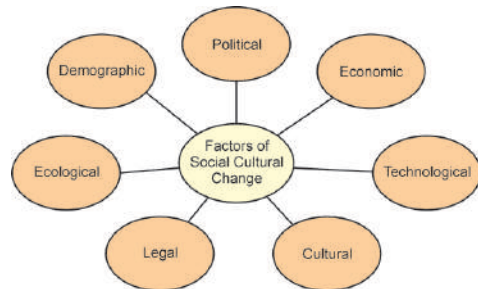
Factors Influencing Social-Cultural Change

The factors of socio-cultural change may vary from place to place and from time to time. Socio-cultural change started in the structure and function of society through internal and external sources. Since the structure and function of society cannot remain static, socio-cultural change becomes an inevitable process. The major factors responsible for socio-cultural changes could be identified as Demographic, Technological, Cultural, Economic, Political, Legal and Ecological.

1.   Demographic Factors

Demography is a statistical study of the size, composition and spatial distribution of human population and of its changes over time through the operation of the processes of fertility, mortality and migration. The change in the size and composition of population is an important factor leading to socio-cultural change within a society. The expanding population brings many changes in the nation's economy. Population growth may provide more supply of human resource. But it leads to some problems like unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, poor health conditions and urban crowding. Over-population makes a situation to produce more, consume more and also engage itself in international trade. One of the significant features of demographic history is that population and technology have been advancing hand in hand. It is estimated that there was a great increase in the world population when humans discovered agriculture. Stable communities increased their population much faster than the nomadic communities like hunters and food gatherers. There was a second great wave of population increase with the adoption of urban life and expansion of international trade. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the population again increased because of the harnessing of inanimate power for agricultural and industrial production and for technological revolution.

You can examine how the population growth in India affected the social cultural environment of our nation. Collect more information from the websites of Census Department, Department of Human Resource Development and from edited volumes of the People of India Project of Anthropological Survey of India and prepare materials for discussion. You can also conduct a debate on 'over population – a bane or boon'.

The rate of population growth is not same all over the world. What do you think is the causes for this. It is due to the changes in the factors affecting demography. Let us examine each of these factors like fertility, mortality and migration for a comprehensive understanding of demographic change.

179

A. Fertility

The term fertility is generally used to indicate the actual reproductive capability of a woman. The growth of world population entirely depends on human fertility. The level and pattern of fertility varies in different countries and regions and among ethnic groups. The past and present data of fertility of various countries, region and group shows certain *prominent trends in fertility.*

- Less developed countries have higher fertility rates than the developed countries.
- Fertility rates are lower in urban areas as compared to rural areas.
- The fertility rates of the educated persons as a whole is less than that of the less educated persons.
- Fertility rates are higher among certain religious groups.
- Woman with higher education have lower fertility than women with lower education.
- Higher income group as a whole have lower fertility rate than lower income group.

The above points indicate that, fertility rate differs according to certain conditions that exist in different types of population.

Why do you think it happened like this? It is because of the fact that fertility is affected by some other factors. Following are some of them.

Factors affecting fertility: The birth of a child is basically a biological phenomenon. A number of social, cultural and psychological factors influence the fertility rate within a society. These factors can be classified into direct and indirect factors.

Direct factors are those factors affecting fertility rate directly. It includes infanticide, abortion and the use of contraceptives.

1. **Infanticide** is the unlawful killing of infants. It is found in both indigenous and sophisticated cultures around the world. Female infanticide is more common than male infanticide, and in some countries, particularly India and China, it is likely to have serious consequences on the balance of the sexes in the population.

   Is illegal killing of infants on the increase all over India? How it affects the demographic structure and women status in our society. Discuss ethical dimensions of infanticide.

2. **Abortion** refers to termination of pregnancy or forcing out a foetus or embryo from the womb before it is able to survive on its own. An abortion can occur accidently, in

which case, it is often called a miscarriage. It can also be purposely caused, in which case, it is known as an induced abortion. The term *abortion* most commonly refers to the induced abortion of a human pregnancy.

3. **Use of contraceptives** indicates use of artificial means to prevent pregnancy. Family planning programme promotes the use of contraceptives to reduce the population growth.

Indirect factors affecting fertility are the following.

1. **Family Structure**: The joint family promotes higher fertility than nuclear families. In the traditional joint families, there was a greater dependency on their children for old age security. Moreover, the responsibility of child rearing was shared by other members of the family.

2. **Son Preference**: One of the reasons for the high level of fertility in the developing countries is the importance of having a son for economic, social and religious reasons. In such society, every effort is made to have a male child and when there are only girls, the couples continue to have children till they get a boy. The family size thus becomes bigger.

3. **Child Mortality**: Child mortality was one of the reasons for high birth rate. Since infant survival was low, parents used to produce more children.

4. **Influence of Religion**: Fertility studies in India shows that people of certain religions tend to have higher fertility rate than those of other. This is either due to religious beliefs or due to religious norms against artificial restriction of child birth, the violation of which may be considered as sinful.

5. **Economic Condition**: When compared to economically higher classes, fertility rate is high among the poor peasant societies. To the poor agricultural families, the children are considered to be an asset as each child forms an economic unit within the family.

6. **Age for Marriage**. Early marriage gives a longer span for fertility. So marriage at a very young age generally leads to higher rates of fertility.

7. **Education**: The level of education and the family size are seen inversely related. Moreover, going for higher education delays the marriage.

B. Mortality

Mortality is the disappearance of life at any time after the birth has taken place. It is one of the important components of demographic change. It plays a dominant role in determining the growth of population. There are several factors including famine and food shortage, contagious diseases and war that have significant impact on the rate of mortality.

181

The great **famine** of Bengal during the period from 1911 to 1921 caused a rapid growth in the mortality rate of the period. The instance of mortality, reported from tribal areas, most often were due to food shortage and famine. Spread of **contagious diseases** also cause increase in death rate. Unhealthy living conditions and change in life style has resulted in the increasing of mortality rate. **War** for any cause is condemned by all, as it leads to genocide. World wars and many other evils of wars led to increase in the mortality rate in the world. In addition to these factors, place of residence, occupation and health and hygienic conditions also affect mortality rate.

International Migration

International migration is as old as human history. It is voluntary, or forced upon people by famines, conquests and various types of persecutions. The most important and the largest migration ie, transfer of civilian population, occurred in 1947 between India and Pakistan. It is estimated that in this transfer nearly 7.2 million persons migrated from Pakist**an to India and about the same number from** India to Pakistan.

We have been discussing the increasing mortality rate. However, with the development of science and technology, universalisation of education, health awareness programmes and various socio-economic measures implemented in our state has reduced the death rate. This has resulted the higher life expectancy. This in turn, resulted in the higher proportion of aged population and in mushrooming of old-age homes, home nursing etc. all over Kerala, which is another example of social and cultural change. Visit such old age homes and discuss various dimensions of problems of old age in your class.

C. Migration

The term migration refers to relatively permanent movement of people from one area to another with the purpose of changing their place of residence. Internationally, the people who move out from the country of their origin are called **emigrants** and the people who enter into a country of their destination are called **immigrants.** Internally, the people who leave an area are called **out-migrants** and those who enter into an area are called **in-migrants**.

Migration is the major cause of population growth especially in low fertility countries. Urban population is increasing due to the process of migration. Migratory movements influence the economic, social, political and demographic structure of both sending and

182

receiving areas. Generally the important types of migration that can be seen in our societies include Rural to rural, Rural to urban, and Urban to rural and Urban to urban. The main reason for population growth of several countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, Hong Kong and South Africa is **international migration.**

PULL FACTORS
- Employment opportunities
- Better education
- Better medical facilities
- High standard of living

PUSH FACTORS
- Drought, flood and other natural calamites
- Famine and food shortage
- War
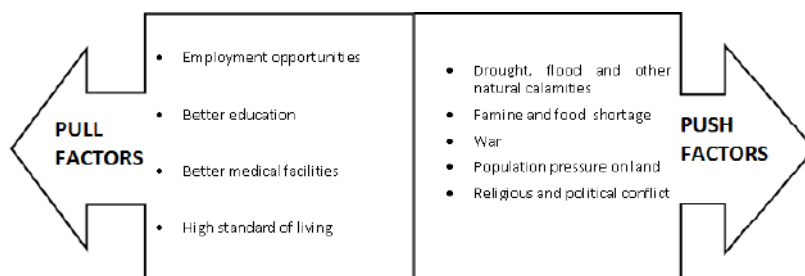- Population pressure on land
- Religious and political conflict

Fig 7.2 Pull factors and push factors

Migration is also influenced by different factors as the following. The **Factors responsible for migration** can be classified into **push factors** and **pull factors**. Pull factors are those factors which attract people to migrate to a particular place (the place of destination) while push factors pressurise people to migrate from a place (place of origin). In which category will you include the Gulf migration from Kerala and migration of people from other states to Kerala? Discuss the issue in class.

You may resort to collateral reading to collect more information about different push and pull factors. Also try to find how these factors affected your local demographic pattern.

You may also conduct a survey in your locality to identify the number of migrant population living there and how many people migrated from there to other places. Also examine the causes for the local migration.

2. Technological Factors

Technology has brought about significant changes all over the world. Industrial revolution and Green revolution are the two major processes of change in the field of industry and agriculture respectively. Invention of the wheel, the compass, printing press, radio, steam engine, telephone, aeroplane, etc. has affected the society and culture of the period tremendously. In Kerala, we cannot clearly separate rural areas from urban areas

due to the drastic technological changes and the changes in transport, communication, electrification and irrigation in all these places. Besides these, use of chemical fertilisers and high yield varieties of seeds helped to increase agricultural production. New Industrial Township has brought in a new pattern of class relations.

Fig 7.3 Changes in technology

Technological developments have brought about many changes in attitudes, beliefs and even in traditions. By the onset of technological change, people of various castes gave up their traditional occupation and began to work in modern factories, commercial establishments and government institutions. Another important result of technological changes was the increase in mobility among the population. Villagers are losing their attachment to their villages and are moving in large numbers to the cities in search of a better life. Introduction of computers, internet and online banking have also brought about tremendous changes in the respective fields. The consequences are reflected in the social and cultural life of the people.

3. Cultural Factors

Cultural factors are related to inventions, cultural diffusion, ideology, knowledge, and values. Culture provides the base for inventions and discoveries. One society adopts cultural traits of another society through acculturation. It occurs through invasion, trade or migration. The cultural structure of India includes Sanskrit and local traditions. M N Srinivas has emphasised the significance of caste mobility as a source of social change in India. According to him, the so called lower caste people adopt the customs, beliefs, practices and the way of life of the higher caste in order to improve their position in society. He calls this process as *Sankritisation*. Access to better education, migration to towns, occupational mobility etc., helped the 'lower caste' people to enhance their social status. On the other hand, the people of the upper strata in caste hierarchy have found alternative bases of social status through the process of *westernization* and improved their status by adopting western education, dress patterns and life style.

In cultural change, the material aspects of the culture, changes faster, than that of the non-material aspects of the culture, creating a gap and imbalance between the two, for which, Ogburn uses the term '***cultural lag***'. As a result of this imbalance, and the difference

in the speed and rate of change of material and non-material culture, the society is disturbed, leading to further changes in the institutions and value system. The introduction of technology as a cultural factor causes far reaching changes in social relationships. The change in ideas, norms, values, rituals, and religious practices bring about basic changes in socio-cultural relations.

Even though outcome of culture change is often positive, it may, at times results in hegemony of certain cultures.

Are we moving slowly towards cultural homogenisation? What are its changes? Discuss on this topic.

4. Economic Factors

Karl Marx is the chief architect of the economic theory of social change. As per his view, the mode of production determines social, cultural, religious and political aspects of social life. He asserted that social revolution takes place when there is a conflict between the existing relation of production and new forces of production. Marx envisages the emergence of a classless society in which no one owns anything and everyone owns everything.

Adam Smith referred to the sequence of hunting, pastoral, agricultural, commercial and the manufacturing stages in the development of a society. The artisan and service caste people get educated and take up jobs in the neighboring urban areas or open their own establishments and refuse to render their obligatory service. The zamindars lost their land holdings as a result of the abolition of the system of land tenure. With the emergence of industrial revolution, there was accelerated production, particularly because of the use of inanimate energy and of the machine. A large number of people in one centre began to produce goods with machines.

Disintegration of joint family system and abolition of Janmi system are said to be the two major economic factors that lead to socio-cultural change within a society. Economic structure becomes highly rational with a complex system of accounting and auditing. The mode of production is highly complex involving division of labour requiring highly trained specialists who are recruited according to universal norms.

5. Political Factors

The universal adult franchise and the right of all the sections of the society to contest in elections starting from village panchayat to parliament has resulted in social and political

185

awakening of the Indian masses since Independence. Change in the political organisation from monarchy to democracy, was responsible for the changes in the social structure and cultural pattern of Indian society. Ordinary citizens began to be considered for governance. Decentralisation of power and the influence by charismatic personality of political leaders made great influence on the outlook and approach of Indian people.

6. Legal Factors

The general function of law is to influence the sub-groups and persons belonging to a society, to conform to the group expectation. Thus, law is a means of social control. In India, customs or the way of life of the group is a very important binding force. Any deviation from custom provokes the wrath of the group.

The Constitution of India provides for equality of status, social, economic, and political justice to all citizens, irrespective of caste, creed or sex. The law plays an immense role in bringing about social change in Indian society. Indian society is complex and heterogeneous, and the law can ensure homogeneity to and integration of divergent sections. Law can bring about radical changes, particularly favouring the weaker sections of society. It can be an instrument of change in political and economic institutions.

The earlier social structure of Kerala was characterised by feudal systems, untouchability and casteism. The deplorable castiest condition persuaded Swami Vivekananda to call our society as 'Lunatic assylum'. These social conditions do not exist today in such gravity. What led to such a radical change? Along with social reform movements, progressive legislations also helped to achieve this condition.

7. Ecological Factors

Human society is deeply influenced by place of habitation, enriched by different natural resources such as land, water, air, forests, river and sea. People living in particular region adapt themselves to the ecology of that place. The food habits, dwellings, apparel and culture of the coastal people are different from those of the desert people. A process of conflict, control and adaptation goes on between human and environment. Humans regulate environment with the help of their intelligence and skills and come out with new inventions and life styles. The relationship between ecology and culture was very well described by Julian Steward, famous American anthropologist. He proposes the concept of Cultural Ecology in which he examines how culture and ecology are inter-related.

186

Did you ever think how social change occurs? We know that the Kerala society has changed very much since the last century. A closer analysis will prove that these changes are the result of certain processes. Let us now examine them.

Processes of Social Change

Social change takes place through different processes such as evolution, revolution, and development.

1. Evolution: You have already been familiarised with the term evolution. We had studied about

How can we differentiate Evolution from revolution?

Evolution is a slow gradual process and the changes in it are from simple to complex. But revolution is rapid and deliberate, intented to replace the prevailing social situation.

theories of biological evolution of human in the last year class. As we studied, it is a slow gradual process. The term evolution derived from the Latin word '*evolvere'* means to develop gradually. It is a process of differentiation and integration through a series of small changes. It undergoes changes from a simple to complex form, from homogeneity to heterogeneity, from less differentiated to a more differentiated state and from a lower to a higher stage. According to L H Morgan, an American anthropologist and E B Tylor, a British anthropologist, cultural evolution takes place through the stages of Savagery, Barbarism, and Civilisation.

2. Revolution: You had studied about many revolutions such as French Revolution, American Revolution and Green Revolution. It is clear that these revolutions were for the social cultural change in that area. All these changes were rapid. Contrary to evolution, revolution yielded its result in limited period of time. Revolution is any fundamental change or reversal of conditions. It also means the forcible overthrow of a government or social order in favor of a new one. Marx considered social change as a revolutionary process. According to him, revolution is a replacement of one ruling class by another. It is a rapid and total form of change.

3. Development: Development is a process of change to which societies attribute positive value. It is a form of progress which implies change in a direction treated as desirable by the people. Development includes progress in every field of social activity, which comprises planned and unplanned, expected and unexpected transformation in society.

187

As we observed earlier, deliberate attempts have been made to reform society. These movements lead to social change. Various social reform movements, which lead to social change, are discussed below.

Social Reform Movements

Besides the factors discussed above, social reform movements play an important role in bringing about social change in India. The history of India is full of accounts of several social movements launched against the structural and cultural barriers which prevented people from moving up or in their desired direction. Society in India has been highly stratified in terms of caste, class, ethnicity, religion, language and region. Rigidity of norms with regard to inter-group relations, marriage, religious and ritual observances still exists. Social reform movements generally aim at achieving an egalitarian social structure.

The social reform movements attacked the social evils such as untouchability, sati system, child marriage and prohibition of widow remarriage. It worked for the welfare of women and of the depressed sections of the society. Movements by women, students, dalits and tribes and the peasantry have acquired special significance in the post independence period. The reformative movements include Arya Samajam, Brahma Samajam, Prarthana Samajam etc. Tribal movements in India were also helped to change Indian society. You will learn more about tribal movements in the unit *Tribes and Marginalised People* in this text book.

You may collect details of social reform movements in India during different periods of time. You can also prepare a slide presentation of social reformers.

We know that people in the society belong to different social strata. The stratification can be based on caste, class or any other criteria. Most often there is the tendency to move from one social status to another. We shall look into this element of society.

Social Mobility

Social stratification is a feature of Indian society. Classes and individuals are rated high or low on the basis of characteristics possessed by them according to the social value scale. Any change in the value scale or any change in the characteristics results in a change in the

In Cuttack and Balasore, the Gauras were striving to get themselves recognized as Yaduvanshi Kshatriya. They not only assumed the sacred thread but refused to work as palanquin bearers. Their attempt to discard their traditional occupation was resisted by other communities. The Khandaits and Karans who were generally the most influential and well to do among the local inhabitants led the opposition and the rivalry ripened into actual riots at several places.

status of different classes. The members of priestly class were at one time rated higher than the members of the other classes in India. But today, it may not be so. A doctor, an engineer or a professional may sometimes enjoy a higher status than a priest. Likewise, if a common man becomes a minister; his social position will be enhanced. If a minister loses his/her position, he/she will be reverted to the earlier position or status. Thus, people in a society continue to move up and down over the status scale. This movement is called individual social mobility. However, *the term social mobility means the movement of people from one social status to another social status or from one position to another position collectively.*

It refers to a change in social status which depends on factors like occupational position, organised membership, kinship relations, property ownership, education, wealth, and income. It is the movement (or circulation) of individuals, families, or groups within a social space mapped by status, occupation, income, and similar variables through which members of a society may be defined. Social mobility can be classified into different types as follows.

1. Horizontal and Vertical Mobility: These are the two principal types of social mobility from the view point of the direction in which movement takes place. Horizontal mobility refers to changes in the position without any change in the status. An employee, going on deputation of an equivalent cadre from one Department to another Department, can be an example for horizontal mobility. Here, there might be a change in position, without change in one's status. On the other hand, vertical mobility means the movement from one status to another. Change in economic status from a lower to a middle class, and from middle to an upper class is an example for vertical mobility.

2. Caste Mobility: Caste has been viewed as a rigid and closed system. Hence, change of social status has been virtually impossible for an individual. But today, the system has lost much of its force, though some old caste practices are still observed. The social mobility in the caste structure takes place at two levels, namely, mobility of one family or a few families within the caste; and mobility of an entire caste group as a whole or most of the families within a caste to higher or lower position. But for a caste to raise its rank, it is essential that there is mobility of all individuals, families and groups within a caste.

3. Occupational Mobility: Occupational mobility envisages changes in traditional occupation by adopting modern occupation irrespective of caste barriers. Individuals who received western education, attained high professional posts and earned large pay and perks, and began to share a common life style, irrespective of their caste identity.

189

Emergence of a large number of 'caste-free' occupations, expansion of transportation and communication network, influx of population, new democratic conception of equality, scientific outlook, increased facilities of education etc accelerated the speed of changes. Consequently, many Brahmins were found to join the service, trade, farming, business etc giving up their traditional occupation, priesthood. Similarly, persons from *Shudra* status were found to become scholars, leaving menial work. Some of them managed the positions of school teachers, clerks, bank employees, typists and government officials. The whole system was modified.

In the changing situation of the present day, persons belonging to the same caste may be found in different socio-economic strata, because of their differences in education, occupation and income. Traditional values of the people are changing at a rapid speed. A new class system is gradually entering into our society, displacing the old caste system.

You may examine the instances of occupational mobility in your locality. Find out the traditional occupations of different groups of people in your place and identify the causes behind it.

It will be interesting to know how these mobility types work in a society. Let us examine different processes of social mobility to identify the change in the status and position in Indian society.

Processes of Social Mobility

There are different processes that influence social mobility. Some of the important processes of social mobility include sanskritisation, westernisation, urbanisation, industrialisation and globalisation.

Sanskritisation: You have already learned that, according to M N Srinivas, sanskritisation is the process by which a person belonging to a community, a tribe or any group, having a 'lower status' in the caste hierarchy changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a 'high or twice born caste'. Generally such changes are followed by a claim to a higher position in the caste hierarchy. The claim is usually made over a period of time, in fact a generation or two. For this, they would give up non-vegetarian food items and 'unclean' traditional occupations. They consume food after performing bath and making prayers. Sanskritisation generally results in an upward mobility, without leading to any structural changes.

Westernisation: You know that westernisation refers to the changes brought about in Indian society and culture as a result of over 150 years of British rule. Many of the traditional Indian cultural values, customs, ideology etc. were changed due to the process of westernisation. According to this concept the so called 'upper caste' people tried to imitate the ways of life of western people, and thereby tried to enhance their social status.

Urbanisation: Urbanisation is a universal process that influences social mobility. It refers to a process of change in the values, attitudes and life styles of those people who migrate from villages to cities. The structured elements of urbanisation are high density of population and heterogeneity. Urbanisation results in concentration of population in cities and losing of interest of educated people in agricultural activities. It also leads to the breakdown of traditional social institutions and values. The people in cities do not attach much importance to caste, and relationship between caste and profession does not exist. With the influence of city life, the younger generation does not care much for family life thereby leading to disintegration of joint family system. New occupations are being introduced and the villagers prefer non-agricultural professions. It leads to occupational mobility.

Industrialisation: Industrialisation is one of the major processes of change in the field of economy. Industrialisation refers to changes in method of production, and in the economic and social organisation resulting from the introduction of power driven-machinery and consequent rise of the factory system. It is characterised by the replacement of hand-made production to machine-made production, rise of a class of factory workers who work for wages and not for goods, and growth of numerous large cities. It affected the economic and social life of the people. Industrial revolution resulted in an increase in the rate of urbanisation. By this process, the status of industrial labourers was enhanced to skilled labourers.

GLOBALISATION

The process of globalisation through liberalisation and privatisation policies has produced positive as well as negative results all over the world. Some scholars argue that globalisation should be seen as an opportunity in terms of greater access to global markets, high technology, and increased possibility of large industries in developing countries to become important players in the international arena. They also contend that it is perceived as a friendly process by the traditional local artisans, craftsmen and artists as it encourages them, link them to the international market and capital, and to innovate upon their ethnic styles, forms and materials into cultural products. Others argue that it is a strategy of the developed countries to expand their markets in other countries. They also maintain that it has compromised the welfare and identity of people belonging to poor countries and has widened the economic disparities among nations and people.

191

Modernisation: Modernisation is a term used for man's application of technologies to the control of natural resources in order to bring about a marked increase in the output per individual in the society. It is a process of change in economy and its related effect on social values and social practices. Today, the term modernisation is given a broader meaning; it is described as social change involving the elements of science and technology. Modernisation, in short, is a process by which modern scientific knowledge is introduced in the society with the ultimate purpose of achieving a better and more satisfactory life.

Modernisation exposes the people to modern life through machinery, mass media, modern occupations, education, and economic growth. It makes the people prefer to live in urban centres, where they would have access to all possible resources like transport, shopping, schooling, medical and postal facilities etc. within their neighborhood. They can also join the clubs and orgnisations which provide them with opportunities for expression, recognition, and mobility.

Globalisation: In social structural terms, globalisation is a historical process of transition from the agrarian to industrial, post-industrial and finally to the stage of the information society. The new institutional innovations that globalisation has brought about in society include; market, trade and finance, communication and media, technology and science, migration and inter-cultural transactions. Globalisation results in new market system and making the world to become smaller.

This process resulted in the change of life style of people. The importance given to traditional occupations declined and society became more secular. Thus this process helped in the mobility of social status.

Now, we are aware that our society has undergone great changes over time. Status and role of individuals and groups have also changed. You can find the instances of working of social mobility process in your locality. Conduct a field survey to collect data on the impact of processes of social mobility in your society and find out how the above mentioned factors of social mobility affected the life of your locality.

SUMMARY

- Social change refers to changes that have taken place in the structure of a society. It includes changes in the social relationships, social institutions, social values and social interaction.

- Culture changes means modification in the elements and pattern of a cultural system. It includes changes in the traditions, beliefs, religions, norms, values, customs and practices.

- Social cultural change refers to the changes in the structure and culture of a given society. The important approaches for studying social cultural changes are evolutionary, structural, cultural dialectical and historical.

- The different factors responsible social cultural changes are Demographic, Technological, Cultural, Economic, Political, Legal and Ecological factors.

- Demography is the statistical study of the size, composition and spatial distribution of human population and changes over time through the operation of the process of fertility, mortality and migration.

- Technological invention is the primary factor in explaining social and cultural change. Technological developments have brought about many changes in attitudes, beliefs, and even in traditions.

- Cultural factors influence the socio-cultural changes through exchange of ideas, knowledge and values. One society adopts cultural traits of another society through war, attack, defeat, or the fulfillment of its right requirements. Sanskritisation and westernisation are the important cultural factors that influenced the socio-cultural changes of India.

- Economic factors influenced the form and mode of production. Disintegration of joint family system and abolition of Janmi system, the two major economic factors led to socio-cultural change within a society.

- The law plays an immense role in bringing about social change in Indian society. The constitution of India provides equality of status and the principle of social, economic and political justice to all citizens, irrespective of caste, creed, sex etc.

- The right to vote in elections and democratic set up gives equality for all citizens. Decentralisation of power and ideology of political parties greatly influence socio-cultural change.

- The geographical regions and natural resources also influence social change. Humans regulate their environment with the help of their intelligence and skills to create new lifestyles.

- Social change has taken place through different process like evolution, revolution, and development.

- Social mobility means the movement of people from one social status to another social status or from one position to another position. There are two types of social mobility in our society - horizontal mobility and vertical mobility.

193

- Caste mobility is an example for social mobility, which have been infleunced by education and constitutional previlages. Various social evils have disappeared or declined facilitating the caste in the lower strata to move to higher status.

- Occupational mobility envisages changes in traditional occupation by adopting modern occupation, irrespective of caste barriers. It helps the caste society develop into new social strata. They occupy white collar and salaried jobs. Freedom to take any job makes them higher position in the society.

- The different processes that facilitated social mobility include sanskritisation, westernisation, urbanisation, industrialisation, modernization and globalization.

TERM EVALUATION ITEMS

1.   Find the pair
       a)   Push factors: Religious and political conflict
              Pull factors :…………………
       b)   Fertility : son preference
              Mortality: ……………..

2.   Find the odd item and justify your selection
       a)   Fertility, mortality, migration, urbanization
       b)   Religious conflict, war, better education, food shortage.

3.   Social cultural change involves alteration in the structure or function of society. Explain with suitable examples.

4.   Explain differences between social change and cultural change.

5.   List out the different factors responsible for demographic changes.

6.   List out direct and indirect factors affecting fertility. Explain any two forms from the list.

7.   Universal adult franchise and Constitution of India have initiated a lot of changes in india. Comment.

8.   The reproductive capability of a woman is called………………..

       a)   Fertility   b)   Mortality
       c)   Infertility   d)   Productivity

9.   How does evolution differ from revolution?

10.   Explain the different types of social mobility in your society.

11.   In Kerala, the persons belonging to the same caste may be found in different socio-economic strata. Find out reasons for these changes.

12.   How are sanskritisation and westernization helpful for social mobility?

GLOSSARY

Cultural Lag   : Material aspects of the culture change faster than non-material culture
Demography   : Study of population
Fertility   : Birth rate
Mobility   : Movement of elements from one position to another
Multifactoral   : Influence of multiple factors of social change
Mortality   : Death rate

REFERENCES

Ahuja, Ram. 2005. *Indian Social system*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Bhushan, Vidya and D R Sachdeva. 2001. *An Introduction to Sociology.* New Delhi: Kitab Mahal.

Henna, Tabassum. 2011. *Encyclopaedia of Caste Class and Society in India*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications pvt Ltd.

Kuppuswamy, B. 2004. *Social Change in India*. Delhi: Konark Publications Pvt Ltd.

Singh, K. 2001. *Social Change in India*. Luknow: Prakasan Kendra.

Mac Iver, R M and Charles H Page. 1998. *Society: An Introductory Analysis*. New Delhi: Macmillan India Limited.

Sharma, K L. 1997. *Social Stratification and Mobility*. New Delhi: Rawat publications.

Singh ,Yogendra. 2002. *Social Stratification and Change in India.* New Delhi: Manohar publishers.

Singh,Yogendra. 2003. *Culture Change in India Identity and Globalisation.* New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Srinivas, M N. 2003. *Social Change in Modern India* New Delhi: Orient Longman.

TRIBES AND MARGINALISED PEOPLE

SIGNIFICANT LEARNING OUTCOMES

After completing this unit, the learner will be able to:

- Distinguish the concept of tribe from non-tribe and classify Indian tribes according to different criteria

- List out the tribes of Kerala, identify the PVTGS and recognise the problems of tribal people.

- Review the tribal movements and the causes of tribal unrest in Kerala and identify its significance.

- Evaluate the status of Marginalised sections of the society and appraise the constitutional and legal safeguards in line with the philosophy and spirit of Indian Constitution.

CONTENTS

Tribes and Tribal Life
- Concept of Tribe
- Scheduled Tribe
- Features of Tribal Life
- Classification of Indian Tribes
- Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups
- Tribes of Kerala
- Problems of Tribal Communities
- Tribal Movements

Marginalised People
- Scheduled Castes-Concept, Criteria, Problems
- Status of Women in India
- Women Liberation Movement

Constitutional safeguards for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

Fig 8.1 Birsa Munda

Birsa Munda was a legendary hero of the Indian freedom movement, He sacrifised his life for the emancipation of Indian tribes from their bondage. Birsa Munda was born in 1875 in a small village, Lihatu in Ranchi. He was the son of an agricultural labourer among the Munda tribe.

Fig 8.2 Statue of Birsa Munda

During the pre-indipendent period, the British colonial administers made the tribal situation in India worse .Tribal communities like Munda, Santhals and Oraons, spread out in Bihar, and Jharkhand suffered mostly in this situation. The British intensified the transformation of the tribal agrarian system into feudal state. The non- tribes were encouraged to settle on and cultivate the tribal land to generate a surplus. This led to the alienation of the lands held by the tribal people. By 1874, the authority of the old Munda or Oraon chiefs had been almost entirely wiped out by the new peasants, introduced by the superior landlords. In some villages the tribes had completely lost their proprietary rights, and had been reduced to the position of farm labourers. In short, the life and culture of tribes began to decline as a result of the non- tribal migration and the policy of British colonial administrators.

Birsa Munda responded to this situation through a series of revolts and uprisings. The movement is aimed at asserting the rights of the Mundas as the real proprietors of the land and the expulsion of middlemen and the British. He was treacherously caught in 1900 while he was sleeping along his tribal guerrilla army which was fighting against British forces. He died in mysterious conditions on 9th June 1900 in Ranchi Jail. Though he lived for a very short span of 25 years, he aroused the minds of the tribal people and mobilised them in a small town of Chotanagpur, against the Britishers. He was a terror to the British rulers.

The name of Birsa Munda was written down in the history with golden letters. Had it not been for the intervention of leaders like Birsa Munda, the plight of the Indian tribes and of the marginalised sections would have been miserable in India. The tribal situation today does not show much of a change, even after six decades of Indian Independence, and spending crores of rupees in the name of tribal development.

What is the situation of tribal people today? Even though efforts have been made to emancipate them, the condition of tribal people all over India is still deplorable. As an

anthropology student, don't you think it is important to understand the cultural life of tribal people in India? As we know Anthropology envisages a cultural relativistic understanding of all the sections of humans. Here we shall take up the responsibility of familiarising the simple though vivid life of the tribal people in India in general and Kerala in particular. In this unit, an attempt has been made to study the features of tribal life, their problems, uprisings and fight against the exploitation and socio-economic inequalities faced by women and other marginalised sections. Let us examine them in detail.

Tribes and Tribal Life

You have already studied that India is an 'ethnological museum'. The reason for such coinage can be attributed to its cultural diversity. The tribal population in India has a major role in making India a mosaic of cultures. It is believed that the present day tribes are the descendants of the earliest inhabitants of India. They belong to various ethnic, linguistic and economic categories. The tribes of India, exhibit a wide range of diverse cultural elements. In order to understand the multifarious aspects of such tribal cultural elements, we should first examine what a "tribe" means.

Concept of Tribe

We often come across the word 'tribe' in our daily life. We can also see the words like, 'adivasi' and 'scheduled tribe' used in news papers and media. Can you differentiate the concept of 'tribe', 'adivasi', and 'scheduled tribe?'

Let us first refer to the dictionary meaning of the concept 'tribe'.

In medieval English, the word tribe is used to denote a primary aggregate of people that claim descent from a common ancestor.

European anthropologists, with the arrival of colonialism, applied this word to the people who lived in a 'primitive' or 'barbarous' condition in backward areas and did not know writing. Since then, the word 'tribe' has become a technical and administrative term to denote the aborigines.

The tribes in India are generally referred as 'adivasis', meaning, indigenous people or original inhabitants of the country. Tribal society is often referred varyingly as 'primitive society', 'folk society', 'simple society' and 'pre- literate society'.

Anthropologically, a tribe is a social group, the members of which, lives in a common territory, have common dialect, common ancestor, and uniform social organisation, use simple technology and possess cultural homogeneity.

198

As we have discussed, the Indian tribes differ from one another in racial traits, language, economy, culture and demographic pattern.

How do tribes differ from a caste group?

Sinha (1967) observes: "The tribal people are isolated in ecology, demography, economy, politics and other social behaviour from other ethnic groups".

They live in various ecological and geo-climatic conditions ranging from plains and forests to hills and inaccessible areas. Most of them are in isolation and are considered socially, economically, educationally and technologically backward. You can identify many other factors that distinguish a tribe from a caste group.

You have studied in lower classes about some of the tribal people of Kerala and their habitat. You can collect more details of the ecological, geo-climatic and economic condition of our tribal people. Then conduct a discussion and analyse how far the observation of Sinha is compatible with the tribal and caste situation in Kerala.

You have also heard another term 'Scheduled Tribe' on various occasions. Is there any difference between the concept of 'tribe' and 'Scheduled Tribe'? How did the concept of Scheduled Tribe come into being?

Scheduled Tribe

The Scheduled Tribes are the communities which are included in the Schedule of Indian Constitution. Article 366 (25) of the Constitution of India refers to Scheduled Tribes as those communities, who are scheduled in accordance with Article 342 of the Constitution. This Article says that only those communities who have been declared by the President through a public notification or through a subsequent Amendment Act of Parliament will be considered to be Scheduled Tribes.

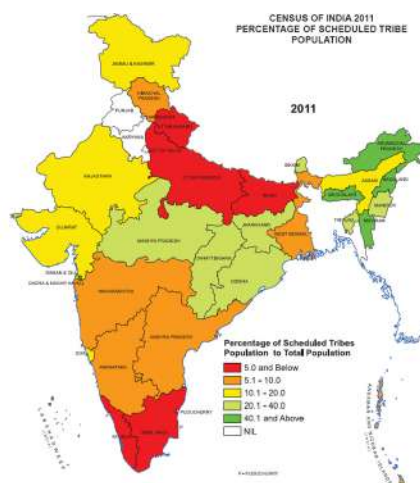India is the second largest tribal popolated country in the world ony next to

Fig 8.3 Percentage of Scheuled Tribes Population in India

199

Africa. A closer analysis of our census figures would reveal that, the tribal population in India increased over the years. The total tribal population of India in 1971 was 3.8 crores which constitute 6.94% of total population. It has increased to 104,281,034 in 2011, which constitute 8.6 % of the total population. The increase in the percentage of the tribal population is mainly due to the alteration made in the list of Scheduled Tribes, through constitutional amendment in the subsequent years. Among the Indian States and Union Territories, Lakshadeep (94.8%) has the highest tribal population followed by Mizoram (94.4%), Nagaland (86.5%) and Meghalaya (86.1%). The lowest tribal concentration is recorded from Uttar Pradesh (0.6%). No tribal population is recorded from Punjab and Haryana.

Compare the growth rate of tribal and general population for the last 50 years. What inferences can be drawn from the population figures? Your findings have to be discussed in the class.

In media there appears news regarding inclusion and exclusion of communities into the Scheduled Tribe list. On what basis do the inclusion and exclusion is made? If it is done on the basis of certain norms and principles, what is the criteria to classify a population as 'scheduled tribe'? In order to answer these questions, we should examine the features of tribal life.

Fig 8.4 Tribes in forest

Features of Tribal Life

The tribal life is characterised by many unique elements as outlined below:

1. **Geographical Isolation:** Isolation is one of the striking features of tribal communities. Most of the tribal communities live far away or remote from the mainstream. Many of them subsist on forest-based economy.

2. **Homogeneous Ethnic group:** The tribal communities are homogeneous in nature. The members of a tribal community follow the same culture. Their religion, customs, beliefs and practices, food habits and dress patterns are similar. The members of a tribal community possess a mutual sense of unity and 'we' feeling due to this homogenous outlook.

3. **Definite Territory:** The tribes inhabit and remain within a definite and common topography. In the absence of a common topography, the tribe would lose its characteristic features like community sentiments, language and 'we' feeling.

4. **Common Language and Culture:** Each tribal community has its own distinctive language and culture. This helps to generate and evolve a sense of communal unity among the members of each community.

5. **'Low-level' Technology:** Most of the tribal economy is based on forest environment. They resort to simple and elementary technology by using implements like bow and arrow, digging stick and sickle.

6. **Low Literacy:** The literacy level of tribal communities is very low. Most of them are non-literate. Poverty, wastage and stagnation and lack of access to educational institutions are the major reasons for the low literacy level of the tribal people. However, we cannot describe them as illiterate as they have their own traditional knowledge and technical know-how about each and every aspect of social life.

Fig 8.5 Tribal dance

7. **Endogamous group:** The tribes are endogamous in nature. The members of a tribal group generally marry within their own group.

8. **Direct Personal Relationship:** Direct face to face and personal relationships are seen among the members of a tribal society. All the members of a tribal group know each other. The various social, economic and religious activities help the tribes to maintain their relationship.

9. **Division of Labour by Age and Sex:** Among the tribal communities male members are engaged in occupations like hunting, fishing or agriculture, while female members do gathering of fruits, nuts, tubers, gums and other minor forest products from the forest. Children also have their own role to play in economic activities such as cattle rearing or collection of fire wood. Some children are also engaged in child rearing.

10. **Governed by Customary Laws:** The tribes have their own traditional laws and customs. They maintain their own political system to perpetuate social order and protection of the community. Disputes among the tribes are discussed and settled in their own councils. This political system also works along with the modern political system.

 ICT: If you are one of the Members of a Committee that looks into the reconstitution of the Scheduled tribe list, how can you convince the other Members of the Committee regarding the criteria for the classification of Scheduled Tribe? Prepare a slide presentation to convince them regarding the criteria.

As seen earlier, India is the abode to many tribal communities. They live in different social, economic and geographical situation. Hence, based on different criteria we can classify the tribal people of India into different categories.

Classification of Indian Tribes

Different scholars have attempted to classify the Indian

Fig 8.6 Diversity of Indian Tribes

Tribes on the basis of different criteria. They include territorial distribution, racial affinity, linguistic affiliation and occupational specialisation. Each of them is discussed below.

1. **Territorial Distribution:** The tribes are scattered all over India but they are chiefly centered in four geographic zones namely North-Eastern Zone, Central Zone, South Zone and Island Zone

   a) *North-Eastern Zone:* This zone consists of North-Eastern states like Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Sikhim and Nagaland. The major tribes inhabiting this area include Garo, Lepcha, Toto, Kuki, Naga and Khasis.

   b) *Central Zone*: This zone consists of the states in Central India, including Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajastan, Gujarath and Bihar. The tribes in this region include Munda, Santhals, Oraons, Ho, Birhors, Kharia, Bhills, Kols and Baiga.

   c) *South Zone:* This zone comprises the Southern states like Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Telengana. The tribes in this region include Kurichyan, Paniyan, Kattunaikan, Toda, Kota, Chenchus and Jenukurumba.

   d) *Island Zone:* This region includes the union territories of Andaman Nicobar Islands and Lakshadweep. Onge, Jarawas, Sentinelese, Shompen, Andamenese and Nicobarese are some of the tribes of Andaman Nicobar Islands. All the native inhabitants of Lakshadweep belonging to seven traditional communities and professing Islamic religion are designated as Scheduled Tribes.

You have learned geographical distribution of tribal people in India. Now draw the map of India and locate the different tribal people inhabiting in different geographical areas.

2. **Racial Affinity:** On the basis of physical characteristics, the tribes of India are included into four racial groups namely, Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Mangoloid and the Mediterranean group.

   a) *Negrito group:* The Negrito races are characterised by short or medium physical stature, dark brown skin colour, flat and broad nose, thick lips and wooly hair. Tribes like Birhor of Bihar, Rajis of Uttar Pradesh, Kadars and Irulars of Kerala, Great Andamanese, Sentenelese, Onge, and Jarawa of Andaman Nicobar Islands belong to this category. However, there is controversy regarding the presence of Negrito element in Indian population.

Collect the pictures of the above said tribal people and verify whether their physical fetures are those of Negroid.

> **Tribes of Andaman and Nicobar Islands**
> - The Andaman and Nicobar Islands is home to four *Negrito* and two *Mongoloid* tribes.
> - Those belonging to the *Negrito* origin – the **Great Andamanese**, the **Onge**, the **Jarawas** and the **Sentinelese** - are still at hunting-gathering stage of economy.
> - Tribes of *Mongoloid* origin are **Nicobarese** and **Shompen**,
> - The first tribe to come into contact with the Indian settlers were the **Great Andamanese** followed by the **Onge** and finally the **Jarawa**.
> **http://www.andamantourism.in/tribals-andamans-india.html**

Fig 8.7 Negrito Tribe

   b) *Proto -Australoid group:* Most of the Tribal population of India belong to this racial group. They are characeirsed by medium stature, dark brown skin colour, curly hair, sink nose, low forehead and everted lips. Some scholars call them as Pre-Dravidian. These people exhibit strong muscular and well-built body. These types are represented by Gond of Bastar, Bhils of Rajasthan, Oraons, Mundas and Santhals of Chotanagapur, Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh, Kurumbas of Attapadi and Kol, Kharia, Ho tribes of Bihar.

203

c) **Mangoloid Group:** The tribes of North-East Frontier Area exhibit Mangoloid characters. Their stature is medium, skin colour is yellowish brown and the face is flat with prominent cheek bones. The nose is also flat and eye-slits are oblique with epicanthic fold. The hair is straight but the hair growth is minimal on body and face. This group is represented by Naga, Garo, Khasi, Lepcha, and other tribes of North-East Frontier Area

d) **The Mediterranean group:** The Mediterranean group show tall stature, fair complexion, long and narrow nose, thin lips, wavy hair and plenty of facial and body hair. The Mediterranean group is also considered as Dravidian language speaking groups. They are mainly found in southern India. The Todas of Nilgiri hills in South India is an example of this group.

Fig 8.8 Meditrerranean Tibe

You have seen tribal communities with different racial affinity distributed in different parts of the country. Prepare picture album/ digital presentation of various tribal groups of India indicating their racial affinity.

Linguistic Affiliation: Language can be taken as a parameter in tracing the ethnic affinities of the people. Linguistically the tribes of India can be divided into the following groups.

a) **Austric:** Grierson classified the languages of Austric family into two divisions - Mundari, and Mon-Khemer. The majority of the Tribes inhabiting the central India namely Santhal, Munda, Kol, Ho, Lodha, Kharia and Bhil speak Mundari language. The other branch of this language family, the Mon-Khemer is spoken by the Khasis of Meghalaya and Nicobarese of Nicobar Island.

b) **Dravidian:** The Dravidian linguistic group is popular in Central and Southern India. The central Dravidian speaking tribes include the Gonds, Khond and Oraon and southern Dravidian tribe includes Chenchus, Toda, Kota, Irula, Kadar and Paniyan.

c) **Tibeto-Burman :** The whole north eastern belt of India comes under the fold of this language family. The tribes namely Naga, Kuki, Lepcha, Bodo and Garo speak languages that come under the Tibeto Burman language family.

d)   ***Unclassified:*** There are also some unclassified languages, the speakers of whom are Andamanese, Onge, Jarawa of Andaman Islands.

The tribes who have been greatly assimilated with the advanced people speak Indo-Aryan languages such as Bengali, Hindi, Oriya, Assamese, Marathi, Rajasthani, Gujarathi etc. according to the influence of the respective neighboring region. English is most commonly used by the North-Eastern tribes who had been converted to Christianity.

You have learned the various linguistic categorisations of Indian tribal communities. Find out more representatives from each category and prepare a chart illustrating the language families of tribes in India indicating their major representatives

Occupational Classification: The economic life of the Indian tribes is varying. They belong to different stages of economy ranging from food gathering to settled agriculture. Each tribe has its own distinctive economy but they are usually found to practice many other subsidiary occupations also. The different economies found among the Indian tribes are listed below:

a)   ***Hunting-gathering***: A considerable number of Indian tribes depend on forest. They practice hunting, fishing and collect fruits, edible roots, honey, gums etc from the forest. The Rajis of Uthar Pradesh, Birhor of Bihar, Jarawa, Onge, and Sentinelese of Andaman Island, Kadars, Kattunaickan and Cholanaickan of Kerala belong to this category.

b)   ***Pastoralism:*** The tribes who subsist on domestication of animals are included in this category. They depend on their herds of animals directly or indirectly for food and other materials. They are found to have adjusted themselves in unusual ecological settings. The Todas of Nilgiri and the Bhotias of Almora belong to this category.

c)   ***Shifting Cultivation:*** In India, shifting cultivation was widely practiced in tribal regions. Slash and burn cultivation and swidden cultivation are the other names for shifting cultivation. It is also known as Jhum in Assam, Podu in Orissa, and Punam in Kerala. The Indian tribes practicing this type of economy include Maler, the Hill Kharia, Korwa, Baiga, Gond and Naga. The Kurumbas of Attappady still practice shifting cultivation in Kerala.

d)   ***Agriculture:*** Today, agriculture has achieved a central place in the economic activities of the tribal India. Most of the tribes in India are familiar with the permanent settled cultivation, although they supplement their economy with

205

activities like hunting, gathering and fishing. The Santhal, Oraon, Munda, Ho, Gond, Baiga, Mullukurumba and Kurichyan are the examples of agriculture practicing tribes in India.

e)   ***Tribal Artisans:*** Some of the tribal groups practice handicraft works as a subsidiary occupation. These crafts include basket making (bamboo), tool making (iron and wood), spinning and weaving (cotton and wool), pottery making etc. The Nagas and the Khasis produce colourful handloom products. Asurs are well known iron smelters. In Kerala, the Koragas of Kasargod are engaged in basket making and the Vettu Kuruman of Wayanad are excellent handmade pottery makers. They are also engaged in basketry, black smithy and carpentry.

f)   ***Agricultural and Industrial Labourers:*** A substantial section of the tribes have become landless labourers and they work on the lands of others for wages. They are paid either in cash or in kind or in terms of share. They posses no right on the lands on which they work. Some people seasonally migrate to the neighboring areas for other manual jobs. In central India, tribes like Santhal, Oraon, Ho, Khonds and Gonds used to work as industrial labourers. In Kerala, the Paniyan and the Adiyan tribes have been working as agricultural labourers. Apart from these, there are cash crop labourers like Muthuvans of Idukki. They are engaged in cardamom cultivation.

The classification of Indian tribal communities on the basis of geography, racial affinity, language and occupation has now been discussed. Now prepare a flow chart/mind mapping showing the classification of Indian Tribes with examples of their representatives.

We have seen that the tribal people in general are considered to be living a distinctive social cultural life, with economic backwardness and geographical isolation. Among them, some of the tribal communities are identified as extremely backward. They are more subjected to all types of exploitation and resultant socio-economic backwardness. Considering their economic backwardness and pre-literate culture, they are termed as 'Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups'. Earlier these groups were named as 'Primitive Tribal Groups'.

Particularly-Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PTGS/PVTGs)

The concept 'Primitive Tribe' in Indian setting is said to have been conceived by J.H. Hutton, a British anthropologist and an administrator in the Indian Civil Service. He was

also the Commissioner of Indian Census for 1931. In development planning for any target group or area, the socio-economic level of different sub-groups and undeveloped areas need consideration. The question of tackling the problems of the more backward tribal communities received the attention of various commissions. To identify such communities, the government has generally followed different norms such as *diminishing population, subsistence-level of economy, low level of literacy and the pre-agricultural level of technology.*

The Government of India had identified 75 tribal groups/sections/ communities as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs), in 1976. They were distributed in 15 States/Union Territories. The term 'primitive' is no more in usage because of being derogatory. Hence, the term Particularly-Vulnerable Tribal Group, began to be used, as per the National Tribal Policy. Now, instead of PTG, the acronym used to refer them is PVTG.

Characteristics of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups:

The PVTGs exhibit certain characteristics that make them more vulnerable as compared to other tribes. Some such characteristics are discussed below:

1. **Diminishing population:** The population of some of the tribes are fast declining and moving towards extinction. The main factors responsible for extinction of such tribes are the radical changes in ecological condition. Disturbance in the nature-man equilibrium, distinctive nature of the forest policy, malnutrition and diseases are also caused for the vanishing of certain tribal stocks.

2. **Subsistence level of economy:** Majority of the PVTGs lives in the forests and is dependent exclusively on forest for their livelihood. They practice hunting and gathering and collect food only for their subsistence. They do not have a surplus economy and the domestic mode of production is based on subsistence economy.

3. **Low level of literacy:** Education is one of the key indicators for social and economic status in society. The tribal communities, who lack formal education, naturally become backward in social milieu. The low literacy level makes stumbling block in tribal development. Thus low literacy level is treated as a criterion of enlisting PVTG.

4. **Pre-agricultural level of Technology:** Some of the tribal communities follow simple technology to exploit the natural resources. A hunting gathering group may use digging stick, bow and arrow etc for food collection. The tools they use are too crude to have more hard work.

207

Based on the above criteria you are now in a position to find out the PVTGs. The PVTGs are distributed in 15 states/Union Territories. Find out the important PVTGs in the above States/Union Territories and prepare a chart by utilising internet resources.

We have discussed the tribal situation in India. Even though Kerala is a small state in terms of geographical area, it provides a great diversity of tribal life and culture. Let us have a glimpse of tribal life in Kerala.

Tribes of Kerala

Kerala is the homeland of a number of tribal communities. Majority of them inhabit the western slope of the Western Ghats. However, in terms of the concentration of the Scheduled Tribe population, Kerala ranks only 21st among the Indian states.

According to the 2011 census, the ST population in Kerala is 4,84,839 constituting 1.5 percent of the total population of the state. The Government of India has enumerated 37 communities as scheduled tribes in Kerala. These tribal communities differ from one another in terms of their language and culture.

- Wayanad district is the abode of many tribal communities. The Paniyan, Adiyan, Kurichiyan,

LIST OF SCHEDULED TRIBES IN THE KERALA STATE (2011 census)

1. Adiyan
2. Aranada (Aranadan)
3. Eravallan
4. Hill Pulaya(Mala Pulayan, Kurumba Pulayan, Karavazhi Pulayan, Pamba Pulayan)
5. Irular,Irulan
6. KadarWayanadKadar)
7. Kanikkaran,Kanikar
8. Karimpalan
9. Kattunayakan
10. Kochuvelan
11. Koraga
12. Kudiya,Melakudi
13. Kurichchan (Kurichiyan)
14. Kurumans (Mullu Kuruman, Mulla Kuruman, Mala Kuruman)
15. Kurumbas (Kurumbar, Kurumban)
16. Mahamalasar
17. Malai Arayan (Mala Arayan)
18. Malai Pandaran \
19. Malai Vedan (Mala Vedan)
20. Malakkuravan
21. Malasar
22. Malayan, Nattu Malayan, Konga Malayan (Excluding the areas comprising the Kasaragod, Kannur, Wayanad and Kozhikode Districts)
23. Mavilan
24. Malayarayar
25. Mannan (to be spelt in Malayalam script in parenthisis)
26. Muthuvan,Mudugar,Muduvan
27. Palleyan, Palliyan, Paliyar, Palliya
28. Paniyan
29. Ulladan, Ullatan
30. Uraly
31. Mala Vettuvan (in Kasaragod and Kannur Districts)
32. Ten Kurumban, Jenu Kurumban
33. Thachenadan, Thachenadan, Moopan
34. Cholanaickan
35. Malapanickar
36. Vettakuruman
37. Marati

Fig 8.9 Tribal Occupation

Kurumar, Kattunayakan, Thachanad Muppan and Vettakuruman (Urali Kuruman) are the main inhabitants in Wayanad district. Once dominated by the tribes, the district has now turned to be the abode of the migrant population, reducing the presence of the tribes to a minority and reducing them to the status of aliens in their own land.

- Another important concentration of tribal population is in Idukki district, where we can find Hill Pulayan, Urally, Muthuvans, Mannan, Mala Ulladan and Malayarayan.

- Palakkad district is dominated with the presence of tribes like Irula, Kurumbar and Mudugar in Attappady region.

- Paniyans and Kurichiyans are found in Kannur and Kozhikode districts. Kattunaikan, also known as Ten Kuruman is also found in Kozhikode district.

- Koraga, Mavilan, and Mala Vettuvan are found in Kasargode district. The Maratis are another tribal community in the district, who had been descheduled from the list of tribes in 2002 but rescheduled to the list in 2014. With their inclusion, the number of tribes in Kerala had increased to 37.

- Malappuram district has recorded a number of tribal communities like Cholanikan, Aranadan, Paniyan and Kattunaikan.

- The Kanikkar tribal community is found in Kollam and Thiruvananthapuram districts.

- Urally and Malapandaram are found in Pathanamthitta districts.

The above list is not an exhaustive one. You can collect details from different sources including internet and make a comprehensive list of district-wise tribal communities in Kerala.

As elsewhere in India, in Kerala also some tribal communities are in the early stage of its development. They are liable to widespread exploitation and are still situated in the

209

extremely backward social position compared to other tribal communities. They are termed as PVTGs and the details of those communities are given below.

Fig 8.10 Koraga

PVTGs of Kerala: In Kerala there are five PVTGs including Koragas, Kattunayakan, Cholanaickan, Kurumbar and Kadar. They form only 5.3per cent of the total Scheduled Tribe population of the State. A brief note on each of these tribes is given here.

1. **Koraga:** The Koragas are distributed in Kasaragode district of Kerala. They speak a language close to Tulu and Kannada. The Koragas practice monogamy. The head of a hamlet is called Gurukara, who controls all socio-religious activities in a hamlet.

They are experts in basketry and at present, they are also engaged in agriculture labour, laterite stone cutting, beedi-rolling and wage labour. The Koragas are still backward and suffer from poor health conditions.

2. **Kadar:** The Kadar is one of the oldest inhabitants of India. Their language is close to Tamil. In Kerala, the Kadar population is distributed in the Parambikulam, Kuriyarkutty, Nelliampathy and Kodassery forest areas under Chittoor taluk of Palakkad district and Vazhachal,

Fig 8.11 Kadar

Peringalkuthu and Sholayar forest areas of Mukundapuram taluk of Thrissur district. They are also found in the adjoining Anamalaihill of Coimbatore district of Tamil Nadu.

They live in hilly and dense forest area and are considered as original inhabitants of the region. They move from one place to another in search of food. Due to nomadic nature

210

they do not construct permanent dwellings. They construct small huts with the bamboo materials.

Their traditional economy is based on hunting, gathering, fishing and honey collecting. At present many of them have become agricultural labourers and basket makers. The Kadars practice monogamy and hamlet exogamy. Each hamlet has a headman called Moopan, who controls the socio-political matters of the hamlet.

3. **Cholanaickans:** Cholanaickans live in the upper ghat section of the Nilambur Valley, in Malappuram district. They lead a semi-nomadic life in the forests and have limited contact with outsiders. The Cholanaickan speak a mixture of Kannada and Tamil. The density of population among them is very low. They have been living in the rock caves in the interior forests. They are known as 'the Cave-men of Kerala'.

Fig 8.12 Cholanaickan

The settelement of Cholanaikkan is called "Kallu Alai" (rock cave). Each *Alai* has a tribal chief known as Janmakkaran who deals with the socio-religious aspects of the Alai.

They wander from one place to another in search of roots, tubers, seeds, honey and minor forest products. They lead a nomadic life throughout the year, except in the rainy season. They are completely isolated and live by food gathering, hunting and fishing alone.

4. **Kurumbas:** They are distributed in Attappady area of Palakkad district. Their language is akin to Malayalam and Tamil. The Kurumbas are shifting cultivators and food gatherers. They cultivate cereals such as redgram, ragi, chama and vegetables. The nature of the ownership of land is communal. Roots and tubers are collected especially when there is a scarcity of grain. They are also engaged in the collection of

Fig 8.13 Kurumbas

211

honey. Baskets of various types are made by the Kurumbas from the materials obtained from the forest. They are also engaged in hunting wild animals and fishing.

The hamlet of the Kurumbar is known as *ooru*. Each *ooru* has a headman called *Oorumoopan*, who is assisted by Bhandari, Kuruthala and Mannookkaran. He presides over all the socio-cultural and religious functions. He is expected to tackle all the common problems of the community.

5. **Kattunayakan (Kattunaicken):** The Kattunayakans are distributed in Wayanad, Malappuram and Kozhikode Districts. Kattunayakan literally means lord of forests. They speak a language, which is akin to Kannada.

Fig 8.14 Kattunayakan

The Kattunayakans live in a forest environment. Their settlement is called kudi. They subsist on food gathering and on the collection of Minor Forest Produce (MFP). Today, there are Kattunaickan families living along with the rural population and working as agricultural labourers and small scale cultivators. The Kattunayakans are endogamous. The head of the hamlet is called *Moopan*, who plays an important role in all the religious and social functions of the hamlet.

You have already studied about the PVTGs of Kerala. Prepare an ethno-photographic profile of any one of the PVTGs of Kerala.

Tribal people are one of the marginalised sections of society. As they live close to nature by isolating themselves from the mainstream of the society, their culture is in tune with nature. The changes happened in the environment, both physical environment and socio-cultural environment, produced many problems to the tribal people. The problems faced by the tribal people are distinctive and even threatening their life and culture.

Problems of Tribal Communities

The tribal communities in Kerala, though they are the original inhabitants of the region, have been alienated from the mainstream. This alienation is a result of many problems faced by the tribal communities. You might have read in news papers about the problems faced by tribal lots. Let us discuss some of the major problems faced by these communities.

1. **Poverty:** Majority of the tribes in India still live in acute poverty. They depend up on natural resources for their livelihood. Moreover, the simple technology that they use is not much productive. The subsistence type of economy also make the condition more pathetic. As they do not keep things for their future use, in the times of famine and drought, they face shortage of food resources. The unemployment or underemployment and the restrictions imposed on them as a result of the forest regulations also lead them to a delicate situation and heightened poverty.

2. **Malnutrition:** Malnutrition is the pathological state resulting from a relative or absolute deficiency of one or more essential nutrients (WHO 1966). With the arrival of the non-tribes to the tribal areas, and the subsequent changes in the economic system and also with the imposition of forest policies since the British times, the tribal people have been forced to abandon their age-old and adaptive nutritious food. They have to consume locally available less nutritious food. This leads to malnutrition and starvation. Malnutrition is common and has affected the general health of the tribal children as it lowers the ability to resist infection. It naturally leads to chronic illness and sometimes leads to infant and child mortality.

3. **Health problems:** In many parts of India, tribal people suffer from chronic infections and diseases. Leprosy and tuberculosis are also common among various tribes. Infant mortality was found to be very high among some of the tribes. The Mullukurumans of Wayanad face a hereditary disease called sickle cell anemia. The fertility rate among some of the tribes of Andaman, like the Onges and Jarawas are very low. This adversely affects their population growth. The majority of the health problems faced by the tribal people are the result of their interaction with non-tribal population.

4. **Indebtedness:** Indebtedness is an economic condition in which a person is so much overloaded by the pressure of debt that one can hardly escape from it. Tribal people have been facing this grave condition from generation after generation. They suffer from indebtedness in the hands of the local moneylenders and landlords. Money lending had been one of the major instruments used by the non-tribes to grab the lands from the tribal people. In order to repay the debt, the tribal people often mortgage or sell their land to the moneylenders and become alienated from their lands.

5. **Land Alienation:** Many a times, non-tribal people grab tribal land for want of the repayment of the loan taken from them. Having been cheated by the non-tribes and becoming alienated from their lands, tribal people are forced to move to the interior

213

forests. At the same time, the forest policies of the government prevent them from entering into the reserve forests.

The main causes of land alienation and landlessness among the tribes are illiteracy, poor economic conditions, alcoholism, indebtedness, rapid urbanisation, lack of proper land records, apathetic and corrupt administration and mortgage of lands in the hands of non-tribes. Large scale alienation of tribal land could be witnessed in Kerala mainly due to the migration of plainsmen to the hill areas and due to the displacement of the tribes for starting big projects. The Kerala Land Reforms Act 1963, with its 'land to the tiller' policy, was also not beneficial to the tribal people. Under the law, the occupiers of the land (settler farmers) became the owners and the original owners (the tribal people) became landless and were reduced to the status of agricultural labourers. This resulted in the total derailment of tribal life.

6. **Forest policy of the Government:** Many of the tribal communities still live in close vicinity of forests. The tribes are intimately associated with forest as their social, economic and religious life revolve around it. The forest and the forest resources provide food, shelter, occupation, medicine ornaments and many other things to the tribal people. The forest policy of the government drastically cut down the rights of tribes in the forest, thereby disturbing the ecology, economy and natural tribal life.

7. **Religious Conversion**: Tribal people are in general animists. Conversion of tribal people into Hinduism, Islam and Christianity has resulted in the formation of different sects within the already small tribal groups. This has resulted in the disintegration of their collective life and cultural homogeneity.

8. **Educational Backwardness:** The formal education has made very little impact on tribal groups. Educationally, the tribal population is at different levels of development. There are many reasons for low level of education among the tribal people:

    *   Formal education is not considered necessary to discharge their social obligations;
    *   Traditional beliefs and myths play an important role in rejecting education;
    *   Most tribes live in abject poverty.
    *   It is not easy for them to send their children to schools, as they are considered extra helping hands.
    *   The formal schools do not provide any special attraction for their children.
    *   Most of the tribes are located in the interior and remote areas .

214

9.   **Problems of Cultural contact:** Due to contact with other cultures, the tribal culture is undergoing revolutionary changes. It has led to both favourable as well as unfavourable consequences. The blind imitation of the features of the non-tribal culture such as food habits, dress patterns, material culture, religion, language and economy has led to the disintegration of tribal culture. Furthermore, it has led to the degeneration of tribal life and tribal arts such as dance, music and different types of craft. Many social evils like dowry system, drug abuse, alcoholism and discriminative attitude towards woman have also crept into their society through culture contact.

We have discussed some of the problems faced by the tribal people in general. You have to collect details regarding particular problems of tribal people from news paper and from other media. Discuss those problems in groups, prepare a collage and conduct an exhibition of such collage. Each problem faced by tribal people has to be discussed and suitable remedial measures have to be put forth.

For centuries, tribal people were deprived of better living condition. Their main problem of land alienation, poverty and exploitation by non-tribal people continued to exist. Moreover, they were marginalised from social mainstream. This naturally led to develop unrest in the mind of tribal folk and led to the mobilisation of tribal movements. Following are some of the tribal movements in India.

Tribal movements

Tribal movements have been prevalent in India since the days of colonial rule. They are the outcome of severe economic exploitations and inhumane social oppressions. Rebellions of the desperate tribes are still continuing, although the character and motivations are different. During the colonial rule, tribal movements went along side by side with the peasant movements in India. Since it was a struggle of the weak against the strong, in almost all cases, tribes were the ultimate losers. The grievances of the tribes were not only against the ruling apathetic British officials, but also against all their supporters including the landlords, merchants and moneylenders and hence, all of them were their target. There were a number of rebellions that appeared one after another. In north India, the important tribal movements were Munda movement and Santhal movement.

Munda movement was the revolt by the Munda tribe of Chottangapur. The Mundas were practicing settled cultivation. In 1765, the East India Company claimed huge sum of land revenue from Chotanagapur, which was very difficult to be paid by the villagers. Since they did not pay it in time, the amount of arrears increased day by day. Under the burden

215

of heavy taxation, some people revolted against the East India Company. The company suppressed the agitation, but restlessness continued till 1795. Trouble broke out again during the period from 1796 to 1798. In addition, at the turn of eighteenth century, the Company imposed stamp and custom duties on Chotanagapur. In 1819-20, two leaders emerged in the scene, Sale Rudu and Konta Munda, whose lives ended in the Company's jail. Flames of revolt were lit again in 1832. After a long effort, in 1899-1900 the Mundas got a revolutionary leader, Birsa Munda. Under his leadership, the Mundas again dared to raise their arms to drive out all outsiders away from Chottanagapur. But like earlier leaders Rundu and Konta Munda, Birsa Munda also died in jail. Many of his followers were hanged to death or put to life-long imprisonment. The Mundas of Chotanagapur even today consider Birsa Munda as their hero. The government thereafter started to think seriously about the protection of the Mundas by implementing new laws.

Santhal Rebellion was the revolt by the Santhal tribe of Madhya Pradesh. The Santhal tribes were forced to fight against the British because of the high-handedness of the administrators. The santhal wished to evict the money lenders and the police personnel from their land. They attacked the zamindars, police stations and railway stations. They were assisted by a large number of non-tribes and poor people. However, in 1866, the rebellion was completely crushed.

Tribal unrest manifested in the form of revolts in Kerala as well. Here the main problem was related to land. The original inhabitants of the land began to fight with authorities to get restored in their homeland. Important tribal revolts in Kerala are the following:

Kurichiyan Revolt: Kurichiyans are one of the tribal communities inhabiting Wayanad and Kannur districts of Kerala. Traditionally, they are agriculturists. They had fought against the British along with *Pazhassi Raja* of Kottayam Malabar in 1812. The British concept of land relations and possession right was contrary to the prevailing system in Wayanad. The forest land was considered as a common wealth, and the tribes wholly depended on it for their livelihood. The new system of taxation imposed on the tribes of Wayanad irritated them. They used to pay
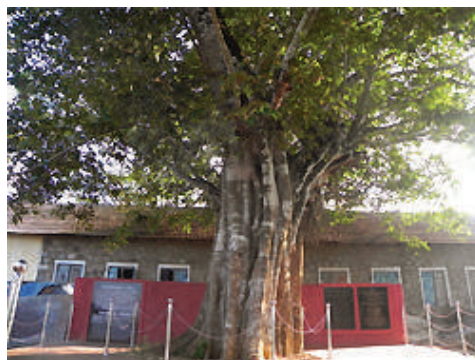

Fig 8.15 Thalackal Chandu Memorial

216

tax in kind but the British insisted on their paying the tax in cash. This caused many difficulties for them. They had no liquid cash with them. They could earn money only if they sold their goods in market. They were forced to sell their goods at the prices offered by the British. This exploitation led to agitation against the Government rules, which was suppressed by the British.

Muthanga land struggle: The tribal families, who had been living in Muthanga of Wayanad district, were forcibly evicted from the land during the 1970s after declaring the area as a wild life sanctuary and in the 1980s for establishing eucalyptus plantations. The evicted tribal groups were compelled to live in poor conditions in several tribal colonies elsewhere. As they were not given the land area which was promised to them, the indigenous people of Wayanad decided to enter the forest in Muthanga under the the tribal leader C.K. Janu of Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha (AGMS). The tribal families who entered the forest land sought to assert the traditional right over the Muthanga forests. There, they put up huts as if in their own land. Members from different tribal communities such as the Paniyans, the Vetta Kurumans, the Kattunaikkans, the Adiyans and the Mullukurumans in Wayanad participated in the agitation. Even though the agitation did not result in getting that land to the tribal people, it drew national and international attention as a land struggle waged by the landless tribes in Kerala.

You may collect more details about other tribal struggles like that of the Aralam and Chengara in Kerala and evaluate how far it succeeded. As an anthropology student, what do you think about the tribal claim? How could an anthropologist engage in such issues?

Apart from tribal communities, certain other communities and groups in India also undergo wide spread discrimination and exploitation. These groups are termed as marginalised peoples of the society.

Marginalised People

Indian society is stratified into various groups like tribes, castes, rural or village communities, urban societies and many other social and cultural divisinos. Amont this some of these groups are socially, educationally and economically advanced from others. These differences caused for the widespread alienation or marginalisation of some sections of Indian population from the mainstream. The Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and the women folk are some such groups, who are undergoing widespread exploitation, alienation and suppression. Let us examine conditions of such social groups along with their problems and constitutional provisions for their empowerment.

217

Scheduled Castes-Concept, Criteria and Problems

The term Scheduled Caste was coined by the Simon Commission in 1935. Those communities which are included in the Schedule as per the provision of the article 341 of the Indian constitution are known as Scheduled Castes. According to 2011 census Scheduled Castes constitute 16.6% of the total population of India. They have been suffering from various social, economic and political disabilities. The Scheduled Caste people have been suffering from the problem of untouchability and assigned the lowest position in the Hindu caste hierarchy. According to D.N. Majumdar - the untouchable castes are those who suffered from various social and political disabilities, many of which had been traditionally prescribed and socially enforced by the higher castes. The concept of untouchability is related to the concept of pollution and purity. It was believed that even the shadow of these inferior people polluted the upper caste people. Scheduled Castes were prevented from entering temples, schools and using public roads and public wells. In short, Scheduled Castes had suffered from all kinds of discriminations.

At times there were news paper reports regarding the inclusion of certain castes in the SC list. Do you ever think how some caste groups are declared as Scheduled Castes? Likewise, occasionally, a few castes are being excluded from the list.

What does it show? One cannot arbitrarily include or exclude a caste in the list. Some parameters have to be followed in this regard. Let us examine what these parameters are.

Criteria for Scheduling Castes: Article 341 of the Indian constitution, specifies the Scheduled Castes in India as per the following criteria:

- Low position in the social hierarchy.
- Social, economic and political backwardness
- Educational backwardness
- Very low representation in the government services

Look at the above criteria and critically examine how far these are applicable to the Scheduled Castes known to you. You can add any other suitable criteria to be considered in the changed social, cultural and economic scenario.

Swami Vivekananda, had commented on the social disabilities and discrimination faced by certain caste groups. Do you know what his remark was? Why did he pass such a comment?

Kumaranasan, a great Malayalam poet, in his poem *Chandalabhikhuki*, narrated the practice of untouchability.

Allallithenthu kadhayithu kashtame
Allalalangu jathi marannitho
Neecha narithan kayyal jalam vangi-
yachamikkumo, chollezhumaryanmar

Fig 8.16 Gandhiji and Sreenarayana Guru

Sree Narayana Guru, great social reformer and philosopher had a debate with Mahathma Gandhi on the hierarchy that existed in the Indian society based on caste system. Guru was awfully against the caste system. What would be the reason for his anxiety?

Definitely, the reason would be the atrocities and sufferings undergone by such castes in Kerala in his time.

You may have to collect the full text on the dialogue between Gandhiji and Sree Narayana Guru on caste system and untouchability. Discuss how Sree Narayana Guru influenced Gandhiji in shaping his views against untouchability and caste hierarchy.

Did you ever think of the sufferings experienced by lower caste or Scheduled Caste people over time? Some of the problems faced by the SCs in Kerala are discussed below.

Problems faced by the Scheduled Castes in Kerala:

1. **Social disabilities:** In the social sphere the disabilities of scheduled caste people are the following:

   a. ***Prevention from the use of public roads:*** The Scheduled Caste people were prevented from using the public roads during the day times. Consequently, they were forced to carry out their work at night. Even their shadow was considered to be enough to pollute the members of the higher castes.

   b. ***Prevention from the use of public wells:*** In almost all Indian villages, the Scheduled Caste people were forbidden from using the well to fetch water. In some cases, these people were not even permitted to approach the well.

2. **Economic disabilities:** The disabilities of Scheduled Castes were restricted not only to social spheres but extended also to economic sphere as well. They were

219

forced to do their traditional occupations. They did not have the permission to engage in the professions of higher castes. Their conventional occupations were associated with dirty and soiled works and their means for earning their bread and butter was limited.

3. **Religious disabilities:** The Scheduled Caste people were subjected to various religious disabilities. They were prevented from entering into the temples. They were not permitted to make offerings because it was believed that these places would become impure by their mere touch.

4. **Educational disabilities:** The Scheduled Caste people did not have the right to enter schools. Upper caste people were belived to be polluted by the presence of lower caste learners.

The above description of various disabilities is only a tip of an ice berg of the actual problems. Collect more details with examples and pictures on various disabilities undergone by the so-called lower caste people in Kerala.

LIST OF SCHEDULED CASTES IN KERALA STATE (2011CENSUS)

1. Adi Andhra 2. Adi Dravida 3. Adi Karnataka 4. Ajila 5. Arunthathiyar 6. Ayyanavar 7. Baira 8. Bakuda9.Bathada10. Bharathar (Other than Parathar),Paravan 11. Chakkiliyan 12. Chamar, Muchi13. Chandala 14. Cheruman15. Domban 16. Gosangi17. Hasla18. Holeya19. Kadaiyan 20. Kakkalan, Kakkan 21. Kalladi 22. Kanakkan, Padanna, Padannan23. Kavara (Other than Telugu speaking or Tamil speaking Balija, Kavarai, Gavara, Gavari, Gavarai Naidu, Balija Naidu, Gajalu Balija or Valai Chetty) 24. Koosa 25. Kootan, Koodan 26. Kudumban 27. Kuruvan, Sidhanar, Kuravar, Kuruva, Sidhana 28. Maila 29. Malayan (In the areas comprising the Malabar District as specified by sub section (2) of section 5 of the State Re-organisation Act, 1956 (37 of 1956) 30. Mannan, Pathiyan, Perumannan, Vannan, Velan 31. Moger (Other than Mogeyar) 32. Mundala 33. Nalakeyava 34. Nalkadaya 35. Nayadi 36. Pallan 37. Pulluvan 38.Pambada 39. Panan 40. Paraiyan, Parayan, Sambavar, Sambavan, Sambava, Paraya, Paraiya,Parayar 41. Pulayan, Cheramar, Pulaya, Pulayar, Cherama, Cheraman, Wayanad Pulayan, Wayanadan Pulayan, Matha, Matha Pulayan 42. Puthirai Vannan 43. Reneyar 44. Samagara 45. Samban 46. Semman,Chemman,Chemma r47. Thandan 48. Thotti 49. Vallon 50. Valluvan 51. Vedan 52. Vettuvan, Pulaya Vettuvan (In the areas of erstwhile Cochin States only) 53. Nerian

You can refer the books written by Dr. Ambadkar on caste for this purpose. You can also conduct a seminar on 'Scheduled Castes - their problems and expectations'

What will happen if the disabilities and problems continue for a long period? We have evidences in history that continued suppression and inequalities would definitely lead

to social unrest. Many a times, such unrest might take the form of rebellions and revolts. Some leaders will emerge to emancipate the deprived lot. Efforts made by the Social reformer Ayyamkali to emanicipate scheduled caste people in Kerala is worth mention.

The Channar revolt is a milestone in the history of women uprisings and lower caste emancipation movements in Kerala. Collect details regarding various scheduled caste movements in Kerala and present in the class room.

Fig 8.17 Ayyamkali

Status of Women in India - A Historical perspective

Women have been treated as 'objects' by the male dominated patriarchal society in India. However, there is no uniform pattern of social, cultural and economic discrimination between men and women across different periods, places and communities. The status of woman had undergone several changes over the period of time. The studies show that early women enjoyed high status in the society, while their status had started gradually declined in the Post-Vedic and later periods.

Vedic Period: During the early Rig-Vedic period, the women were said to have enjoyed a high status alone with men. Women got opportunity to study Vedas and had access to different branches of knowledge. The woman during this period entered into brahmacharya. Upanayana ceremony was performed for them also. Marriage was considered as sacred and the women had freedom to select their partners. Monogamy was the usual form of marriage but polyandry existed among the rich and ruling classes. Widow re-marriage was possible during Vedic period. The women were holding property. They were not secluded from men, and they freely participated in public life. The wife was given a place of honor, and they along with their husbands participated in religious ceremonies. However, changes were seen in the status of women during the later Vedic period.

Post-Vedic Period: The status of woman gradually declined during this period. The birth of a female child had begun to be seen as a curse. The women had lost their right to hold and to inherit property. The earnings of women become the property of their husbands. The marriage age of the girls come down to 8 to 10 years. Child marriage was practiced during this period. Widow re-marriage was not permitted.

The status of women further declined during the medieval period.

Medieval Period: The systems of *sati*, child marriage, pardha system, slavery, female infanticide etc. had become very strong during this period. Due to child marriage, the girls

221

were denied education. Polygyny existed during this period. Women were required to devote themselves to the welfare of their husbands and children. The practice of child marriage resulted in rapid increase in the number of child widows. Widow-remarriage had been totally prohibited and the system of sati was encouraged and given high religious significance. In short, during the

Fig 8.18 Sati System

medieval period, the women had almost emerged as mere 'objects' and became totally neglected in the family and society.

The status of women had undergone further changes during the British rule in India.

British Period: During the early period of British rule, the condition of women was the continuity of the medieval period. Sati system, female infanticide, slavery, child marriage, prohibition of widow remarriage, dowry system, pardha system, bonded labour and devadasi system continued in the early British period. The practice of dowry led to the increase in female infanticide. Child marriage resulted in the problems of over-population, poverty, unemployment and ill health. The institution of devadasi system made the condition of women miserable.

The second half of the 19th century witnessed several reform movements pertaining to the position of women in India. With the organised activities of Arya Samaj, the social evils like the practices of sati and child marriage had been abolished.

During the British rule, the education system and the use of English language as a medium of instruction had left strong impact on the attitude of the elite class of the society. Easy access to education for the ordinary masses in different parts of India, had also accelerated changes in society. The national independent movement motivated the increased participation of women in social issues. Child marriage was strongly criticised by Gandhiji. During the period preceding to Independence positive legislation were also made to improve the status of women.

Constructive efforts have been initiated after independence to enhance the status of women.

Post-Independence and Contemporary Period: After India's independence, there had been sincere political efforts and initiatives to improve the status of women. Legal provisions

222

had been included in the constitution to protect the social conditions of woman. To avoid discrimination on the basis of gender, right to equality has been made a fundamental right in the constitution. Educational level of the women increased due to universalisation of education. Overall, tremendous changes could be noticed during the Post-Independence period in the status of women in Indian society.

Fig 8.19 Change of Womens status

FEMALE-CENTRIC OR FEMALE-RELATED LEGISLATIONS

- The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 (28 of 1961) (Amended in 1986)
- The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987 (3 of 1988)
- Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005
- The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (prevention, prohibition and redressal) Act, 2013
- The Married Women's Property Act, 1874 (3 of 1874)
- The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 (19 of 1929)
- The Special Marriage Act, 1954
- The Hindu Succession Act, 1956
- The Maternity Benefit Act, 1961 (53 of 1961)
- The Indian Divorce Act, 1969 (4 of 1969)
- The Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971 (34 of 1971)
- The Equal Remuneration Act, 1976
- The Muslim women Protection of Rights on Dowry Act 1986
- National Commission for Women Act, 1990 (20 of 1990)

With the introduction of various poverty alleviation programmes such as thozhilurappu padhathi (employment guarantee scheme) under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), Micro-credit and Micro-finance enterprises as part of the Kudumbasree programmes, political measures like neighbourhood collectives (ayalkooottam) and reservation (upto 50 per cent) of seats in local self governments have helped to develop self-reliance among women.

Some argue that the recent changes in the status and conditions of women in India could not be seen as a sign of progress. India, with its large rural population, is yet to have its professed ideals of gender equality in its true spirit. This is particularly so, in the context of a deep-rooted patriarchic psyche rooted in Indian society and culture. Hence, Indian women continue to suffer from several kinds of discrimination in social and economic aspects, even today. The

223

increasing incidents of sex-related crimes against women, are the evidence to the existing reality in Indian society. Patriarchy continues to be very strong in India. The woman organisations in India have been active and taking up issues like dowry and female infanticide and have been fighting for their abolition and against all kinds of exploitation against women.

Did we succeed in improving the status of women in India? Conduct a debate on this in your class on the status of women in India. You can take into account the following points for debate.

- Did women empowerment programmes enhance the status of women in India?
- Did we achieve the position that women had held in the early Vedic period?
- Did we go beyond that status of women in the early Vedic period?
- …………………….
- …………………….

The Indian women now enjoy several rights and privileges. These rights and privileges attained by them is not an accidental benefit, but a result of prolonged struggles and campaigns led by women activists. The women liberation movements played an important role in fighting against inequalities in different walks of life. Let us now examine the women liberation movements.

Women's Liberation Movement:

Women liberation movements are also known as Feminist movements. What do they do?

They undertake a series of campaigns for reforms on various issues such as the following:

- Reproductive rights
- Action against domestic violence,
- Women suffrage and political rights,
- Struggle for maternity leave and equal pay,
- Action against sexual harassment and sexual violence in public place and work place
- …………………….
- …………………….

Why have women liberation movements become synonym for feminist movements?

The feminist movement, which was started in the West in the late 19th century, had passed through several stages. They coined three 'waves' of feminism, of which the first wave feminism was oriented around the middle or upper class white women and involved political equality and universal suffrage. The second and third wave feminism attempted to fight against social, economic and cultural inequalities. As a result, women liberation activists campaigned for greater share in economic, political, media and social spheres. All these concerted efforts on the part of women liberation activists led to the attainment of various privileges like women's suffrage, the right to initiate divorce proceedings, make decision regarding pregnancy, abortion, right to own/inherit property, equitable wages and access to education.

In India also, the situation began to change when leaders of freedom movements, including Mahatma Gandhi, gave an open call for active participation of women in India's freedom movement. Subsequently, many women responded to this call.

- Sarojini Naidu, Vijaya Laxmi Pandit, Aruna Asaf Ali, Captain Lakshmi and many other known and unknown women leaders took a lead role in freedom movement.

- Smt Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister of India and made her mark in the world political scenario.

All of them had contributed in changing the Indian perception about women and to demonstrate that they are in no way inferior to men. Many women thereafter occupied prestigious positions in India and have excelled in almost all fields including sports, politics, administration, science and arts.

- Kalpana Chawla's visit to the space had left an imprint on the young girls to take bold steps to move ahead and perform equally well with men in every field as per their aptitude, aspiration and ambition.

Women's wings of different national and state level political parties are also in the forefront to fight for the women's rights.

The Government of India has taken several initiatives to abolish any type of discrimination between men and women, in line with the spirit of the Constitution of India. The formation of Commission for Women (Vanitha Commission) at the National and State levels is a notable initiative in this regard. The government is laying special emphasis on the education of girls. The improved performance of women candidates in the national level competitive examinations is evidence to the changing equations of women with men.

225

In spite of all these, efforts women are still suffering from mental and physical distress. Domestic violence, ill treatment at public places etc. are frequently occuring. Bride-burnings and bride- killings are witnessed every day. The rate of dowary deaths also increases. This only indicates that mere enactment of law need not ensure the achievement of its intended results, unless there is change in the attitude and approach, not only of the implementing authorities and agencies but also of all the people in the society. Only then that the women can get back their rightful place and status in society.

In spite of all these efforts, women and girls are still suffering from various types of exploitations and discriminations in every walk of life. At times, we may feel that women liberation is a myth in a male-dominant patriarchal society like ours. Debate on it.

You can also collect details of exploitation and discrimination of women from media and prepare posters. You may have to exhibit these posters in school and campaign against exploitation and discrimination against women.

We have been discussing various problems of marginalised sections including Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and women of Indian society. The efforts to empower them and safeguard their rights are being taken from different quarters. However, Indian constitution itself is the vanguard of marginalised sections. The Indian Constitution declares India to be a sovereign, socialist, secular and democratic republic, assuring its citizens, justice, equality and liberty. India is committed to the welfare and development of its people in general and the marginalised and vulnerable sections in particular.

Ambedkar the architect of Indian Constitution had realised the importance of protecting the intrest of dalit, tribal and other marginilised sections of the society. The important constitutional provisions envisaged for the empowerment of the marginilised sections are the following.

Constitutional Safeguards for SCs and STs

The Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) are facing social, economic, political and educational backwardness. In order to safeguard their interests and uplift them from their oppressed status, the Indian Constitution has articulated special provisions and safeguards as follows.

Fig 8.20 Ambedkar

Article 14 - "The state shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India"

Article 15 - No discriminations should be made on the ground of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.

Article 16 - Provides for equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the state.

Article 17 - Relates to the abolition of untouchability and its practice in any form is forbidden.

Article 23 - Prohibits traffic in human beings and beggary and other similar forms of forced labour and contravention of this provision is an offence punishable in accordance with law.

Article 25 - Provides for freedom to practice any profession and propagate any religion.

Article 29 - States that no citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institutions maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds of religion, race, caste or language

Article 38 - Provides that the state shall try to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively to bring a social order in which social, economic and political justice is maintained.

Article 46 - The state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Article 244 - It consists of the administration of scheduled and tribal areas. It outlines the following:

> *Fifth Schedule* is applicable to the control and administration of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in any state other than Assam.

> *Sixth Schedule* is applicable to the administration and control of Scheduled Areas in the state of Assam.

Article 275 - Concerns with the grant of special fund from the Union government to the State governments for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes.

Article 330 - Relates to the reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People.

Article 332 - Relates to the reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly.

Article 335 - Relates to the reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the public services.

Article 338 - The President shall appoint a special officer for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes whose duty will be to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution.

In addition to these safeguards, the government also made certain legislative protections to the SCs and STs. In 1955, the Untouchability Act was passed by the Parliament. Bonded labour has been banned by the government. Various educational, social and economic schemes have been started for the protection of SC/ST and other backward classes.

In spite of the above stated constitutional safeguards, the rights and privileges of SCs and STs are not still being fully protected. This is evident from the reports published in news papers and other media. Collect such reports and examine which constitutional rights/safeguards are being violated. Prepare a report on such violation of constitutional provisions.

SUMMARY

- Anthropologically, a tribe is a social group, the members of which, lives in a common territory, have common dialect, common ancestor, and uniform social organisation, use simple technology and possess cultural homogeneity.

- The Scheduled Tribes are the communities which are included in the Schedule of Indian Constitution. Article 366 (25) of the Constitution of India refers to Scheduled Tribes as those communities, who are scheduled in accordance with Article 342 of the Constitution.

- The tribal communities are characterised by geographical Isolation, homogeneous nature, definite territory, common language and culture, primitive level of technology, Illiteracy, endogamous nature, ties of blood relationship, direct personal relationship, sense of unity and we feeling, unspecialised political and legal system and lack of specialized division of labour.

- Indian Tribes are classified on the basis of territorial distribution, ethnicity linguistic affiliation and occupational specialisation.

- Particularly-Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PTGS/PVTGs) exhibits certain characteristics that make them more vulnerable as compared to other tribes. Some such characteristics are diminishing population, subsistence-level of economy, low level of literacy and the pre-agricultural level of technology.

- Kerala is a homeland of a number of tribal communities, the major ones being the Paniyan, Adiyan and Kurichiyan. Wayanad district is the abode of many tribal communities.

- In Kerala there are five PVTGs. They are the Koraga of Kasaragode district, Cholanaickan of Nilambur Valley, Malappuram district, Kurumbar of Attappady, Palakkad district, Kadar of Palakkad and Kattunayakan of Wayanad Districts.

- The tribal communities face many problems like Poverty, Malnutrition

  Indebtedness and Land Alienation, mainly due to the exploitation of moneylenders, faulty forest policies of the Government, conversion, low literacy level and cultural contact.

- Tribal movements have been prevalent in India since the days of colonial rule. These are the outcome of severe economic exploitations and inhumane social oppressions. The major tribal movements are Munda movement, Santhal Rebellion, Kurichiya Revolt and Muthanga land struggle.

- The term Scheduled Caste was coined by Simon Commission in 1935. Those communities which are included in the article 341 of Indian constitution are known as Scheduled Castes. They suffer from various social, economic, political, religious and educational disabilities.

- Women have been treated as 'objects' by the male dominated patriarchal society in India. However, there is no uniform pattern of social, cultural and economic discrimination between men and women and it varies in different places, periods and communities.

- Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are also facing social, economic, political and educational problems.

- Various Constitutional Safeguards are provided for the welfare of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the other marginalised section of Indian society. They are included in the Articles of 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 25, 29, 38, 46, 244, 275, 330, 332, 335 and 338 of the Indian Constitution.

TERM EVALUATION ITEMS

1.   Find the odd item and justify.

   (a)   Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Dravidian, Mangoloid

   (b)   Austric, Sino-Tibetan, Mediterranean, Dravidian

   (c)   Kadar, Kattunaikkan, Kurichiyan, Kurumbar

   (d)   Naga Movement, Vaikkam Sathiyagraha, Santhal Rebellion, Kurichia Revolt.

2.   If you are a member of the Commission for the Revision of Scheduled Tribe list, what criteria would you follow to select a community into this list?

3.   Some of the problems faced by the tribes and non tribes are given below. Select the problems faced by the tribal people from the given list and suggest suitable remedial measures for each of them.

   (Poverty, Indebtedness, Suicidal tendency, Alcoholism, Mental Disorder, Drug abuse, Land Alienation, Family problems, Technological backwardness)

4.   Prepare a taxonomical chart showing the classification of Indian tribes on the basis of Geography, Economy, Race and Language.

5.   Complete the racial classification of Indian tribes with examples.

   (a)   Negroid Kadar   (b)   ………… ………..
   (c)   ………. …………..   (d)   ………… ………..

6.   The Anthropology Club of your school has decided to celebrate World Women's Day. Being a chair person of that club, prepare a speech to be delivered on that day.

7.   Indian Constitution provides various safeguards for SC and ST. Identify the provisions mentinoed in the following articles.

   (Article 15, 17, 23, 29, 46, 330 and 332)

GLOSSARY

Tribe	: A homogenious group of people living in a particular area claiming a common ancestor.
Scheduled tribe	: Tribes which are included in the Schedule of Indian constitution as per article 342 of Indian constitution
Adivasi	: Indigenious people or the original inhabitants of the country
PVTG	: Particularly-Vulnerable Tribal Groups

Endogamous	: Marriage within the group
Customary law	: Law based on the traditional customs and beliefs
Pastoralism	: Domestication of animals for livelyhood.
Subsistence economy	: Economy based on natural resourses for the consumption purpose only.

REFERENCES

Hasnain, Nadeem. 2003. *Indian Anthropology.* New Delhi: Palaka Prakashan.

Mathur, P.R.G. 1977. *Tribal Situation in Kerala.* Trivandrum: Kerala Historical Society.

Roy, Indrani Basu. 2005. *Anthropology: The Study of Man.* New Delhi: S.Chand and Co.

Sahu, Chaturbhuj. 1998. *Primitive Tribes of India.* New Delhi: Sarup and sons.

231

APPLIED AND DEVELOPMENT ANTHROPOLOGY

SIGNIFICANT LEARNING OUTCOMES

After completing this unit, the learner will be able to:

- Identify the meaning and scope of applied anthropology and differentiate it from action, engaging and development anthropology.

- Appraise the role of action anthropology in bringing abuot changes in society.

- Evaluate the different approaches for tribal development and welfare and examine the anthropological approach for tribal and rural development.

- Examine the rural development programmes in India and differentiate the concept of sustainable development and sustainable human development.

- Appreciate the emergence of Critical Development Anthropology and distinguish it from the Traditional Development Anthropology and Engaging Anthropology.

CONTENTS

Concept and Definition of Applied Anthropology

- Concept and Definition of Development Anthropology
- Role of Anthropology in the Fields of Application and Development
- Action Anthropology

Approaches to Tribal Development and Welfare

- Social service approach
- Religious approach
- Political approach
- Anthropological approach

Rural Development in India

- Sustainable development
- Sustainabe human development
- Human development Index(HDI)
- Poverty and inequality
- Traditional and critical development anthropology and engaging anthropology.

You have already learned that Applied Anthropology is the application of anthropological knowledge to solve problems and issues related to humans and their culture. Is Anthropology useful? Should it play a public service role? Is it engaged with society and social issues? Anthropology is indeed 'applied'. It is one of the most apt disciplines to get engaged with society and social issues. But how Anthropology can be utilised to solve the basic real life problems of humans? The success story of an Anthropologist, given in the box will tell you how it is possible.

My city is home to a large number of refugees from many countries in the world. An apartment complex near my home is populated by around 70 families that have come from Nepal. I have worked with these Nepalese for several years now, trying to learn the dynamics of refugee life in America. During the course of my research and interaction with the refugees I came to realize that the most important issue in their lives was finding a job. In order to secure a job in the U.S., they needed to know English. Many of the refugees were attending various English Spoken Language classes in town through governmental and private agencies. However, even as the refugees' English abilities improved, they still had trouble finding a job.

Here is where applied anthropology comes in. I asked the question, "What are the reasons these refugees are having trouble finding jobs?" As I was doing my ethnographic research through interviews and observations, I learned a number of important cultural traits of these refugees that directly related to their difficulty in finding a job in the U.S.

First, Nepalese come from a collectivist culture. The refugees I worked with were not comfortable thinking about themselves as individuals making their own way in the U.S.

Next, these refugees were indirect communicators. Simple yes and no answers seemed too harsh.

Finally, many of the refugees were soft spoken and reserved. Speaking loudly was a sign of rudeness and aggression. Eye contact is not viewed as essential in Nepali culture. The reality was they were listening and engaged.

These three cultural traits – collectivism, indirect communication, and reservedness – are all highly valued in Nepali culture. These three traits are seen as weakness and viewed with suspicion in U.S. culture. Hence the difficulty for the refugees to show employers they were good fits for the job.

I used what I learned through anthropological research to offer resume building and interview workshops aimed at addressing these three specific cultural tendencies. The refugees were not doing a sufficient job of "marketing" themselves in their resumes and job interviews. In the workshops, we role played and helped the refugees to talk about their strengths and

how their specific contributions would benefit their prospective employer. We practiced speaking more boldly and in the active voice. We rehearsed answering questions directly, clearly, and quickly. We reassured the refugees it is ok to disagree with someone and then communicate that disagreement in an acceptable way. Finally, we printed a stack of resumes for each attendant at the workshop. We were proud to hand twenty resumes to the first refugee and wish him well in his job hunt. Only, we were horrified at what happened next. The person took his valuable resumes and tightly rolled them so they would fit in a pocket! How was he to know that in the U.S. we place so much value on silly things like how thick your resume paper is and what condition it is in when you give it to your employer! Back to the printer and another lesson learned!

This story shows how basic anthropology can be applied to a real life problem – helping refugees get jobs in the U.S. That's what applied anthropology does. A little interaction and research showed me the specific cultural traits I needed to address. That is anthropology applied.

(Extracted from https://culturnicity.wordpress.com/2012/08/02/anthropology-for-the-real-world Anthony

We will now look into the basic concepts related to Applied Anthropology and its various subdivisions in the forthcoming pages.

Concept and Definition of Applied Anthropology

Applied Anthropology refers to the application of anthropological perspectives, theories, methods and data to identify issues and understand social problems. It also helps to show the way for solution. Applied anthropologists represent all the four sub-fields - biological, archaeological, linguistic and cultural anthropology. They are also called practicing anthropologists. They also work for non-academic clients such as NGOs, ethnic associations and business groups. They work for the groups that promote, manage and assess different programmes for enhancing human social conditions.

The term 'Applied Anthropology' is said to have been used by D.G. Brinton in his speech as early as 1875. However, the term "practical anthropology" is said to have been used as early as in the 1860s by James Hunt, founder of the Anthropological Society of London. But it had come into popular usage only before the late 1920s and in the middle 1930s. Malinowski (1938) declared emphatically that Anthropology must become an Applied Science. To get a vivid picture of Applied Anthropology, let us examine some of its definitions.

234

- According to Elliot D Chapple, Applied Anthropology is that aspect of Anthropology which deals with the description of changes in human relations and in the isolations that control them.

- Daryll Forde (1953) has observed that the phrase 'Applied Anthropology' in its strict sense, must refer to the actual application of anthropological knowledge by government in the formulation and execution of its policies'

Thus, Applied Anthropology refers to the application of the method and theory of Anthropology to the analysis and solution of practical problems. It is the practical application of anthropological techniques to areas of social concern and to the growth and development of society.

"A knowledge of Anthropology enables us to look with greater freedom at the problems confronting our civilization". - Franz Boas, German-American anthropologist and a pioneer of modern Anthropology

The practical application of Anthropology can be seen in all the four sub-fields. Biological anthropologists work in public health, nutrition, genetic counseling, substance abuse, epidemiology, ageing, mental illness and forensics. Applied archaeologists locate, study and preserve pre-historic and historic sites threatened by development. Cultural anthropologists work with social workers, business people, advertising professionals, factory workers,

Fig 9.1 Branches of Anthropology

medical professionals, school personnel and economic development experts. Applied Anthropology has very important role in solving the family problems in patrilineal dominant societies and caste-based societies. The application of Linguistic Anthropology could be seen in the reconstruction of endangered languages, and in the area of media and communication studies, and in the contextual interpretation of languages and cultures.

The role of anthropologists now-a-days has been enhanced to the extent of considering them as consultants in various development programmes. Thus along with using anthropological knowledge, its ideas and methodology are very much used in implementing developmental programmes. This area of Anthropology is called Development Anthropology. Did you realise the importance of knowledge of local culture while implementing development

programmes to ethnic groups? Why often, developmental projects start with good will, result in failure? Discuss the issue in the context of Applied and Development Anthropology.

Concept and Definition of Development Anthropology

Anthropological studies play fundamental role in the development process. It is essential to study the background, ethnic profile, cultural norms, behaviour patterns, attitudes, beliefs and practices of the community before administering any intervention programmes as part of development. **The term 'Development Anthropology' is associated with planning and implementation of social and developmental programmes. This branch of Applied Anthropology focuses on social issues in, and on the cultural dimension of economic development.** In this case, while a development programme is proposed, an anthropologist tries to conduct a detailed study of the social cultural situation of the group and recommend measures for the fruitful implementation of the programme.

Find the local instances of failure of development programmes due to the lack of proper knowledge about the people and culture and discuss it in the class and prepare a report.
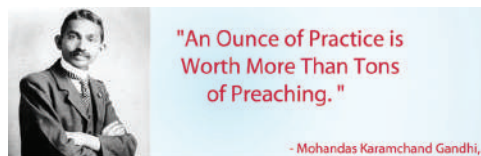
Applied anthropologists used to study

- The impact and evaluation of small scale projects as well as problems of cultural and social change associated with major development programmes.
- Anthropologists have been trained in collecting data to reveal particularly problematic relationships, bureaucratic difficulties or conditions that are harmful to local populations.
- They also provide critical evaluation, and to call public attention to issues that have national or global impact.

Role of Anthropology in the Fields of Development

Starting from the colonial era, anthropologists everywhere have involved themselves in applied work. Their research findings were beneficial to the policy makers on issues such as local customs, dispute settlement and land rights. With the era of development, anthropologists got opportunities to work within development agencies as staff or consultants. They played the role of cultural brokers and translators, interpreting local realities for administrators and planners. In the process, they were emphasising the significance of social and cultural aspects of societal change. This approach was against the then prevailing dominant economic approaches in the development thinking.

236

The emergence of participatory approaches to development had drawn extensively on anthropological methodology and approach. Applied anthropologists have also contributed in discounting the Western bias in development initiatives, and in highlighting the value of local or 'indigenous' knowledge. Applied anthropologists have played different types of roles, including mediation between communities and outsiders, helping to influence public opinion through journalism or advocacy work, helping to provide assistance directly during a crisis, or working as consultants to development organisations. Another important area of applied anthropology has been in addressing the practical problems in the fields of public health, clinical medicine and psychiatry. Health care and community medicine has assumed increasing significance today. Anthropologists are now a days associated in public health programmes and in health-related activities. The role of social-cultural anthropologist in the field of planning and public administration as well as in social welfare programmes is also significantly realised.

Applied anthropologists have participated in a variety of projects related to community development. Consultancy work by applied anthropologists has expanded considerably in the community development field. It covers a variety of sectors and projects, including micro-finance, social forestry, slum improvement, monitoring and evaluation and training on participatory techniques. The role of anthropologists in the environment impacted development programmes and in the human resettlement and rehabilitation programmes has also been increasingly recognised. In brief, wherever there is human participation and involving social and cultural factors, the necessity of applying anthropological input and knowledge becomes inevitable and necessary.

"An Ounce of Practice is Worth More Than Tons of Preaching."

- Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi,

Fig 9.2 Mahadma Gandhi

As anthropologists are constantly in touch with society, they naturally will be expected to play a role of social activist also. The social cultural situation of different social groups necessitates the intervention of an expertise, with proper understanding of the situation. Thus anthropologists become activists. This concept is termed Action Anthropology.

Action Anthropology: In 1950, Sol Tax developed the idea of 'Action Anthropology'. As per this concept, applied anthropologists directly involve in action, in bringing about change. Thus, the relatively passive role of the traditional applied anthropology is replaced by an action oriented effort. Here action anthropologists tell the people what they have found out, what they think it means, and they join the people in working out solutions for the emerging problems.

237

Find out areas where urgent anthropological interventions in needed in state.

Anthropology, for a long period of time gave prime considerations to simple pre-literate communities. Even when Anthropology is considered as 'a child of colonialism', its role in understanding the social cultural situation of remote, isolated tribal people was recognised well. Even though different agencies involved in tribal development, the approach of anthropology towards it was distinctive. Let us discuss different approaches towards tribal culture and their development.

Fig 9.3 Sol Tax

Approaches to Tribal Development and Welfare

The approaches to the tribal problems had in the past been viewed merely a political affair. In course of time, there emerged four main approaches to address the tribal problems, their development and welfare. These include: social service approach, political approach, religious or missionary approach, and anthropological approach. Let us examine these approaches.

1.   Social Service Approach

Some voluntary organisations, social activists and other well wishers have done considerable humanitarian work in tribal areas. For instance they have conducted welfare measures in the field of education, health and sanitation, along with poverty eradication programmes and providing basic amenities. Such humanitarian resources are considered social service approach. The main proponent of this approach was A V Thakkar, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi. He criticised isolation view put forth by Verrier Elwin and said that 'separatism' and 'isolationism' seemed to be inadequate for the development of tribal people. More over, it will strike at the root of national solidarity. Instead of isolating tribal people, Thakkar proposes to assimilate them with the main stream. According to this view when in contact with advanced or progressive people the tribes realise their backwardness in the economic, social and political and unless they decide they cannot make any progress.

But this approach has been critisised by many scholars. According to them this approach will lead to losing tribal ethnic identity. More over, social service approach gives readymade solution to the tribal problems. But different tribal people live in different social cultural and economic situations, which have to be treated in different ways. Social service agencies also lack adequate understanding of the tribal situations, their values and problems.

238

2.   Political Approach

Political approach includes policy level strategies and administrative measures for welfare of tribal people. This approach was different from the time of the British period in India till post-independence period. During British period, tribal areas were classified into 'excluded' and 'partially excluded' areas. Special attention and welfare measures were implemented on these areas. After Independence, the government modified this approach and complemented with constitutional safeguards and other protective measures like reservations for the development of tribes to bring them to the national mainstream.

This approach was also not free from criticism. Political approach most often did not consider the diversity of social-culture life of the tribal people. In addition to that the centralised administrative system did not realise the field realities of the tribes.

3.   Religious Approach

This is also known as the missionary approach. This approach is basically adopted by the christian missionaries who have made immense contribution for the development of the tribal people. They provided different welfare measures to eradicate poverty, improve health conditions and to enhance literacy and education status. But such a religious approach has been criticized on the ground of religious conversion. The conversion threatened the tribal religion and other faiths, there by causing severe damage to their way of life, unity and culture.

4.   Anthropological Approach

There is not a single anthropological approach to tribal development. But there are many anthropological approaches. Earlier, anthropologists argued for isolation of tribes. Later, they advocated for their integration into the mainstream, without losing cultural identity.

The British administrators, during the colonial times, adopted an approach of segregating the tribal people from the mainstream population and putting them under special administrative area. This approach is known as isolationism. According to this approach, the tribes should be kept in isolation and should be allowed to live their life with utmost happiness and freedom in their natural abode. The administration should be adjusted accordingly. External interventions of any sort were not to be allowed to break the 'peaceful' tribal life. In this way, everything possible was to be done for the progress of the tribes. The scholars proposed this idea was termed isolationists. Verrier Elwin was foremost among them. He proposed to keep tribal people away from others as if in a National Park. This view was termed Parkland approach. Isolationism had been advocated mainly in the

239

context of the outright exploitation and cultural eradication of the tribal people. They were exploited by the moneylenders, contractors and middlemen as they got opportunity to interact with the tribal people.

The anthropological approach to tribal development later on changed to integration. This approach is adopted with the aim to develop the tribes, along with maintaining the uniqueness of their life and culture. Integration is the process of becoming part of a higher phenomenon without losing one's original identity. In the context of India's Independence and the subsequent necessity of bringing the tribal people to become part of the national mainstream, integrationist approach had been advocated. It came to be widely accepted by anthropologists. Verrier Elwin, who played a leading role as an advisor to the Indian Government on tribal matters, was one of the staunch advocators of the integrationist approach in the Post-independence era.

As far as tribal development is concerned, anthropological approach is considered more appropriate because of the following features.

- Understanding the tribal culture through scientific study.
- Identifying the problems of tribes along with the factors that promote or prevent social change.
- Developing suitable plans for the welfare of tribal people by considering their social and cultural situation.
- Monitoring the trend of the developmental schemes, and ensuring that it does not affect their solidarity.

As a student of Anthropology, you would have developed some positive values like cultural relativism. While dealing with other cultures, it is crucially important to have an insider's view. The following words of our first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru clearly elucidate that sort of an attitude while dealing with tribal people.

Nehru's Approach to Tribal Development
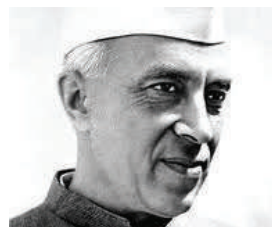
Nehru's Views on Tribes

"I have found in the tribal people many qualities which I do not find in the people of the plains and the cities…

I am not at all sure which way of living is better, ours or theirs. But in some ways I am quite certain theirs is better.

If that is so, then, it is absolute presumption for any of us to approach this problem with an air of superiority, to tell them how to behave or what to do and what not to do, and try to make them a second rate copy of ourselves…

The approach to the tribal people should be one of learning from them and having learnt, to try to help and cooperate…

They are an extremely disciplined people, often much more democratic than most others in India…

It was far better to send a totally uneducated man who has passed no examination, so long as he goes to these people with friendship and affection and lives as one of them."

Nehru had all appreciation for the uniqueness of tribal culture, their folk ways and folklore. He had streamlined his approach to tribal people through his formulation of five principles which he has specified in his foreword to Verrier Elwin's book 'Philosophy for NEFA'. The following are the five principles which are known as Nehru's Tribal Panchasheel:

1. Tribal People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage, in every way, their own traditional arts and culture.

2. Tribal rights in the land and forests should be respected.

3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

4. We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

5. We should judge the results, not by statistics, or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

These principles clearly reflect anthropological approach to tribal people.

Applied Anthropology considers development in all spheres of society. What are the other areas where special development strategies are to be executed? What are the differences that you identify in the development strategies in urban and rural areas?

Anthropology is relevant in all spheres of development. It gives attention to rural development programmes also. You might have heard about different rural development projects in our country. What do you think about the necessity of special programmes in rural area? How, can anthropological knowledge be useful in this regard? As we know, anthropology is a holistic

Fig 9.4 Cover page of Book, Philosophy for NEFA

science encompassing all aspects and areas of human life. Rural area is chrarecterised by distinctive social cultural situation. Anthropologists are very much interested in studying about such cultures. Let us have a look on the thrust areas of rural development in India and analyse how Applied Anthropology can be useful in this endeavor.
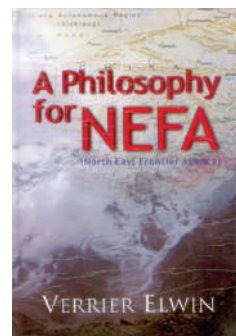
Rural Development in India

At the time of Independence, India suffered from mass poverty, unemployment, serious shortage of capital, large scale illiteracy and untrained labour. As a strategy to tackle these issues and problems, India adopted many developmental programmes including five year plans. Gandhiji's vision on development is worth mentioning here. Gandhiji believed that the soul of India lay in villages. He envisaged the development of India through development of villages. Thus rural development programmes were crucial in India. Rural development focuses on action for the development of areas that are lagging in village economy. Some of the thrust areas of rural development included:

(a)   Human resources development through spending on literacy programmes, especially female literacy, education and skill development, improvement in healthcare and sanitation facilities.

(b)   Land reforms, to ensure equity in agriculture and provide ownership of land to the tillers.

(c)   Development of infrastructure like electricity, irrigation, credit facility, marketing facility and transport facility.

242

(d)   Development of productive resource in each locality.

(e)   Alleviate poverty and generate productive employment to improve the living condition of the weaker sections of the society.

In order to implement the development programmes envisaged in rural development projects, knowledge of local culture is indispensible. Here Anthropology can contribute a great deal. The field work and participant observation method of Anthropology will be useful in attaining a clear and unambiguous picture of rural folk. For instance to implement the de-centralised planning strategy, the local resources and requirements are to be identified from the base level and programmes are to be planned in micro level. Hence, the cross cultural approach, field work method and scientific knowledge of Anthropology can be utilised for planning, preparation and implementation of rural development schemes. That is why a number of anthropologists are employed in planning commission and other departments of government related to rural development.

Gandhiji's approach of Gram Swaraj had been discussed very much while planning our developmental projects. But in practice development did not take place according to its principles. Developmental programmes often lead to harmful effects to ecology. For instance in order to increase agricultural productivity we began to use fertilisers and insecticides. It in turn caused for environmental pollution and ecological imbalance. Filling of paddy fields for construction works and deforestation for big projects are the current threats in the field of development. Waste management became a hot issue of the time. Thus development is to be perceived in a different angle. The concept of sustainable development becomes relevant in this regard.

Visit the local self-government body offices for collecting information on various development programmes for the locality. You can also collect more data from portals of different government departments and prepare an article on rural development programmes in India.

Sustainable Development

The awareness of the dangers to the environment led to the emergence of the concept of sustainable development. It basically raises the question whether development is sustainable. To put it in other words will the development that we are with, or we aim at, continue to be there for the future generations as well? This is an important issue in modern development pattern. Sustainable development is development that can maintain itself.

243

Collect details on the concept of Gandhiji's 'Grama Swaraj' and prepare a material to be presented in the class. Examine the role of Applied Anthropology in implementing this concept.

Conventionally development was equated with national income. But it considers only the economic growth. Hence a different perspective of development was introduced. Here development is evaluated based on the quality of life as well.

Sustainable Human Development

According to United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) human development is more than the rise of national income. It concerns about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive and creative lives. It should be in accordance with their needs and interests. Human development is "the process of enlarging people's choices". It involves studies of the human conditions with its core being the capability approach, advocated by Amartya Sen, the famous Economist and Nobel Laureate. It is an alternate approach to a single focus on economic growth, and focused more on social justice as a way of understanding progress. Human development and human rights are mutually reinforcing, helping to secure the well-being and dignity of all people, building self-respect and the respect for others. Later, the concept 'sustainable human development', combining both the perspectives of human development and sustainable development, had gained wider acceptance.
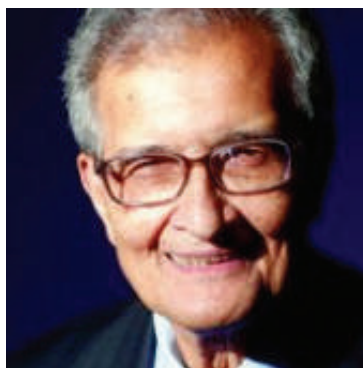

Fig 9.5 Amartya Sen

Visit the web site of UNDP, collect the latest Human Development Report and prepare a chart showing the status of different nations including India.
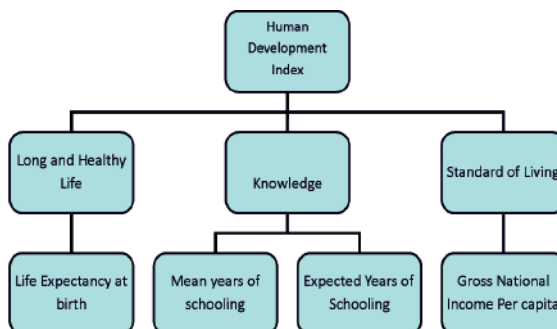
As human quality involved in development perspective, there aroused a need to specify the quality based on certain criteria. Thus the concept of Human Development Index emerged.

Human Development Index (HDI)

Human Development Index can be viewed as an index of the 'potential' human development. It is a composite index measuring the average achievement in the three basic dimensions of human development. These include longevity (long and healthy life),

knowledge and a decent standard of living. Long and healthy lives include life expectancy at birth. Knowledge encompasses mean years of schooling and the expected years of schooling. Standard of living is determined on the basis of gross national income per capita.

Fig 9.6 Dimension of Human Development

The HDI is used to rank the countries in terms of the levels of human development. It was developed under the initiative of the United Nations Development Programme and was greatly influenced by the views of the Pakistani economist Mahabub ul Haq and the Indian economist Amartya Sen. Based on the HDI, UNDP has been publishing the Annual Human Development Reports (HDR), since 1990.

Many nations are facing the issue of poverty, even when it ranks high in terms of National Income. What do you think is the cause for it? We can ascertain that wealth is not distributed in an equitable way. So inequality may lead to poverty and other social issues.

Poverty and Inequality

Every human being requires some minimum consumption items to live. These requirements include the minimum needs in respect of food, clothing, housing, education, and health. Poverty is the inability to secure these minimum consumption requirements. This inability arises out of insufficient income or assets.

Fig 9.7 Problem of shelter in urban setting

Poverty leads to poor health and inefficiency. This, in turn, results in low productivity and low income, further aggravating poverty. Thus, there is a vicious circle of poverty. Poverty and inequalities in the distribution of income and wealth are major economic problem which India faces. Poverty is a challenge not only for India but also for the world. More than one fifth of the world's poor live in India alone. More than 260 million people are not able to meet their basic needs like, food, shelter and clothing.

245

Today, poverty is viewed not merely as an economic problem but rom a multi-dimensional perspective. As you learned in the earlier unit, Oscar Lewis had developed the concept 'Culture of Poverty'. It refers to the situation in which people develop poverty itself as a way of life when they lose all hope for escaping from the shackles of suffering. Thus anthropological perspective of poverty and other economic issues necessitates the culture specific understanding.

Fig 9.8 Proverty as a way of life

In order to combat poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, environmental degradation and discrimination against women, world leaders agreed to a set of time-bound and measurable goals and targets in September 2000, at the United Nations Millennium Summit. They are now called the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Fig 9.9 Emblem of Millennum Development Goals

The social-cultural situation in the world is fast changing. Hence, the approach of Anthropology towards social issues and concepts is also to be reviewed. Here we can examine how Development Anthropology changed from its traditional approach to a new critical approach.

Traditional and Critical Development Anthropology

Traditional Development Anthropology refers to an approach to development in which the anthropologist accepts the role of helping to make development work better by providing cultural information to planners. This served as an option that economists and others realise can help make their plans more effective. The question that would be asked then would be: "What can I do to make this project successful?"

In later years, particularly towards the end of the eighties and in the beginning of the 1990s Development Anthropology had taken a twist in its approach and started critiquing its traditional role and re-defining their role in a world that is rapidly changing. This new perspective developed into a transformative paradigm under the label Critical Development Anthropology. It refers to an approach to international development in which the anthropologist takes on a critical-thinking role and asks why and to whose benefit particular

246

development policies and programmes are pursued. This perspective was developed out of the awareness of the socially negative impact of many supposedly positive development projects. The question that is asked here would be: "Is this a good project from the perspective of the target population?"

Log on the web portal of UNO and collect details of the Millennium Development Goals and present it in the class

As Anthropology is a holistic, comparative and integrative study of all humans, it gives us the wider opportunity to deal with issues and concerns of all spheres of human life. Thus an anthropologist cannot be passive. Rather the active involvement of anthropologist, in all these issues becomes the necessity of the time. If Anthropology has to become a truly a people's science, it cannot but remain away from the people and become engaged with every aspect of today's social world and humanistic issues. Thus **Engaging Anthropology** becomes a relevant area of Applied Anthropology. Anthropological engagement should necessarily relate to the question of sustainability of natural resources, and contribute to the environmental dialogues. As an Anthropology student we all are expected to be an engaging social activist with cross cultural understanding of human community.

> There are many social problems like poverty, corruption etc. Can I stand indifferent towards this? If I, an anthropology student keep apart, what will others do?

SUMMARY

- Applied Anthropology refers to the application of Anthropological perspectives, theory, methods and data to identify asses and understand social problems. Applied anthropologists represent all the four sub-fields - Biological, Archaeological, Linguistic and Cultural Anthropology.

- The term 'Development Anthropology' is associated with planning and implementation of social and developmental programmes. This branch of Applied Anthropology focuses on social issues in and on the cultural dimension of economic development.

- Sol Tax developed the idea of 'Action Anthropology'. As per this concept, applied anthropologists directly involve in action, in bringing about change.

- The approaches to the tribal problems had in the past been viewed merely a politcal affair. In the course of time, there emerged four main approaches to address the tribal problems and for their development and welfare. These include: social service

247

approach, political approach, religious or missionary approach, and anthropological approach.

- Nehru had all appreciation for the uniqueness of tribal culture, their folk ways and folklore. He had streamlined his approach to tribal people through his formulation of five principles (Tribal Panchasheel) which he has specified in his foreword to Verrier Elwin's book 'Philosophy of NEFA'.

- The concept of sustainable development envisages that the development that we are with, or we aim at, would continue to be there for the future generations.

- Human development means creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives. It should be in accordance with their needs and interests. Human development is "the process of enlarging people's choices". The concept 'sustainable human development', emerged by combining both the perspectives of human development and sustainable development.

- Human Development Index can be viewed as an index of the 'potential' human development. It is a composite index measuring the average achievement in the three basic dimensions of human development. These include longevity (long and healthy life), knowledge and a decent standard of living.

- Poverty is the inability to secure the minimum consumption requirements. Culture of Poverty refers to the situation in which people develop poverty itself as a way of life when they lose all hope of escaping from suffering.

- Development Anthropology had taken a twist in its approach and started critiquing its traditional role and re-defining their role in a world that is rapidly changing. This new perspective developed into a transformative pattern under the label Critical Development Anthropology.

- Engaging Anthropology becomes a relevant area of Applied Anthropology. Anthropological engagement should necessarily relate to the question of sustainability of natural resources, and contribute to the environmental dialogues.

TERM EVALUATION ITEMS

1. Find the odd item and justify
    (a) Tribal Panchasheel, Jawaharlal Nehru, Philosophy of Nepha, Assimilation
    (b) Assimiliation, Integration, Acculturation, Isolation
2. Find the pair
    (a) Conversion : Missionary approach   Readymade solution to tribal problems :…….

3. Which of the following options includes Nehru's Tribal Panchasheel

    A.   Tribal right in forest should be protected

    B.   Tribes should develop on the basis of their own genius

    C.   Tribal people should be assimilated with the main stream

    D.   Tribal areas should not be over administered by multiplicity of programmes.

        a)   A and B   b)   A,B,C and D

        c)   A, B, and D   d)   B, C and D

4. Explain different approaches of tribal development and examine the most suited approach for tribal development.

5. Explain the relevance of Critical Anthropology in the modern world.

6. Write a note on Millenium Development Goals.

7. Write a note about the meaning of the concepts in Applied Anthropology, Development Anthropology, Action Anthropology and Engaging Anthropology.

8. Examine the relevance of Human Development Index in ascertain the development rate.

9. Analyse how Nehru's 'Tribal Panchasheel' reflects the essence of anthropological approach.

10. Describe the thrust areas of rural development.

11. Examine how Development Anthropology differs from Applied Anthropology.

12. Identify the difference between Applied Anthropology and Action Anthropology.

13. Examine different fields of Applied Anthropology.

14. Find the pair.

    (a)   D G Brinton   : Applied anthropology,   Sol Tax : ……..

    (b)   Constitutional safeguards : Political approach,   NGOs Activities : ……..

    (c)   Verrier Elwin   : Isolationism,   A V Thakkar: ………..

15. Identify the most appropriate approach for tribal development from the following

    (a)   Political approach   (b) Social service approach

    (c)   Anthropological approach   (d) Missionary approach

16. Name the author of the book Philosophy for NEFA.

249

17. Nehru's approach to tribal development can be considered as:

    (a) Social service approach   (b) Anthropological approach

    (c) Missionary approach   (d) Political approach

18. Expand:

    (a) HDR   (b) HDI

    (c) UNDP

19. Differentiate development from sustainable development.

20. Prepare a chart showing the human development index.

21. How does Traditional Anthropology differ from Critical Development Anthropology.

GLOSSARY

Applied anthropology	: The application of anthropological data, perspective, theory and methods to identify asses and solve contemporary social problems
Human development index	: It is a composite index measuring average achievement in three basic dimensions of human life-a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living.
Engaging Anthropology	: The branch of Anthropology which engages all relevant and current problems prevalent in the society
Development Anthropology	: The branch of Applied Anthropology that focuses on social issues and the cultural dimension of economic development.
Adaptation	: The process by which organisms cope with environmental stresses.
Assimilation	: The process of change that a minority group may experience when it moves to an area where another culture dominates, the minority is incorporated into the dominant culture to the point that it no longer exists as a separate culture unit.
Tribal Panchasheel	: Nehru's five principles pertaining to tribal development.

250

Isolation	: The process and policy by which tribes should be isolated from the main stream.
Integration	: The process and policy by which tribes should be kept in isolation in a limited sense but allowed to mingling with the main stream.
Traditional Development Anthropology	: Development Anthropology approach in a traditional way, by providing a helping role.
Critical Development Anthropology	: It is a Development Anthropology approach in a critical way, by taking a critical thinking role.

REFERENCE

Jain, Meenu. 2011. Rural Development Programmes in India.

Vidyarthi, L.P. 2003. Applied Anthropology In India.

Prasad, Gauri Shankar and Hrithesh K Singh.2012. Encyclopaedia of Anthropology.

Upadhay, VS and Gaya Pandey. History of Anthropological Thought.

LUMINARIES OF INDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY

SIGNIFICANT LEARNING OUTCOMES

After completing this unit, the learner will be able to:

■ Identify the luminaries of Indian Anthropology, analyse and list out their contributions.

CONTENTS

Life Sketches & Contributions of

- Verrier Elwin
- L.K. Anantha Krishna Iyer
- Aiyyappan
- S.C. Roy
- B.S. Guha
- N.K. Bose
- D.N.Majumdar
- Iravathi Karve
- M.N.Srinivas
- S.C.Dube
- L.P.Vidyarthi
- PRG Mathur

"I was greatly excited one day in 1930 when Bapu said 'As Miraben is my daughter, so you shall be my son.' From that day I regarded myself as a citizen of India." Renowned anthropologist Padmabhusahan Dr.Verrier Elwin, the angel of the aboriginals, wrote these lines in his autobiographical book 'The Tribal World of Verrier Elwin.' Young Verrier was immensely passionate about Gandhiji and his philosophy of non-violence. In fact, the story of his attraction towards Bapu is quite fascinating.
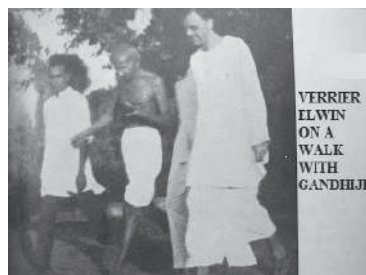

VERRIER ELWIN ON A WALK WITH GANDHIJI

Fig 10.1 Verrier Elwin with Gandhiji

Born to a clergyman it was almost destined for him to be a priest. But he had a different story to tell this world. His Oxford day's collage and a good friend had introduced him with the Gandhian ideology and the universalism of Tagore. In Verrier's final days at Oxford, his tutor and mentor father Green once said, 'If you stay in Oxford, there is nothing before you but spiritual death. You must get out and go to a slum parish where you will live among the poor.' However, not long after Verrier came to India, did he start having different ideas. Just to get identified himself with the Indian cause of Independence and the nation's poor, he formed an organization named 'Christ Sewa Sangh' on the lines of ashram traditions of Bapu.

He enjoyed the life here with full dignity as an Indian. The khadi clad Verrier became the beloved of Bapu at once and for him the values of Christianity stood not merely as a religion but much more in the brighter perspective of the satyagraha and non-violence. This had not only paved his way for the next 4-5 years but also made a sound base for his forth-coming life as an anthropologist to live with the aborigines in the central part of India. He claimed as if he was reborn in India and assumed Bapu as the greatest saint ever born on this planet.

Verrier Elwin lived among the tribes like the tribes themselves and served them by providing education and medicines, at large. Verrier strongly believed in the fact that, to be a perfect anthropologist one has to live with the tribes. Till the end of his life he reiterated all the credit to his tribal friends with whom he spent best part of his life, for his achievements in the entire life, whom we consider to be 'uncivilized', and 'illiterates.' All these factors have made Verrier an amazing personality and luminary not only in anthropological circles but in every walk of life he engaged.

Fig 10.2 Verrier Elwin with Tribal Children

Luminaries are persons who inspire others or achieve eminence in a field. In this unit, we undertake a voyage of such eminent personalities in Indian Anthropology, who has contributed their life for down trodden, marginalised and for the cause of Anthropology. In fact, they made Anthropology more than a career, but a way of life and has enlightened or influenced others. Life and works of Padma Bhushan Dr. Verrier was such a wonderful personality, an extra ordinary anthropologist or a legend during his life time.

Verrier Elwin

Padma Bhushan Dr. Verrier Elwin (29 August 1902 - 22 February 1964) was an English self-trained anthropologist, ethnologist and tribal activist, who began his career in India as a Christian missionary. But later Elwin was engaged with anthropological work and his motive changed. He abandoned the clergy, to work with Gandhiji and the Indian National Congress. He became totally involved among the tribes of Central India. Later he converted to Hinduism in 1935. He came to India not to join the ruling classes. Elwin is best known for his early work with the Baigas and Gonds of central India, and he married a member of one of the communities- the Baigas- he studied there, though he also worked on the tribals of several North East Indian states especially North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) and settled in Shillong later in life.

Fig 10.3 Verrier Elwin

He became an authority on Indian tribal lifestyle and culture. He also served as the Deputy Director of the Anthropological Survey of India upon its formation in 1945. After Independence he took up Indian citizenship. Nehru appointed him as an adviser on tribal affairs for north-eastern India, and later he was Anthropological Adviser to the Government of NEFA.

His autobiography, The Tribal World of Verrier Elwin won him the 1965 Sahitya Akademi Award in English Language. Although he was not a professional anthropologist like Majumdar or Guha, he wrote some excellent ethnographic account of tribal people of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Arunachal Pradesh.

Some of his important books are:

Philosophy for NEFA (1957)

The Baiga (1939)

The Agaria (1943)

Religion of the Indian Tribe (1955)

But even before the anthropological research undertaken by Verrier Elwin, British government entrusted L K Ananta Krishna Iyer, to conduct systematic ethnographic survey of castes and tribes.

254

L K Ananta Krishna Iyer (1861-1937)

L K Ananta Krishna Iyer was born in 1861 in village Lakshmi Narayanapuram in the Palakkad district (formerly part of Madras state) of Kerala. He passed his BA examination in 1883 from Christian College in Madras. At the age of 23, he obtained his first employment as a clerk in the Land Settlement Office at Wayanad. Later he decided to enter the teaching profession and joined the Victoria College at Palakkad.

Fig 10.4 Dewan Bahadur Dr. L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer

Ananta Krishna Iyer under the orders of Government in the year 1902 was entrusted with state systematic ethnographic survey. In the year 1908 the first volume of Cochin Tribes and Castes was published. This work earned great appreciation from the eminent foreign anthropologists. The second volume of this book was published between 1909 and 1912. In recognition of this work Government of India awarded him the title of Rao Bahadur. He was elected President of the session of Ethnology when the Indian Science Congress first met at Calcutta in 1914. He was in charge of the department of Anthropology in the University of Calcutta from 1920 to 1933. He delivered several lectures on the Ethnography of India in Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Cambridge and attended in international congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in London in 1934.

Important Books:

The Cochin Tribes and Castes (1908, 1909-12)

Lectures in Ethnography (1925)

The Anthropology of Syrian Christian (1926)

The Mysore Tribes and Castes (1926-1935) 4 Vols. (with H V Nanjundayya)

However, the credit of publishing the first anthropological monograph on an Indian tribe goes to S C Roy, who is regarded as the first Indian Anthropologist, father of Indian ethnography, father of Indian ethnology and first Indian ethnographer.

Sarath Chandra Roy (1871-1942)

S C Roy was born on 4th November 1871 in a well known and prestigious Kayastha family in a village named Karapara of Khulna district now in Bangladesh. He graduated

with honours in English and passed his MA examination in English. He also took law degree from the Ripon College, Calcutta. Roy was one of the pioneers of anthropological studies in India, although he had no formal degree on Anthropology.

Fig 10.5 Cover page of Man in India - Special Edition in 1934

As a lawyer S C Roy used to visit the interior areas of Chota Nagpur and could observe the tribals from close quarters. He was distressed by the way tribals were treated in the court of law. He saw that the courts of law could not provide them justice as the lawyer had no knowledge of tribal languages, culture, customary law etc. His deep interest in tribals resulted in publication of book entitled 'Munda and Their Country' (1912). In his monograph on Munda he gives the detailed account of the Mundari language, folk tale, proverbs, folk songs etc. This is the first monograph written on an Indian tribe by an Indian Anthropologist. It is because of this fact that he is regarded as the first Indian ethnologist or ethnographer of Indian Anthropology.

> Do you know? S C Roy is considered as the first Indian Anthropologist, father of Indian ethnography, father of Indian ethnology and first Indian ethnographer.

His book on Oraon tribe entitled 'The Oraon of Chota Nagpur' was published in 1915. He was the first person revealed the existence of 'dhumkuria' or 'Youth Dormitory'. He produced a number of monographs on different tribes such as Birhor, Hill Bhuiya and Kharia. The first Anthropological journal in India, 'Man in India' was founded under the editorial ship of S C Roy in 1921. His contribution in the field of Archeological anthropology is digging up of Asura site. According to him Asura culture belongs to the same age as that of Indus Valley culture. Roy also contributed in the field of folkloristic study. He believed that folklore throws light on the intellectual evolution of human society and for this reason he regarded folklore as 'pre history of human mind'.

S C Roy's major publications are:

Munda and Their Country (1912)

The Oraon of Chota Nagpur (1915)
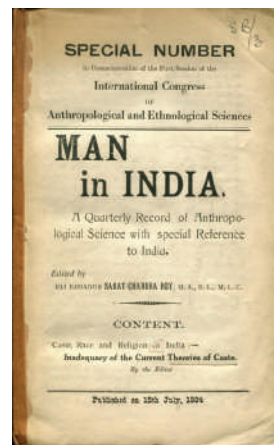
Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa (1935)

The Kharia (1937)

Earlier anthropologists hitherto mentioned had no formal training in Anthropology. They came to the discipline by undertaking ethnographic studies accidentally. The picture of Indian Anthropology has started changing with the induction of professionally trained anthropologists.

You have already heard about Anthropological Survey of India which is the biggest anthropological research organisation in the world. How it has been established? Who was responsible for the establishment of such a big organisation? While looking into the history of Anthropological Survey of India, the name of a pioneer come to the forefront. It is none other than Biraja Sankar Guha.

Asurgarh

Asurgarh, also known as the fort of Asura, was one of the most ancient metropolises situated in Kalahandi district, associated with 500 BC to 500 AD. Excavations in this region have furnished artifacts belonging to pre-historic Stone Age and Copper-Bronze Age. It has been estimated that about 2000 years ago Asurgarh was inhabited by an urbanised civilization. The place is roughly rectangular with four gates on the huge wall that surrounds the area. A large water reservoir has also been found which was known as Asursagar. (http://www.indianetzone.com archaeological_sites_odisha.htm)

B S Guha (**1894-1961**) Biraja Sankar Guha received his MA and PhD degree in Anthropology from Harward University in 1922 and 1924 respectively. He was a pioneer physical anthropologist in India. In 1927 he joined the Zoological Survey of India as an anthropologist in its anthropological section.

In 1945 by the initiative of Dr. B S Guha 'Anthropological Survey of India' (ASI) was established and he was appointed as the Officer on Special Duty in this institution. This Survey of India became solely concerned with anthropological studies. In 1946 he became the founder Director of ASI and served there until death. Today the Anthropological Survey of India is probably the biggest anthropological research body of its kind in the world that was established by the initiative of Dr. B.S. Guha. Here he initiated research in Physical Anthropology mainly in two distinct lines. First, the Osteological study of historic and prehistoric human remains and the second, the study of Anthropometry of the Indian population. He combined Physical Anthropology and Socio-Cultural Anthropology beautifully with Linguistic, Psychology, Biochemistry and Pre-historic Archaeology.

Fig 10.6 B.S. Guha

His doctoral thesis in anthropology was entitled 'The Racial Basis of the Caste System in India'. In 1935 he made racial classification of Indian population based on anthropometric measurement from various parts of undivided India. He listed 6 main races with 9 sub-races of Indian population and this was the most accepted classification ever made.

The Indian independence movement was influenced anthropologists as well. Under the influence of the doctrine of Gandhiji, anthropologists like N.K Bose left their job to join the national movement. We will now look into the life and works of a 'Gandhian anthropologist'.

Nirmal Kumar Bose (1901-1972)

N K Bose was born in Calcutta in 1901. He passed his BSc Geology with honours and MSc Anthropology in the year 1921 and 1925 respectively. He was appointed as a Research Fellow in Anthropology at Calcutta University in 1929-30. Since he was a follower of Gandhiji in all ideas and activities, he left the job to join salt satyagraha. Again in 1938 Bose was appointed as Assistant Lecturer in Anthropology. He was also the editor of Anthropological journal, Man in India since 1951. He was the Director of Anthropological Survey of India (AnSI) during 1959-64. He was also worked as Advisor to the government of India on Tribal Affairs. His first independent field research was among the Juang tribesmen of Orissa.

Fig 10.7 N. K. Bose

Some of the major publications of N K Bose are given below:

Cultural Anthropology (1929)

Excavation in Mayurbhanj (1948)

My Days with Gandhi (1953)

Problems of National Intergration (1957)

Dhirendra Nath Majumdar (1903-1960)

D N Majumdar was born in 1903 in Patna (Bihar). He received MA Degree in Anthropology from the University of Calcutta. In 1928 he joined the Department of Economics and Sociology, Lucknow University, as a lecturer in 'Primitive Economics'. Majumdar had turned down his nomination of a sub-deputy collectorship and preferred to

258

do anthropological fieldwork in Chotanagpur. He was initiated into field work by the great ethnographer S. C. Roy and he always acknowledge this profusely.

In 1933 he went to Cambridge to write his doctoral thesis on culture contact and acculturation among the Ho of Kolhan. He was awarded PhD. in 1935. His PhD thesis published in book form entitled, A Tribe in Transion: A study in cultural pattern (1937).

Fig 10.8
D.N. Majumdar

Majumdar was influenced by the theories of Malinowski and Ruth Benedict. . He was initiated into anthropological field work under the influence of S C Roy. He founded 'the ethnographic and folk culture society' in 1945. He also started the publication of quarterly journal 'Eastern Anthropologist' in 1947. Majumdar and Madan classified Indian tribes on the basis of their economic subsistence. Majumdar has classified the origin and development of Indian Anthropology. According to him there are three phases of the development of anthropology in India namely: formulatory phase, constructive phase and critical phase.

He was the first Indian anthropologist to study the impact of non-tribal cultures on the life of Indian tribes. In his book 'Races and cultures of India' he defined races. He was also contributed in the field of Serology and particularly the presence of Rh blood group among the 'criminal tribe' of Utterpradesh

Some of his important Books are:

A Tribe in Transition (1937)

The Fortunes of Primitive Tribes (1944)

Races and Cultures of India (1944)

Himalayan Polyandry (Posthumas) (1962))

An Introduction to Social Anthropology (with T N Madan)

Iravathi Karve (1905-1970)

Iravathi Karve was India's first women anthropologist, at a time when anthropology was still developing as an University discipline. She was born in Burma and educated in Poona. Karve received a master's degree in Sociology from Mumbai University in 1928 and a doctorate in Anthropology from a university in Berlin,

Fig 10.9
Iravathi Karve

259

Germany in 1930. Karve served for many years as the head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Deccan College, Pune (University of Pune). She presided over the Anthropology Division of the National Science Congress held in New Delhi in 1947. Later she taught German in Fergusson College. Her research interests were concentrated on the following aspects.

- Racial composition in Indian population
- Kinship organization in India
- Origin of caste
- Study on rural and urban community

She wrote several research papers in different technical journals. Some of them were in English and German, and others were in Marathi, her mother tongue. She surveyed the kinship organization in India and divided it to several zones - North, South, Central and Eastern. Her book in Marathi 'Yugantha'(1967) won Sahithya Acadamy prize. In this book she studied the characters and society in Maharashtra.

Some of her books are:
Kinship organization in India (1953)
Hindu Society: An interpretation (1961)
Family in India (1964)

Mysore Narasimhacharya Srinivas (1916-1999)

M N Srinivas was a pioneering Sociologist/sSocial Anthropologist born in Mysore in 1916. He obtained MA degree in Sociology, LLB and PhD (Sociology) from Bombay University. He received DPhil in Social Anthropology from Oxford University. In Oxford he got an opportunity to work closely with eminent social anthropologists namely A R Radcliffe Brown and E. E Evans Pritchard. He established the Department of Sociology at M.S. University, Baroda in 1951 and later, in 1959, the Department of Sociology at the Delhi School of Economics, Delhi University.

Fig 10.10
M. N. Srinivas

Prof. M.N. Srinivas studied his own society, at a time when anthropologists traditionally study 'other' societies. He also strongly advocated field-based research in Indian Sociology. His work on religion, caste, village societies, politics, and social change

260

led him to develop new perspectives on India and coined several key terms like 'dominant caste', 'sanskritisation' and 'westernisation' to understand the realities of inter-caste relation and also to explain their dynamics. He also insisted that Sociology and Social Anthropology be combined.

Some of his important Books are:

Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India (1952, 2003)

India's Villages (1960)

Caste in Modern India, And Other Essays (1962)

India: Social Structure (1969, 1980, 1986)

The Remembered Village (1976, 1978, 1988, 1991)

The Dominant Caste and Other Essays (1987,1994)

The Cohesive Role of Sanskritization and Other Essays (1989)

Social Change in Modern India (1966, 1972)

Shyama Charan Dube (1922-1996)

S.C. Dube was born in 1922 at Narsinghpur in Madhya Pradesh. Dube took his Master's degree from Nagpur University in Political Science with Social Anthropology as a special group and then proceeded to undertake research among the Kamar - a tribe of shifting cultivators in Madhya Pradesh.

Fig 10.11 S.C Dube

Dube became Reader at Osmania University, Hyderabad. He also went to the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) and the London School of Economics. The interaction with academics including Raymond Firth helped him in shaping the book on Indian Village. Dube quit the Osmania University to become Deputy Director in the Anthropological Survey of India at Nagpur and later Professor of Anthropology in the Sagar University in Madhya Pradesh.

His book Índian Village (1955) was a significant work in the post-1950 period in the sense that it was the first full-length account of a village social structure. It deals with the total study of the village Shamirpet in Telingana region. He studied the features of Indian village on the same line that of Robert Redfield. According to him no village in India is fully autonomous and independent. He says that Indian villages are the part of wider social system and political organisation.

261

Some of S C Dube's important books are:

The Khamer (1951)

Indian Village (1955)

India's Changing Village (1958)

Indian Society (1990)

Lalita Prasad Vidyarthi (1931-1985)

L P Vidyarthi was born in a multi-caste village in Patna, Bihar. He did his BA Geography (Honours) from Patna College and did his MA Anthropology from Lucknow University in 1950 and 1953 respectively. His doctoral degree was awarded from Chicago University. He was appointed as Lecturer in Anthropology at Ranchi. Prof. Vidyarthi's successful effort raised the status of Dept. of Anthropology, Ranchi University as UGC Department of Special Assistance (DSA).

Fig 10.12
L. P. Vidyarthi

He was editor of several journals like 'Indian Anthropologist' and 'Forklore'. Vidyarthi was the founding father of Action and Applied Anthropology in South Asia. As a student of D N Majumdar, Vidyarthi followed Majumdar's ideology and experimented that in empirical situation. He received a lot of fellowship and awards during the period between 1950 and 1983 from India and abroad. He made notable contribution in different fields. He was concerned with village studies, studies of sacred complex and pilgrim sites, applied and action anthropology, scheduled castes, folklore research, urban-industrial Anthropology, leadership studies, fieldwork tradition and anthropological theories. He tried hard for socio-economic welfare and advancement of the tribes.

Vidyarthi in his book Sacred Complex in Hindu Gaya describes in detail three analytical concepts like sacred geography, sacred performances and sacred specialists. These three concepts are termed as sacred complex. In his book The Maler he developed the concept 'Nature-Man-Spirit Complex' to analyse the life of tribals residing in hilly and forest areas.

Some of his important books are:

Sacred Complex in Hindu Gaya (1961)

The Maler: Nature-Man-Spirit Complex in Hill Tribe of Bihar (1963)

Tribal Cultures of India (1976)

Rise of Anthropology in India (1977)

Sacred Complex in Kashi (1978)

A. Aiyappan (1905- 1988)

Dr Ayinapalli Aiyappan was born in 1905 at Pavaratty, near Thrissur in Kerala. He received MA in Economics from Madras University in 1927. He continued his study, and awarded PhD in 1937 after being a student of Raymond Firth at the London School of Economics. His PhD was in Social Anthropology from London University (1937) where he studied with B K Malinowski.

Fig 10.13 A Aiyappan

Aiyappan served as the Director of the Government Museum, Madras during 1940-58. After his retirement he was appointed as Professor& Head of the Dept. of Anthropology, Utkal University, Bhubaneshwar (1958-66). Later on he served as UGC Professor of Social Anthropology, Andhra University. He was also the Visiting Professor of Social Anthropology at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. He was a member of Research Programme Committee, Planning Commission and several Madras government committees and Central Advisory Boards. In 1969 he was appointed as Vice-Chancellor of Kerala University. He became a founder and first chairman of the Centre for Development Studies (CDS)

Do you know?
A. Ayappan was the Vice Chancellor of Kerala University

Thiruvananthapuram, founder and director of the Tribal Research Bureau of Odisha (now known as Tribal and Harijan Research and Training Institute) and was also director of the Department of Rural Welfare of Odisha.

Some of the important books of Ayappan are:

Social and Physical Anthropology of the Nayadis of Malabar (1937)

Iravas and Culture Change (1944)

Social Revolution in a Kerala Village (1965)

Society in India (Ed.) (1953)

Bharathappazhama (Malayalam)

PRG Mathur

Dr. P R G Mathur was born in 1934 in Palakkad Kerala. He has a Ph.D in Anthropology from Calcutta University and was a student of Prof. Surjit Sinha, renowned anthropologist and former Vice-Chancellor, Viswabharathi University, Santiniketan. He was associated with the Anthropological Survey of India, government of

Fig 10.14 P R G Mathur

India, for nearly fourteen years. Dr. Mathur was the founder Director of Kerala Institute for Research Training and Development Studies of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (KIRTADS) - Tribal Research and Training Centre (centre for Anthropological Studies), Government of Kerala - Kozhikode. He is the Secretary & Professor of Ananthakrishna Iyer International Centre for Anthropological Studies (AICAS) and the chairman of International commission on urgent anthropological research

He has done extensive field work all over Kerala, Meghalaya and Orissa on various aspects of tribal society and culture. Mathur's book 'Tribal Situation in Kerala' is an enlightening study on the tribal problems of Kerala. 'The Mappila Fisherfolk of Kerala' is a unique study conducted by him on the Muslim fishermen of Malabar. His monograph Khasi of Meghalaya also widely discussed among Indian anthropologists. He is also the co-author of The Didayi; A Forgotten Tribe of Orissa. He has contributed several research papers to various seminars, workshops and symposia.

Some of his important books are:

The Mappila Fisherfolk of Kerala
Tribal Situation in Kerala (1977)
Sacred Complex of the Guruvayur Temple (2009)

TERM EVALUATION ITEMS

1. Fill in the blank spaces
    a. Author of the book Remembered village is……….
    b. The first journal of Indian anthropology is …….

2. The father of Indian ethnography
    (L.K Ananthakrishna Iyer, S.C Roy, M.N Srinivas, D N Majumdar)

3. The anthropologist who became the Vice Chancellor of kerala university.
    (A.Ayyappan, Ananthakrishna Iyer, S.C Dube, P R G Mathur)

4. Identify the anthropologist from the description

a   •   A clergy man who turned to anthropology
    •   Conducted field work among baigas
    •   Influenced by Gandhian principles

b   •   Founder and Director of KIRTADS

      •   Studied Mappila Fisherfolk of Malabar

      •   Secretary & Professor of AICAS

4.   Match the column A with B

Anthropologist	Contribution
A Ayyappan	Kinship organization in India
S C Dube	Excavation in Mayurbhanj
N K Bose	Iravas and Culture Change
D N Majumdar	Indian Village
Irawati Karve	Races and cultures of India

REFERENCES

Mathur, PRG. 1977. Tribal Situation in Kerala. Kerala Historical Society: Trivandrum

Upadhyay, V S and Gaya Pandey. 1993. History of Anthropological Thought. Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.

Vidyarthi, L P. 1978. Rise of Anthropology in India, Vol II. Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.

Roy, Indrani Basu. 2005. Anthropology-The Study of Man. New Delhi : S Chand & Co.