

B.A. (Hons.) Part II
Sociology (Subsidiary) Paper II

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ANTHROPOLOGY : NATURE AND SCOPE

Aristotle is said to have coined the term 'anthropology' meaning by it the gossip of man about himself. The 18th Century German idealist Kant wrote a book entitled Anthropology in 1789 suggesting the animal origin of man. The word had already found its way into English. An anonymous book published in 1655, entitled 'Anthropologie Abstract' defined anthropology as the history of the human soul and human anatomy. The word was incorporated in the British Encyclopaedia by 1822, however, without gaining in clarity of meaning. It is defined therein as a discourse upon human nature.

Anthropology is the science of man. It is derived from the Greek word 'Anthropos' meaning man and 'logos' meaning science. Of course, this literal etymological meaning is a sufficiently accurate definition of the scope of the subject. As Kluchohn has pointed out, 'Anthropology is the one which comes nearest to being a total study of man.' To give expression to the fact that an anthropologist studies all that can possibly be studied about man, let us take as our provisional basis definitions like the one given by Kroeber. "Anthropology is the science of a group of men and their behaviour and production."

According to Hoebel, "Anthropology is the study of man and of all his works. In its fullest sense it is the study of races and customs of mankind."

Jalobs and Stems have said, "Anthropology is the scientific study of the physical, social and cultural development and behaviour of human beings since their appearance on earth."

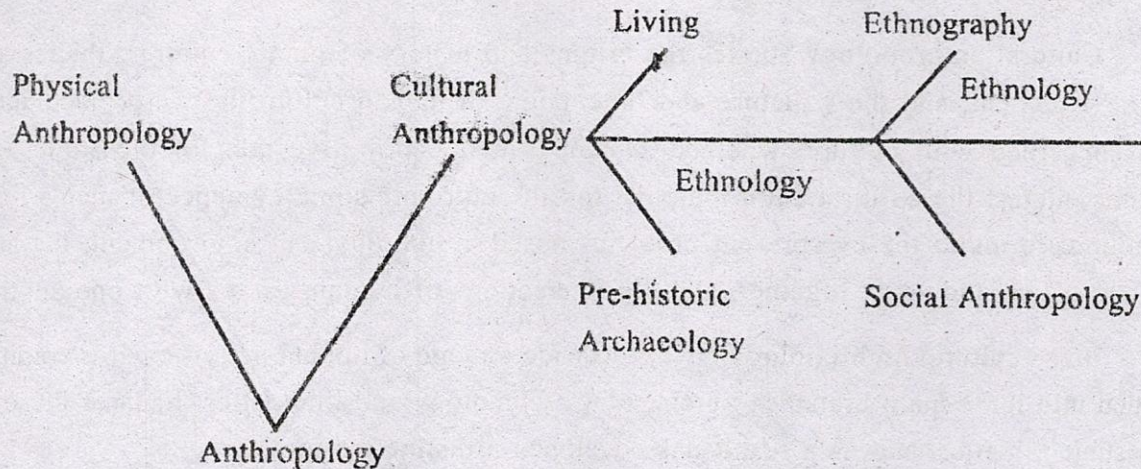
Back in 1876, Topinard gave a definition of anthropology in his work 'Anthropologie' which has been quoted by Haddon in 1934, with approval, and according to which anthropology is a branch of natural history and deals with man and the races of mankind.

However, man is an animal or organism and he is also a civilized being having history and social qualities. Thus he is investigated— different aspects of him are investigated both by the organic or biological or life sciences and by what are sometimes called the historical and more generally the social sciences. In practice, anthropology is mostly classified as being both a biological science and a social science.

Anthropology falls from its very scope into a series of fields sometimes referred to as sub-sciences. Each has its own research methods, its own cadre of specially trained professionals.

ANTHROPOLOGY : NATURE AND SCOPE

A first very broad division is made by anthropologists into physical anthropology and cultural anthropology. This can be traced in the diagram, the distinction clearly being that the first field focuses on man as a physical organism, the second on culture in the sense of his learned behaviour or customs.



Physical anthropology proper, as distinct from human biology, is the study of variation in the human family and of human evolution. It has to do with the history of man's physical characteristics. The physical anthropologist searches the earth for traces of early man. Such early forms are carefully compared with one another and with modern man. In this way a given structural feature, or a whole set of them, may be traced from the earliest populations in which it appears to populations of the present day.

The men of today are all quite similar to one another in basic structure despite their difference in outward appearances. All of them belong to a single species. *Homo sapiens*, the history of which is fairly well-known. In early prehistoric times, however, there appear to have been other species and perhaps genera. If we go back far enough in time we find a period in which no human forms existed. It is evident, then, that man as we know him today has emerged from earlier non-human forms. The study of the processes whereby man developed from his non-human ancestors and the continuing processes of change still slowly altering his bodily form is also a part of physical anthropology. From such studies we learn how men gradually became different from the other animals and assumed the bodily characteristics which mark them today. We also learned how men diversified among themselves and something of the factors responsible for the infinite variety of human forms.

Men do not live in a vacuum, they are constantly interacting with the environment. The environment includes of course not only land, the sea, the air and the many other physical

features of the world, but also multitude of living beings who share the world with man. No study of man would be complete which overlooked his relationship, at all times and places, with the environment. A third important phase of physical anthropology is, then, the study of the ways in which man interacts with the environment in which he lives and the effects of this interaction may have impact upon his bodily structure.

Cultural anthropology studies the origins and history of man's cultures, their evolution and development, and the structure and functioning of human culture in every place and time. It is concerned with culture, whether it belongs to the primitive men of the stone age. All cultures interest the cultural anthropologist for all contribute some evidence of man's reactions in cultural forms to the everpresent problems posed by the physical environment, the attempts of men to live and work together, and the interactions of human groups with one another.

Since cultural anthropology covers so wide a range of human activities, it is traditionally divided into three main branches : archaeology, ethnology and linguistics. Each of these has its own subject matter, and as a result has developed a distinctive methodology.

More recently a new type of division has been developing which divides the whole field of anthropology into two main branches, one emphasizing a historical approach, the other a non-historical, generalizing approach. No really satisfactory terminology has yet been developed for these two approaches which differ not so much in subject matter as in ways of dealing with the data.

A recent suggestion is that the first approach, emphasizing history, be called "descriptive integration". In this area would be included much of pre-history and ethnology, together with the strictly historical emphasis on physical anthropology and linguistics. The purpose of this approach to anthropological data would be to organize the data, whether on man's physical structure or his cultures, as to bring to light significant historical relationships. The second approach, with emphasis on generalization, would then seek to establish general principles applying to many sorts of data, regardless of the period in history to which they apply or their geographical distribution.

Archaeology or pre-history deals primarily with ancient cultures and with past phases of modern civilizations. It attempts to reconstruct the cultural forms of the past, and to trace their growth and development in time. The archaeologist, therefore, though using written records where he finds them, must in most cases reconstruct the cultures of the past from their material remains alone. He may find shelters such as caves in which ancient men lived; tools and

weapons which they made and used; containers and other utensils buried with their dead or in their rubbish heaps; paintings, stone carvings, and figures of baked clay; the ruins of ancient temples, and dwellings, and city walls; and numberless other items that were made of durable materials. These permit him to describe something of the ancient culture.

Ethnology may be said to begin where archeology leaves off. The ethnologist searches out and describes diverse cultures wherever these may be found : in Arctic wastes, in the deserts and forests of Africa in lonely islands in the south Pacific, or in the densely populated cities and towns of Europe, Asia, and America. Much of his work, then, has to do with the description of the cultural characteristics of diverse human groups.

Ethnology in its theoretical aspects is devoted very largely to the problem of explaining the similarities and differences to be found in human cultures. It may approach this problem historically, attempting to find in the history of people, and particularly in their contacts or lack of contacts with others, the reasons for similarities and divergences.

Linguistics is concerned with man's languages : ancient and modern, of literate people and of people who lack the technique of writing. The linguist, by the application of rigorous and highly technical methods, reconstructs the history of languages and language groups. He also compares languages one with another in order to determine the features common to languages everywhere. He is interested also in the many interrelations between the language of a people and the other aspects of their culture.

Social anthropology studies social behaviour, generally in institutionalized forms, such as the family, kinship systems, political organizations, legal procedures, religious cults, and the like, and the relation between such institutions; and it studies them either in contemporaneous societies or in historical societies for which there is adequate information of the kind to make such studies feasible.

The social anthropologists aim at revealing the structural forms or patterns behind the society he is studying; and he does this by seeking to make abstractions from social behaviour and to relate these to one another in such a way that social life can be perceived as a set of interconnected parts; but the analysis is made not as and to resolve social life into isolated elements a means to bring out its essential unity by the subsequent integration of the abstractions reached by analysis.

The anthropologist aims at showing, and comparing one society with another, the common features of institutions as well as their particularities in each society.

To sum up, anthropology is no longer a vague study, nor even ambitiously vague as a study without a portfolio. Anthropology is a well-defined study of the physical, cultural and social aspects of man. Anthropology is not an idler's pursuit, a study that does not concern us of the modern world; it concerns us very vitally in our own lives. It is not a study of exotic savages and supposedly funny, queer customs only; it is not the academic miggling up of the past, of broken pottery and fossilized skulls and bones. It is all these and more; it is all these with an aim, and that aim is, as Evans Pritchard puts it "to have an understanding of the wandrous creature that is man, wherever and at whatever time, past or present, he has lived or lives today." The immediate relevancy of anthropology to modern life has been summed up by Kluckhohn when he compares anthropology to a mirror into which man, without any labels of primitive or civilized, may look to understand and appreciate his own unbounded physical and cultural variety.

QUESTIONS

1. Anthropology is the study of man and his works. Elucidate.
2. Define Anthropology and discuss its scope.

SUGGESTED BOOKS

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|----|--------------------|---|--|
| 1. | A.K. Kroeber | : | Anthropology |
| 2. | Beals and Hoijor | : | An Introduction to Anthropology |
| 3. | Majumdar and Madan | : | An Introduction to Social Anthropology |
| 4. | E.A. Hoebel | : | Man in the Primitive World. |

BRANCHES OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology is so diversified that in order to achieve precision, its practitioners must out of necessity specialise. Many scholars have classified anthropology in various ways. While some thinkers have given a simple classification, others have given an elaborate classificatory scheme.

Beals and Hoijer have classified anthropology into two major aspects—

- (i) Physical Anthropology and
- (ii) Cultural Anthropology

Jacobs and Steru divided anthropology into five aspects. They are the following :

- (i) Human Evolution
- (ii) Physical Anthropology
- (iii) Archaeology
- (iv) Cultural Linguistics

Keising has classified Anthropology into two major groups

- (1) Physical Anthropology
- (2) Cultural Anthropology
 - (i) Pre-history
 - (ii) Linguistic Anthropology
 - (iii) Ethnology

Priddington classified has Anthropology as follows :

- (1) Physical Anthropology
- (2) Cultural Anthropology
 - (i) Pre-historic Archaeology
 - (ii) Social Anthropology

Hoebel classifies Anthropology into following branches :

- (1) Physical Anthropology
 - (i) Anthropometry
 - (ii) Human Biology
- (2) Archaeology
- (3) Cultural Anthropology

- (i) Ethnology
- (ii) Linguistics
- (iii) Social Anthropology

R. Linton has divided Anthropology into following branches :

1. Physical Anthropology
 - (i) Human Palaeontology
 - (ii) Somatology
2. Cultural Anthropology
 - (i) Archaeology
 - (ii) Ethnology
 - (iii) Linguistics

From above classifications of Anthropology, it is clear that Anthropology, like many other disciplines, is divided into numerous branches, each having to do with some specialized aspects of the general field. These may best be described under two principal headings— Physical Anthropology and Cultural Anthropology.

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The human being is first of all a biological organism and only then a social animal. The study of the nature of the human organism through physical anthropology is, therefore, basic to the understanding of the nature of the human being. The aim of Physical anthropology is to develop an exact body of knowledge concerning the biological characteristics of human population, ancient and modern. They have developed ingenious instruments and special techniques for precisely measuring innumerable ratios of size, composition of the body, dental pattern, hair form and colour, skin colour, blood pressure, blood groups, basal metabolism and so forth. Because physical Anthropologists are interested in the characteristics of population, they customarily deal with large masses of measurements which are statistically processed. Their field is also closest to physiology, anatomy, and zoology among the collateral sciences.

CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

That branch of Anthropology which deals with learned behaviour characteristics in past, present and future human societies is known as cultural anthropology. It has many branches, of which Archaeology, Ethnography, Ethnology, Social Anthropology, Linguistics are the most prominent.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Civilization began subsequent to the domestication of plants and animals and the rise of cities some nine thousand years ago. History started with the invention of writing after the dawn of civilization. Civilization, which means the culture of cities, is a degree of complexity of culture. Civilized cultures are more complex than are primitive cultures, but they are not necessarily 'better' or more 'moral'. By 'primitive' we mean those people, culture, or society which have not acquired writing. Hence, they are pre-literate in an evolutionary sense, or non-literate. A culture that existed before the invention of writing pre-literate and pre-historic. The spread of literacy and its accompanying urban mode of life has been steady and inexorable, but slow. Only five hundred years ago, the vast majority of all human cultures were without writing and therefore primitive. Until the moment of discovery by travellers and explorers from oriental and western civilization, they remained non-literate and pre-historic.

Cultural anthropologists, traders, missionaries and government administrators who have written about still non-literate people brought the latter within the ken of history although it may have taken them somewhat more time before they learned and adopted a written language for their own use.

Archaeology (Gr. *archaios*, ancient + *logia*, study) is concerned with filling out the human record by stripping the mantle of the earth from the buried remains of ancient cultures and the skeleton remanant of human beings and their associated plant and animal life. It tells us all we know of pre-historic people and their cultures. The importance of pre-historic archaeology to anthropology is manifested in the fact that most of the data known about the evolutionary development of humanity and culture are derived from the work of pre-historic archaeologists.

ETHNOLOGY

Ethnology is the science of people, their cultures and life histories as groups. It differs from ethnography in the sense that as a science it seeks inter-relationships between people and their environment, between human beings as organisms and their cultures, between different cultures, and between different aspects of culture. As a science, ethnology strives to derive explanations that go beyond description, emphasizing analysis and comparison. Since each culture is clearly a changing continuum through time, Ethnology is much concerned with the historical background of cultures. This aspect of ethnology is sometimes called cultural history.

Ethnology, in turn, breaks down into a number of sub-divisions in accordance with degree of specialization. Thus, there are specialists in, and specialized studies on primitive kinship and

family life, economic activities, law and government, religion; material culture and technology, language, the arts of painting, sculpture, music, and dance, folklore and mythology— almost any major aspect of human cultural manifestation one might think of.

Ethnologists who concentrate on social relations such as family and kinship, age groups, political organisation, law and economic activities— in short, what is called social structure— prefer to be called social anthropologists.

ETHNOGRAPHY

The foundation of cultural anthropology is Ethnography (Gr. ethnos, race, people, graphein, to write). Literally, the word 'ethnography' means to write about people. As we use the term, it refers to the descriptive study of human societies. Early ethnographies were almost wholly derived from the reports of explorers, missionaries, traders, and soldiers. Modern cultural anthropologists are expected to earn their spurs in ethnographic field more before they are fully qualified as anthropologists.

SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Ethnologists who concentrate on social relations, such as family and kinship from history, age groups, political organization, law and economic activities— in short, what is social structure— prefer to be called social anthropologists. English anthropologists who accepted the position of A.R. Radcliff-Brown deny the usefulness of historical studies in anthropology and with the divorce of cultural anthropology, they have established a separate sub-division of cultural anthropology under the rubric social anthropology, which they also at times call comparative sociology. Social anthropology is non-historical in their view, while ethnology is historical.

LINGUISTICS

Linguistics is the science of language. Many linguists look upon their discipline as a completely autonomous science in its own right. However language aspects of cultures, intimately interacting with all the other manifestations of culture are, therefore, best understood in the cultural context. Consequently, among the social sciences the scientific study of language is widely held to be a branch of cultural anthropology.

Anthropologists, once they had begun to base their studies on objective field, work were forced to learn many primitive languages from scratch with never a book of grammar to guide them. This proved to be a good thing. A universal system of phonetic writing had to be

BRANCHES OF ANTHROPOLOGY

developed so that records could be kept of what native informants were saying in tongues for which no system of writing existed. This soon led to a realisation that some culture organised speech in accordance with grammatical principles very different from those which govern the old, familiar Indo-European languages

QUESTIONS

1. What do you mean by branches of Anthropology ?
2. Define the branches of Anthropology. Give the different branches of Anthropology.
3. Define the cultural branches of Anthropology.

SUGGESTED BOOKS

1. Ralph L. Beals & Harry Hoijer : An Introduction to Anthropology
 2. N.C. Nelson : General Anthropology
 3. S.F. Nadel : The Foundations of Social Anthropology
 4. E.E. Pritchard : Social Anthropology
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ANTHROPOLOGY AND OTHER SCIENCES

Anthropology mainly studies the primitive human societies. It, obviously, is concerned not with particular men as such, but with men in groups, with races and peoples and their happenings and doings. In practice, anthropology is mostly classified as being both a biological science and a social science. Social anthropology is more social science than biological anthropology. All social sciences study in all parts, aspects and workings of human culture. In social science, Anthropology, Psychology, Economics, Political Science, History and Sociology are main sciences which deal with the social aspects of man. In this lesson attempts shall be made to explain the relation and distinction between Anthropology and some of the more important branches of science.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Civilization began subsequent to the domestication of plants and animals and the rise of cities some nine thousand years ago. History started with the invention of writing after the dawn of civilization. Civilization, which means the culture of cities, is a degree of complexity of culture. Civilized cultures are more complex. They are primitive cultures, but they are not necessarily 'better' or more 'moral'. By 'primitive', anthropologists mean those people, culture, or society which have not acquired writing, hence they are pre-literate in an evolutionary sense, or non-literate. All cultures that existed before the invention of writing were pre-literate and pre-historic. As it will be seen later the spread of literacy and its accompanying urban mode of life have been steady and exorable, but nonetheless slow. Only five hundred years ago, the vast majority of all human cultures were without writing and therefore, primitive. Until the moment of discovery by travellers and explorers from oriental and western civilization, they remained non-literate and pre-historic.

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Ethnology, in turn, breaks down into a number of sub-divisions in accordance with degree of specialization. Thus, there are specialists in, and specialized studies on, primitive kinship and family life, economic activities, law and government, religion, material culture and technology, language, the arts of painting, sculpture, music and dance; folklore and mythology—almost any major aspect of human cultural manifestation one might think of.

Ethnologists who concentrate on social relations, such as family and kinship, age groups, political organization, law and economic activities, in short, what is called social structure, prefer to be called social anthropologists.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

Anthropology and sociology lie so close together that they often appear as two names for the same field of enquiry. Anthropology is derived from two Greek words 'Anthropos' meaning man and 'Logos' meaning 'study'. Thus according to its ethnological meaning, Anthropology is the study of man as such but it is study of the development of human race. Anthropology has thus a very wide field of study. Anthropology has been divided into three divisions :

- (i) Physical Anthropology, which deals with bodily characteristics of early man and our primitive contemporaries,
- (ii) Cultural Anthropology which investigates the cultural remains of early man and of the living cultures of some of the primitive contemporaries.
- (iii) Social Anthropology which deals with the institutions and human relationships of primitives of the past and present.

Anthropology thus devotes its attention entirely to the study of man and his culture as they developed in time since long past. Sociology, on the other hand, studies the same phenomena as they exist at present. According to Kluckhohn, "The sociological attitude had tended towards the practical and present, the anthropological towards pure understanding and the past."

Sociology depends very much on the material supplied by Anthropology. In fact, the historical part of Sociology is identical with cultural Anthropology. Sociology has borrowed cultural area, cultural traits, interdependent traits, cultural traits and other conceptions from social anthropology on whose basis cultural sociology has developed. The discoveries of Linton and Kardiner have influenced sociology in no small degree. From their researches it is evident that each society has its own culture and the personality of its members is moulded according to it in their infancy. According to Hoebel, "Sociology and social Anthropology are, in their broadest sense, one and the same." A.L. Kroeber has called Sociology and Anthropology twin sisters.

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

In spite of the interdependence of these two sciences the field of the study of each is quite distinct. Keesing writes, "But the two academic disciplines have grown up independently, and handle quite different types of problems, using markedly different methods.

- (i) : Anthropology is the study of the whole society. It studies its political and legal problems, family organizations, religion, art, Industries and occupations etc. Sociology studies only its particular aspects. The focus of sociologist is social interaction.
- (ii) Anthropology studies cultures which are small and static while sociology studies civilizations which are vast and dynamic. That is why Anthropology has developed faster and better than sociology.
- (iii) Anthropology and sociology are separate sciences. The former is the study of man and his culture as they developed since times long past; while the latter studies the same phenomena as they are at present.

- (iv) Sociology is concerned with both social philosophy and social planning whereas anthropology is not concerned with social planning. It does not make any suggestions for the future.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND LINGUISTICS

Linguistics is the science of language. Many linguists look upon their discipline as a completely autonomous science in its own rights. However, language aspects of cultures, intimately interacting with all the other manifestations of culture are, therefore, best understood in the cultural context. Consequently among the social sciences, the scientific study of language is widely held to be a branch of cultural anthropology.

Once Anthropologists had begun to base their studies or objectives, fieldwork was forced to learn many primitive languages from scratch, with never a book of grammar to guide them. This proved to be a good thing. A universal system of phonetic writing had to be developed so that records could be kept of what native informants were saying in tongues for which no system existed. This soon led to a realization that some cultures organise speech in accordance with grammatical principles very different from those which govern the old.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND HISTORY

Early in this century, the English anthropologist R.R. Marrett declared that Anthropology is history, or it is nothing. He did not mean that it is history in the formal sense; he was emphasizing that time is a basic dimension in all human experience. The stream of life is a continuous flow. All anthropologists grant this fact, but they differ over how much value of these is to anthropology in history and historical research. Many social anthropologists, on the other hand, are apt to hold that it is sufficient to concentrate on the search for understanding of societies that currently exist, the 'now' anthropology of today.

A balanced view of the relation of anthropology to history would hold that a comparison of directly observable societies does indeed put the study of mankind on a former scientific footing in terms of verifiable and validated results. Culture and society are not momentary things. They come out of the past, exist in the present, and continue into the future.

There are, of course, historians and historians, histories and histories. Historians are social scientists when they undertake to derive general laws of social change or to explain specific events by noting repeated regularities observed through time. Or they may be philosophers of history if they strive to explain what took place at a particular time in history in terms of an a priori scheme of interpretation. Their emphasis is then on the uniqueness of

situations. "History never repeats itself." they say. The time and the place aid what happened then and there— stated exactly, accurately, and specifically— are what is important to historian as chroniclers.

In science, as opposed to history, a fact is not itself of central interest. The objective of science is to relate a multitude of facts to one another so as to make valid, general propositions about the nature of things. Anthropologists' ways of organizing their knowledge are different from those of historians, and their methods of operation are basically different also. The 'field' for historians is the library. Their working unit is a document. Their joy is the discovery of a long-lost packet of letters or reports. For anthropologists, the 'field' is a remote tribal group, a central-city population, or an archaeological site. Their joy is the discovery of a new type of social relation, fossil, or set of artifacts.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY

Anthropology and Psychology are both concerned with behaviour and hence have much in common. But whereas anthropology is interested primarily in group organization and cultural patterning of behaviour, Psychology is more concerned with the behaviour of the individual organism and how it responds to specific stimuli. Psychologists are much more oriented to the use of laboratory experiments, tests, and measurements and to statistical expression of their findings in an effort to achieve scientific precision in their field. The behavioural situations studied by experimental psychologists tend to be simplified and neat, that is, controlled experiments that are designed to eliminate extraneous variables. Anthropologists undertake to relate the simple but verified findings of psychology to the complexities of the real-life situations which they confront in growing societies, where their findings are indeed less rigorously verified. Anthropologists study anthropoids almost exclusively. Experimental psychologists are more than likely to forego the human animal, with all its complexities, to study the more manageable mouse, rat, guinea pig, monkey or pigeon.

While contemporary social psychologists also incline strongly towards laboratory experimentation, clinical psychologists and psychoanalysts are forced by the nature of their tasks to treat whole persons in the context of their total social settings. The deep probing of psychoanalysis into the hidden psychic processes has engendered a number of insightful concepts that have proved very useful to anthropologists in the interpretation of cultural system and their relations to tribal personality types.

Learning theory as developed in Psychology is of course of great importance to

Anthropology; culture is acquired only through learning. Psychology probes the processes of how all animals learn. Anthropology, in turn, teaches us what is learned in various societies, how it is taught, and what the rewards and punishments provided by each society for proper learning or failure to learn are. Anthropology offers Psychology a wider factual base against which to test its theories and assumptions.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND ECONOMICS, POLITICAL SCIENCE

As their names suggest, the social sciences of Economics and Political science concentrate on particular areas of human behaviour. Furthermore, economists and political scientists alike have tended to limit their studies to modern nations. In the primitive and peasant societies which the anthropologists have traditionally studied, politics and economics often do not stand out as distinct areas of human activity amenable to separate analysis, as they do in modern nations. In fact, in primitive societies, the political and economic order in many of the societies studied by anthropologists. There is nothing comparable to the political structure of nation-states. There is no government or central authority to regulate interrelationships between individuals and groups. Authority is vested in kinship stature. Fathers and grand-fathers may be the only individuals who can exercise authority over their children and grandchildren, or authority may be a function of age and sex, so that all men can hope to exercise similar authority when they have reached a certain age.

Often in technologically primitive societies, people conceive of a social world which contains only two broad categories of people, friends and enemies. One's friends are those people with whom one has a personal relationship. They include one's actual blood kinsmen and those who are regarded as kinsmen because of some ceremonial, such as blood brotherhood, they also include one's in-laws and potential in-laws and those of other members of the group. Anyone related neither by kinship nor marriage is considered to be an enemy until, through an alliance between two groups that is often accomplished by marriage, enemies are converted into friends.

Statements about the economy, the system of production, distribution, and consumption of material resources— are usually included within the monographs which result from ethnographic field work. In his holistic approach, the anthropologists tries to deal with as many aspects of human behaviour in the society as possible. Anthropological studies have contributed to the comparative study of economics by revealing differences between societies in the principles which regulate the distribution of resources. They have added to the comparative study of political systems by analyzing means of preserving order and preventing or resolving conflict

in statesless societies. As a result, the findings of economists and political scientists who have confined their studies to western nations may be placed in a broader perspective.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the relation between anthropology and other social sciences?
2. Discuss the relation between Anthropology and Sociology or History.

SUGGESTED BOOKS

1. N.C. Nelson : General Anthropology
2. E.E. Pritchard : Social Anthropology
3. S.F. Nadal : Foundations of Social Anthropology

MARRIAGE

Marriage is an institution which admits men and women into family life. It is stable relationship in which a man and women are socially permitted to have children; the right to have children implying the right to sexual relations. Edward Westermarck has defined marriage thus, 'Marriage is a relation of one or more men and women which is recognised by custom or law, and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of children born of it.'

Lowie defined it as a 'relatively permanent bond between permissible mates.' Malinowski defined marriage as "a contract for the production and maintenance of children".

According to Lundberg, 'Marriage consists of' the rules and regulations which define the rights, duties and privileges of husband and wife, with respect to each other.'

According to Horton and Hunt "Marriage is the approved social pattern whereby two or more persons establish a family."

Hoebel said, "Marriage is the complex of social norms that define and control the relations of a mated pair to each other, their kinmen, their offspring and society."

Mazumdar, H.T. defines marriage "as a socially sanctioned union of male and female, or as a secondary institution devised by society to sanction the union and mating of male and female, for purposes of —

- (a) establishing a household
- (b) entering into sex relations.
- (c) procreating, and
- (d) providing care for offspring."

According to Anderson and Parker, "Marriage is the sanctioning by a society of a durable bond between one or more males and one or more females established to permit sexual intercourse for the implied purpose of parenthood."

According to John Levy and Ruth Munroe people get married because of the feeling that being in a family is the only proper, indeed the only possible, way to live. People do not marry because it is their social duty to perpetuate the institution of the family or because the scriptures

recommend matrimony or because they have fallen in love with each other but because they lived in a family as children and cannot get over the feeling that being in a family is the one proper way to live in society, to almost all the societies one or the other form of marriage exists.

FORMS OF MARRIAGE

The main forms of marriage are the following :

(1) **One man one wife (Monogamy)**— Under monogamy one man marriage one woman at a time. This is the leading form of marriage. Its advantages are now well recognised. It produces the highest type of affection, and sincere devotion. The children are well looked after. Both father and mother give earnest attention to the up bringing of their offsprings. Under polygamy the father can not devote himself fully to each of his wives and children because they are too many. He is in reality the head of several households and fatherhood in personal sense does not exist. The family happiness is also destroyed in polygamy as much jealousy exists between wives and sets of children are separated from each other. Affection between parents, between parents and children and between children themselves is more wholesome under monogamy than under polygamy wherein the wife who has grown old is discarded for a younger wife. Under monogamy the old parents receive favouring care from their children, under polygamy their days end in bitterness. According to Malinowski, "Monogamy is, has been and will remain the only true type of marriage."

(2) **One wife many husbands (Polyandry)**— In certain parts of the world polyandry long existed. It is a form of marriage wherein one women marriage more than one man at a given time. It is thought to be widespread in Tibet where the conditions of social life are harsh and where perhaps the efforts of two or more men are needed in order to support a family. The Marquasaus of Polynesia and the Todas of Malabar are also supposed to have this institution. In Hindu mythology we learn that five brothers called Pandavas shared the same wife. Polyandry is also said to exist in some tribes as the Namib, Bushmen, the Yaruro of Venezuela, the Leugua of Elchaco, the Singhalese, the Mundas and some ancient tribes of the Malaya Punisula. It is also found in Khas, Kota and Tyan, Kot, Kusemba of Kerala. It is, however, relatively a rare type of marriage and is generally an improved adjustment to certain peculiar and extreme conditions.

Polyandry may take two forms :

(a) **Franternal Polyandry**— In this form of polyandry, one wife is regarded as the wife of all brothers who have sexual relation with her. The children are treated as the offspring of the eldest brother. Among the Todas polyandry is fraternal.

- (b) **Non-fraternal Polyandry**— In this one woman has many husbands with whom she cohabits in turn. It is not necessary that these husbands be brothers. If a child is born then any one husband is chosen as its social parent by a special ritual.

The causes of polyandry are said to be the following :

- (i) **Lesser number of women**— According to Lvestermark, when the number of women is lesser than the number of men in a society, polyandry is the result, for example, among the Todas of Nilgiri this has been the reason for this form of marriage. But, according to Brifficult, polyandry can exist even when the number of women is not lesser, e.g., in Tibet, Sikkim and Ladakh. Polyandry is found even though there is not much disparity in the number of men and women.
- (ii) **Poverty**— Polyandry has developed in such areas also where there has been scarcity of natural resources which needed many men to support one woman and her children.
- (iii) **Bride-Price**— When in a society bride-price is high on account of the lesser number of women, polyandry develops.
- (iv) **Population Control**— Polyandry has also been considered a means to check the growth of population in some societies.
- (v) **Backwardness**— Generally polyandry is found in such areas as are situated at far away places from the centres of culture and progress.
- (vi) **Joint Family**— The spirit of joint family gets strengthened when several brothers marry the same woman.

The advantages of polyandry are the following :

- (i) It controls the growth of population.
- (ii) The family property does not get divided.
- (iii) It strengthens the economic conditions of the family.

Its disadvantages are :

- (i) It fosters adverse effects on the health of women because the same woman has to satisfy the sexual desire of several husbands.
- (ii) It leads to sterility. According to biologists if the same woman cohabits with several men, it may lead to sterility.
- (iii) It may diminish population. It is said that if polyandry continues in some tribal societies for another hundred years, it may lead to their extinction.

Polyandry is generally considered an obstacle in the way of social progress. It causes harm to married life and creates several other psychological problems. It is on this account that polyandry has gradually come to an end in those societies also where it once prevailed.

(3) One husband many wives (Polygamy)— Under this system one man has two or more wives at a time. Polygamy is generally called polygamy but strictly speaking the latter is a general term including both polyandry and polygyny. Polygyny is found among Eskimo tribes, Crow and Hedasta of North America and African Negroes. In India polygamy is also said to exist in some tribes such as Nagas, Baiga, Gond and Lushai. Polygamy is based partly on the lower sex impulses of the male and partly on the desire to leave many descendants. Westermarck has mentioned the following causes of polygamy :

- (i) **Enforced celibacy**— Men do not approach the women during the period of pregnancy and while the child is being breast fed. Due to this long period of enforced celibacy, a second marriage was contracted.
- (ii) **Earlier ageing of the female**— In the uncivilized tribes men re-married a number of times because the women aged earlier.
- (iii) **Variety**— The desire for variety is also the cause of polygamy.
- (iv) **More children**— Polygamy is also practised to obtain more children.
- (v) **Social prestige**— In some tribes, the leaders have more wives in order to prove their superiority. A single marriage is considered a sign of poverty.
- (vi) **Economic necessity**— In some areas polygamy is practised to get cheap and reliable labourers in the form of wives. In the Himalayan region one marriage many times in order to protect one's property and to obtain help in agricultural activities.

The advantages of polygamy are :

- (i) It checks prostitution because man can satisfy his sex desire in a better way by keeping himself within the confines of marriage.
- (ii) It gives healthy children to society because rich people only can afford to maintain several wives.
- (iii) Children are better looked after because there are several women.

Its disadvantages are :

- (i) It increases economic burden on the head of the family because he has to support many women and children.

- (ii) The children can not be looked after properly because there are too many of them to be looked after.
- (iii) It creates jealousy among the wives and their children.
- (iv) It destroys family happiness.
- (v) The women possess lower position in society.

In connection with marriage there are certain terms which need explanation. One is sororal polygamy which means the marriage of one man with several sisters. Levirate, another term, is the marriage of a man with the childless widow of his deceased brother, Sororate, a third term, means the marriage of a man with the sister of his deceased wife especially if she has left no offspring. Concubinage is a state of living together as husband and wife without being married; it is cohabitation with one or more women who are distinct from wife or wives.

RULES AND PROHIBITION RELATED TO MARRIAGE

Marriage, as said above, is a very important social institution. That is why no society allows a couple quietly to pair off and start living as husband and wife. Marriage is too important for such casual arrangements. Marriage brings a number of obligations and privileges affecting a good many people. Every society has, therefore, developed a pattern for guiding marriages. before marriage is solemnised, the first and the most important task is the choice of mates. The question of proper choice of mates is so important that a wrong choice may forever doom the family to unhappiness. Though no standards of choice are laid down by the community as the selection of partners is entirely an individual affair little concerning the community, yet from time to time certain rules have been made to regulate the selection of mates. The rules can be given as follows :

(i) Family incest or Incest Taboo :

Mating with any person who is culturally defined as member of one's kinship group is commonly forbidden. Any such prohibited mating is incestuous. The prohibition of sex relation between culturally identified relative is, therefore, known as the incest taboo. It automatically follows that marriage between persons subject to this rule is also forbidden.

Incest taboo is universal among all people. The universality of incest prohibition and the fact that it is concerned with a basic biological act have led to the common view that it is instinctive.

(ii) Exogamy

Exogamy (Gr. *ex*, out side + *gamos*, marriage) is defined as the social rule that requires

an individual to marry outside a culturally defined group of which he is a member. The conjugal natal family is with the few exceptions already noted, always exogamous, whether other kinship groups are exogamous. When the prohibition against marrying a kinsman is applied without discrimination to all known genetic relations exogamy is simple or undifferentiated. Generally speaking, simple exogamy occurs in societies in which kinship is organised bi-laterally i.e. without the presence of lineages or clans.

Restricted exogamy is selective. It is the residual consequences of the cultural development of the alliance principle when applied to lineages and clan within a society. In this form, marriage is forbidden with certain categories of kinsmen, while at the same time it is preferred or required, as the case may be, with other categories of genealogic relatives who are not culturally defined as being kinsmen. These persons are almost always one kind or another of crosscousin. This calls for marriage to a mother's brother's child or a father's sister's child—among first cousins, or if their equivalents, if the preference applies to second or third cousins or beyond. Such cross cousin marriages are symmetrical.

The following forms of exogamy are found in India :

(i) **Gotra exogamy**— Among the Hindu the prevailing practice is to marry outside the gotra. People of the same 'gotra' are believed to have similar blood and so their inter-marriage is prohibited.

(ii) **Village exogamy**— Among many Indian tribes, there is the practice to marry outside the village. This restriction is prevalent in the Munda and other tribes of Chhotanagpur. The Naga tribe of Assam is divided into khels. Khel is the name given to the residents of a particular place and the people of one khel can not inter marry.

(iii) **Endogamy**— Endogamy (Gr. *endo*, within + *gamos*, marriage) is the converse of exogamy. It is the social rule that requires a person to marry within a culturally defined group of which he or she is a member. Endogamy is much less common than exogamy.

In many societies some degree of endogamy is found, although the rule is not always explicit. It frequently expresses itself as a tendency, without actually being a requirement. It may also apply to any kind of social group. Rules of exogamy and endogamy are contradictory and cannot apply simultaneously to the same social group.

The world's most famous system of endogamy is the caste organization of India with its two thousand or so castes and sub-castes, between which marriage was formally prohibited on the ground that contact with lower castes is ritually polluting for members of upper castes.

QUESTIONS

1. Define marriage. Discuss the forms of marriage in tribes.
2. What is marriage ? Discuss the rules of prohibition in marriage.

SUGGESTED BOOKS

1. S.F. Nadel : The Foundations of Social Anthropology
2. E.E. Pritchard : Social Anthropology
3. N.C. Nelson : General Anthropology
4. Ralph L Beals & Harry Hoijer : An Introduction to Anthropology

FAMILY

Of all human groups the family is the most important primary group. It is a small group consisting ordinarily of a father, mother and one or more children. Historically it has undergone several changes emerging, according to Burgess and Locke, from a hard and fast social structure or institution and becoming a flexible human relationship.

The word "family" has been taken over from the Roman word 'famulus' meaning a servant. In Roman law the word denoted the group of producers and slaves and other servants as well as members connected by common descent or marriage. Some definitions are the following :

According to Maclver and Page, "Family is a group defined by sex relationship sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children."

Burgess and Locke said, "Family is a group of persons united by the ties of marriage, blood or adoption constituting a single household, interacting and inter-communicating with each other in their respective social roles of husband and wife, mother and father, son and daughter, brother and sister creating a common culture."

According to Ogburn and Nimkoff "Family is a more or less durable association of husband and wife with or without children, or of a man or woman alone, with children."

Davis defines, "Family is a group of persons whose relations to one another are based upon consanguinity and who are, therefore, kin to one another."

Out of these definitions the following characteristics of a family may be deduced :

(i) **A mating relationship**— A family comes into existence when a man and a woman establish mating relation between them. This relation may be of a shorter duration or life long. When the marital relation breaks up, the family disintegrates.

(ii) **A form of marriage**— Mating relationship is established through the institution of marriage. Marriage may be solemnised in a simple way as is the case in Europe or its celebration may be a long process as it is generally in India. It may take any form, monogamous or polygamous. Partners may be selected by parents or by the elders, or the choice may be left to the wishes of the individuals concerned.

(iii) **A system of nomenclature**— Every family is known by a name and has its own system of reckoning descent. Descent may be reckoned through the male line or through the

female line. Usually the wife goes and joins her husband's relative but sometimes the husband also may go and join his wife's relatives. There are said to be instances where annual alterations take place between the two systems. Patrilocal and matrilocal.

(iv) **An economic provision**— Every family needs an economic provision to satisfy the economic needs. The head of the family carries on a certain profession and earns money to maintain the family.

(v) **A common habitation**— A family requires a home or household for its living. without a dwelling place the task of child bearing and child rearing cannot be adequately performed.

The family thus is a biological unit employing institutionalized sex relationship between husband and wife. Its members are biologically more closely related to one another through the process of production than are the members of any other group. It is based on the fact of sex having the production and nurture of children as its important function.

NATURE OF FAMILY

A family possesses of several distinctive features. It influences the entire life of people in numerous ways. It differs from other groups in the following aspects—

(i) **Universality**— Family is the most universal group. It is the first institution in the history of men. It has existed in every age and in every society and is found in all parts of the world. No culture of society has ever existed without some form of family organization. Each one of us is a member of some or the other family. No other group is so universal as the family is.

(ii) **Emotional basis**— The family is a fundamental unit of human society. It is based on our impulses of mating, procreation and parental care. It is close knit group which fortifies these emotions.

(iii) **Limited size**— The size of a family is of limited necessity. It is defined as biological conditions which it can not transcend. Other groups may be smaller than a family, but they are not so because of biological conditions.

(iv) **Formative influence**— The family exercises the most profound influence over its members. It moulds the character of individuals. Its influence in infancy determines the personality structure of individual. From its initial units, the father and mother, the child receives his physical inheritance. Freud and other psychologists have proved that a child exhibits the same character and mental tendencies in adult age which he acquires in the family. Confucius rightly remarked that if you want to improve society, improve family. To be well-born is to possess the greatest of all gifts. To be ill-born there is nothing which this world can afford that will be adequate compensation for the lack of good heredity.

(v) **Nucleus position**— The family is the nucleus of all other social groups. The distinctive characteristics of marriage, parental obligations and sibling relations make family the primary institutional cell of a society. The whole social structure is built of family units.

(vi) **Responsibility of the members**— In the family, the child learns the meaning of social responsibility and the necessity for co-operation. As Mueluer aptly describes, "In times of crisis men may work, fight and die for their country but they toil for their families all their lives. In it the child develops his basic attitudes and ideals. It is a great agency of the socialisation of the child."

(vii) **Social regulation**— The family is peculiarly guarded by social customs and legal regulations. It is not easy to violate them. Family is the group in which the consenting parties may freely enter but which they can not easily leave or dissolve. Marriages are not trivially taken.

(viii) **Permanent and temporary**— Family as an institution is permanent and universal, while as an association it is temporary and transitional. When the son marries he goes out of the family and starts another family which again may give rise to more families.

FORMS OF FAMILY

Families may be classified in various ways :

(1) **On the basis of authority**, a family may be classified into two parts :

(a) Patriarchal and

(b) matriarchal.

(a) The Patriarchal Family :

The patriarchal family was prevalent not only in the civilised society of antiquity but also in feudal society. This type of family has become famous all over the world.

Under the patriarchal family the male head of the family is possessed of inclusive powers. He is the owner and administrator of the family property and right, to him all persons living in the family are subordinate. He presides over the religious rites of the family, he is guardian of the family gods, of the sacred hearth. In short, the family father or the eldest male descendant is the protector and ruler of the family enjoying full authority over the family members.

This type of family was prevalent among the Hebrews, the Greeks and the Romans, and Aryans of India. Among the Hebrews, the eldest male parent was absolutely supreme and exercised almost despotic power over his dependents. In India, the family of Vedic times was strongly patriarchal. The father exercised sole power over his wife and children. They

could not own any property. In principle almost complete subordination marked the position of the wife. She had no standing before the law and against her husband. The Indian woman was subject to the will of her husband. It was her duty to obey her father before marriage, to obey her husband after marriage and to obey her son in her widowhood.

The chief characteristics of a patriarchal family are the following :

- (i) The wife after marriage comes to live in the house of the husband.
- (ii) The father is the supreme lord of the family property.
- (iii) Descent is reckoned through the father. The children are known by the name of the family of their father.
- (iv) The children can inherit the property of their father only. They have no right over the property of the mother's family.

(b) The Matriarchal Family :

MacIver prefers to call it by the name of maternal family rather than the matriarchal family. In a matriarchal family the authority vests in the woman head of the family with the males being subordinate. She is the owner of property and rules over the family. There are grave doubts whether this type of family ever existed in society. Bachopen maintained that in early times mankind lived in state of promiscuity and that the earliest type of family was the matriarchal.

The matriarchal system has prevailed among the people of malabar and few other parts of India. The Iroquois Indians have been pronounced a metronymic people for the government of clans was to some extent in the hands of women. The ignorance of the fact of paternity as among the Trobi and islanders has been also adduced to favour matriarchy or at least matriarchal descent. The power which the Khasi wife has over the family property and the custom in some tribes by which women are regarded as owners of the houses though they might have been built or paid for by men also favour matriarchy.

The characteristics of matriarchal family are the following :

- (i) Descent is reckoned through the mother, not the father because maternity is a fact while paternity is only an opinion. This is the matrilineal system.
- (ii) Marriage relations are transient. The husband is sometimes merely a casual visitor.
- (iii) The children are brought up in the home of the wife's relative. Descent is not only matriarchal but also matrilineal.

- (iv) The authority in the family rests in the hands of wife or in some representatives of the wife's kin.
- (v) Property is transferred through the mother and only females succeed to it.

(2) **On the basis of structure**— The family has been classified into nuclear and extended family.

- (i) **Nuclear family**— A nuclear family is one which consists of the husband, wife or wives and their children. The children leave the parental households as soon as they are married. A nuclear family is an autonomous unit free from the control of the elders. Since the newlyweds create a separate residence the physical distance between parent and married child or parent and grandparent minimizes the interdependence between them.
- (ii) **Extended family**— An extended family can be viewed as a merger of several nuclear families. Thus extended family may include an old man and his wife, their son, the son's wife and son's children, to nuclear families, the son being a member of both. A large extended family may include the old man and his four wives, their unmarried children and married sons and the sons' wives alongwith the unmarried children. An extended family may be crammed into a single house, or it may occupy a cluster of houses within an extended family compound, or the house may be more widely dispersed than this.

(3) **On the basis of residence**— The family may be classified as follows :

- (i) **Matrilocal family**— In this type of family, the husband goes to live in the house of his wife.
- (ii) **Patrilocal family**— In this kind of family, the wife goes and lives in the house of her husband.

(4) **On the basis of marriage**— The family may be classified into :

- (i) **Monogamous family**— In which one man marriage one woman only at one time. This type of family is found among Khasi, Santhal and Kader tribes.
- (ii) **Polygamous family**— In this kind of family one man marries many women at one time. In India, the type of family is prevalent among Naga, Banga, Gonda and Lushai tribes.
- (iii) **Polyandrous family**— In this kind of family one woman marries many men and lives with all of them or with each of them alternately. This type of family is found among Khasa, Toda, Kota, Tyan, and Nyar tribes in India.

(5) **On the basis of ancestry**— The family is classified into :

(i) Matrilineal and

(ii) Patrilineal.

In the matrilineal family other is the basis of ancestry. A woman is believed to be the ancestor of the family. The rights of each member of the family depend on his relation to the mother.

In the patrilineal family ancestry continues through the father. This is the common type of family prevalent today.

FUNCTIONS OF FAMILY

(i) **Biological Function**— Satisfaction of sex is the first essential function which the family performs. Satisfaction of sex instinct brings the desire for life-long partnership among male and female. The satisfaction of sex instinct makes for normal personality. According to Havelocks Ellis, "With failure of sexual harmony, the marriage structure rests on shifting sand."

The inevitable result of sexual satisfaction is procreation. The task of race perpetuation has always been an important function of the family. Family is an institution par excellence for the production and rearing of children.

(ii) **Economic Function**— Family serves as an economic unit. In the traditional family most of the goods for consumption were produced at home. The members of the family were all engaged in the family industry. It was a unit of production and the centre of economic activities. In the family one or the other profession is still carried on though of a different sort and in a different atmosphere. There is a clear division of labour between man and woman. Every family has its own economic capacity. The members purchase property— movable and immovable for the family. Property is an important economic institution which is protected and maintained by the family.

(iii) **Religious Function**— Family is a centre for the religious training of the children who learn from their parents various religious virtues. In the old family different religious practices like idol worship, yangya, religious discourses and sermons by pandits were carried on which made the outlook of children religious.

(iv) **Educational Function**— Another function performed in the family is the education of children. The family is an important educational agency. The child learns the first letter under the guidance of parents. The traditional family was the centre of vocational education because the children from the early childhood were associated with the family.

(v) **Recreational Function**— The old family provided recreation to its members. They used to sing and dance together and visit the family relations. The modern family relation is individual rather than collective. The present forms of recreation such as bridge, tennis, carrom, and moves provide for only individual or couple participation. Moreover, recreation is now had in club or hotel rather than in home.

(vi) **Civic Function**— Family is the school of civic virtues. Children learn the first lesson of citizenship in the family. The virtues of love, co-operation, toleration, sacrifice, obedience and discipline are first learnt by the child in the family. These qualities enable him to grow into a good citizen.

QUESTIONS.

1. Define family. Discuss its main characteristics.
2. What is family ? Discuss the types of family.
3. Write an essay on family.

SUGGESTED BOOKS

1. E.E. Pritchard : Social Anthropology
2. S.F. Nadal : Foundations of Social Anthropology
3. N.C. Nelson : General Anthropology

KINSHIP SYSTEM

Kinship is the term used in respect of social life and in some important measure its pattern must be determined by characteristics of the society itself.

Kinship, to us, intuitively refers to "blood relationships". Our relatives are those connected to us by bonds of blood. Our in-laws, to be sure, are related by marriage and blood and so are some of our aunts and uncles. But it is successive links between parents and children that are the essential strands of kinship.

Many anthropologists have defined the kinship system; some are as follow—

According to Charles Winick, "Kinship system may include socially recognized relationship based on supposed as well as actual geneological ties".

Radcliffe Brown says, "Kinship is geneological relationship recognized for social purposes and made the basis of the customary relation of social relations.

Rivers has said, "Kinship is the social recognition of biological ties".

According to definitions it is clear that Kinship is relationship actually or outatively traced through parent-child or sibling relations, and recognized for social purposes.

Consider the case of the Nuer, a pastoral people of Sudan who became anthropologically famous through the work of the British anthropologist E.E. Evans Pritchard.

In this and many other forms of socially defined parenthood in the tribal world, there is a gap between presumed physical paternity (or even maternity) and socially assigned parentage (even leaving aside customs that, as with adoption in western societies, transfer assignment of parentage). How can we talk about 'blood' relationship between father and child, or mother and child, in cultures, that have quite different theories or metaphors about the connections between parent and child? In some, the mother is thought to contribute no substance to the child, but only to provide a container for its growth.

Sexual intercourse with a man is a necessary condition for pregnancy; but the animation of the potential child created by synthesis of semen and female fluids is a spiritual, not a physical matter.

Such variations must lead us at the outset to be wary of assuming that kinship is simply a matter of "blood relationship". It is safest to broaden our scope considerably to say that relations of kinship are connections modelled on those conceived to exist between a father and child and between a mother and child. In a particular culture these connections may be viewed as the same for father and mother as different—based on metaphors of seed and soil, of bone and flesh, or substance and container.

We conceive kinship relation based on 'blood' to be natural and immutable; they entail diffuse obligations of solidarity. They contrast with relationships in-laws— that is, contingent and legal relations established by marriage contract. Schneider has argued that this symbolic system is only indirectly related to sex and reproduction, and that other people may have quite different conceptualizations of the realm of kinship similarly related only indirectly to perceived relations of biological parenthood.

But the contrast in this realm seems less wide than it might be. However, a people conceptualize the biological connection between presumed father and child; and between mother and child. It is this relationship— inalienable and deep— that is the basis of kinship bonds. And even where the contributions of father and mother are thought to be different, these bonds of kinship are extended, in almost all societies, through both father and mother as though they were equivalent. We are sometimes misled, as with Nuer woman's marriage, because parents characteristically occupy several different roles toward their children. And some of these roles, such as having custody, carrying for and nurturing the child, or being socially recognized in terms of descent or inheritance may be contingent on the natural parents being married or on some legal validation of the connection of parenthood.

TRACING KINSHIP

Tracing out kin relations through father and mother creates networks of kinship ties. The greater importance of these networks of kinship ties in tribal societies has been underlined already. But the way tribal people use networks of kinship very often parallel the way we use them. Our ties with relatives appear most clearly on special occasions like Christmas or birthdays, when they are often present or especially on the major events in our lives.

So in tribal societies too the ties of kinship between individuals come out most dramatically in the focal points of a person's life— birth, invitation, feasts, marriage and death. The action group that mobilizes around a person in support of celebration or mourning is in almost all societies crystallized from network of the individual's relations and in-laws. Where these relations or some close circle of them are conceptually recognized as a special cultural category, it is called a kindred or personal kindred.

Kindreds can not secure as the basis of on-going corporations; the groups crystallized from them are always temporary and mobilized in particular situations. The reason is that each individual has a unique circle of relatives, and any person belongs to many such circles, not one.

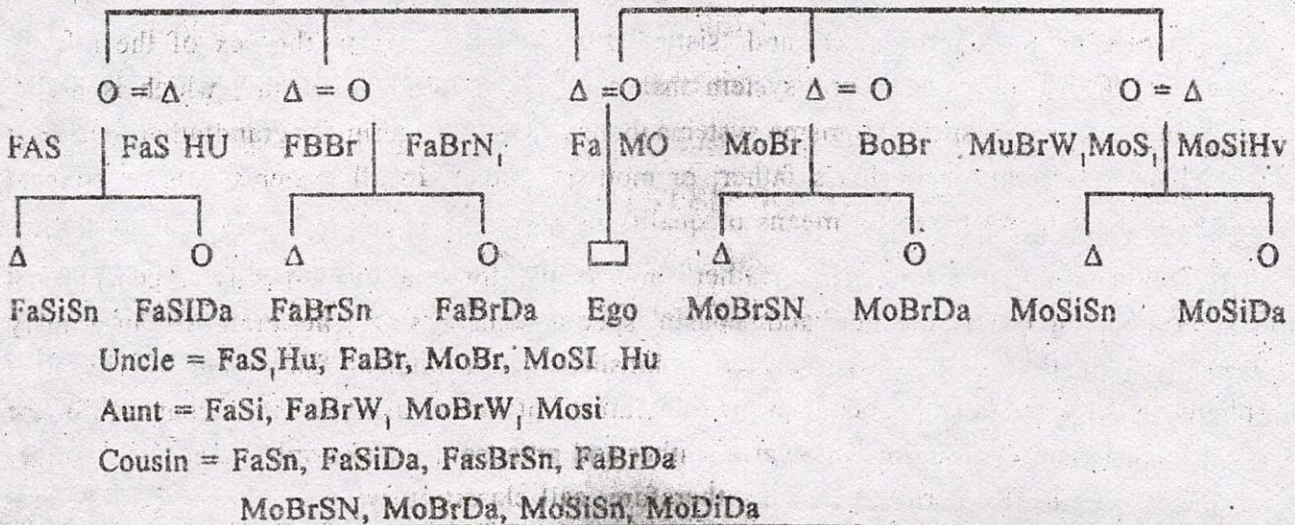
Kinship ties in a tribal society play a part in many spheres of life where they are no longer important to most of us. The people who live in a community, the people who work together, the people who complete and quarrel are, as we will see, mainly relatives.

NATURE OF KINSHIP

Relatives or kin are people who are related to each other through some combination of principles of descent and marriage. Although descent and marriage are geneological principles and, therefore, selected biological relatives to some extent, it must never be forgotten that descent and marriage are primarily social and legal principles. It is never easy to be certain about one's biological ancestors, but sociological ancestors are easily identified as the people who socially and legally play the role of mother and father. A similar distinction was made earlier between sexual relationship and marriage.

Despite the importance of the distinction between biological and social relationships, all human societies appear to possess sets of terms that are primarily applied to persons who are, or are thought to be, geneologically related. Any such set of terms is referred to as a kinship terminology. In our own kinship terminology, the male (Ego) refers to his male parent as father, and his female parent as 'mother'. His parent's siblings and their spouses are "uncle" and "aunt". Thus the mother, sister and the father's brother's wife are described by the same term, even though biological relationship to Ego is quite different. Like most kinship terms, the term "aunt" covers several different types of geneological relationships.

In his own generation, Ego refers to other children of his parents as "brother" and "sister". The children of his ncles and aunts are referred to as "first consins". Ego refers to his children as "son" and "daughter" and the children of his brothers and sisters as "nephew" and "niece". He refers his parents's parents as "grandfather" and "grand mother" and his children's children as "grandson", and "granddaughter". He refers to distant relatives as "cousin". Relatives by marriage, except in the case of husband "wife", "uncle" and "aunt" are referred to by use of the suffix "in-laws". The following diagrams show the kinship terminology—



CHANGES IN KINSHIP SYSTEM

Kinship systems are changing all the time. The changes in important structural parts, such as the form of marriage, the role of residence, the role of descent, and the types and composition of groups, are usually slow, that is, they usually emerge clearly in the course of generations rather than days or even years. Moreover, the forces behind such changes are of many inter-related kinds—the discovery, development, or depletion of resources and the development and spread of new methods of production, the growth of new patterns in the relationships of men in their productive activities, changes in the internal ordering of societies in so far as the use of force is concerned and in the relation of one society to another in this respect; changes in the size and age and sex composition of populations. The various factors reinforce others, some neutralize others. Any changes that takes place in kinship structure is, therefore, necessarily the resultant of many other social changes. It follows also that a really adequate theory of changes in kinship systems would have to be part of a more general theory of change in social systems as a whole.

The problems of analyzing change in kinship system, however, is similar to the problem of analyzing change in languages. In its vocabulary, its semantic rules, its syntax a language also reflects the influences of the whole culture and social life of those who speak it. Yet linguists are able to say significant things about changes in the structure of a language without pretending to be authorities on everything in the world. The fundamental reason for this is that a language is a system, its various parts of elements are inter-related in such a way that if any element changes very much for any cause or combination of causes, adjustive changes will also take place in other elements.

KIN TYPES

There are six types of kin which are of general importance. Following are the kin types—

1. **Sex**—The term 'brother' and 'sister', for example, specify the sex of the relative referred to. The only term in our system that does not do so is "cousin", which is highly ambiguous in several respects. In some systems there is no simple term for grandfather; one must say male grand parent, or father's father; or mother's father. In all systems it is possible to specify an exact relationship by means of qualifying terms.

2. **Generation**— The terms "father" and "son", for example, specify a generational difference, and the terms "brother" and "cousin" specify sameness of generation. All our primary kinship terms—that is, the terms by which kinsmen in the nuclear family are referred to—explicitly indicate the relation between the generations of the speaker and the generation of the relative referred to. In some systems, grandfather and grandson, for example, refer to each other by the same term. This term we should, therefore, call classificatory.

3. **Affinity**—Most of our kinship terms observe the distinction between official and consanguineal relatives, but a few do not, compare 'son-in-law' and uncle.

4. **Collaterality**— Among consanguineous relatives, some are lineal and some are collateral. Relatives in a direct line descent are lineal grand father, father, son, grand son. Ego's collateral relatives include his own siblings, all the siblings of his lineal relatives above his own generations and all the descendants of these two groups. Uncle may refer to an affinal relative (aunt's husband), but when it refers to a consanguineous relative, that relative is collateral. The basic reason for our vagueness about uncles and aunts is that the consanguineous and affinal relation to whom we refer by these terms are treated socially in much the same way. Many kinship systems do not specify collaterality in some of their terms. Thus the term for mother might also be used for mother's sister.

5. **Bifurcation**— Failure to recognize the distinction of bifurcation is failure to specify the sex of the relative through whom ego is related to the relative being referred to. Our term niece, for example, can refer to brother's daughter or sister's daughter. 'Uncle and aunt' fail with respect to both bifurcation and affinity. Our term 'great grand son' fails twice with respect to bifurcation— a great grandson might be son's son's son or a son's daughter's son, a daughter's son's son, or daughter's daughter's son.

6. **Linkage**— This distinction is important only when the relative being referred to is affinal. Failure to recognize linkage might be defined as failure to specify whether the affinal relative referred to is linked to ego through another affinal relative or through a consanguineous relative. Our term 'brother-in-law', for example, not only fails to specify the sex of the intervening relative (sister, wife, or husband) but does not specify the relationship of intervening relative to ego.

QUESTIONS

1. What is kinship system ? Discuss its different types.
2. Give the definition of kinship. Define the nature of it.
3. Define kinship system. Discuss the changes in kinship.

SUGGESTED BOOKS

1. N.C. Nelson : General Anthropology
2. S.F. Nadal : Foundations of Social Anthropology
3. E.E. Pritchard : Social Anthropology

RELIGION

Definition and Origin :

Religion is the human response to the apprehension of something, or power which is supernatural and supersensory. It is the expression of the manner and type of adjustment effected by people with their conception of the supernatural.

Religion has been regarded as a product of civilization until Taylor gave convincing proof that primitive societies have their own versions of religious activity, not very different from that of civilized societies.

Etymologically religion is derived from the Latin word *religio* which is derived from either the root *leg*— which means together count or observe or from the root *lig*— which means to find. In finer sense the implication is belief in, and observation of signs of divine communication. In the latter sense the implicating is the performance of necessary actions which may bind together man and supernatural power that to be. Both the implications are relevant in view of the fact that beliefs and rituals have been found to be main component parts of religions everywhere.

It is not an easy task to give a definition of religion which will satisfy everyone. The principal difficulty is that many people take the word to mean their own religion regarding all other forms as non-religion, irreligion, superstition or anti-religion. But scholars have given definitions in their own ways which are the following :

According to Ogburn, the definition of religion should be based on the characteristics of all religions, not just the one ever professes. He says, "Religion is attitude towards superhuman powers."

Pfleiderer defines religion as "that reference of man's rift to a world governing power which seeks to grow into a living union with it."

James G. Frazer considered religion as a belief in "powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life".

According to R.N. Mukherjee, "Religion is belief in one or the other superhuman or supernatural, or supersocial power which (the belief) has for its basis the fear, the reverence the devotion and the idea of sacredness and which is expressed through prayer, worship or submission."

Malinowski says, "Religion is a mode of action as well as a system of belief and a sociological phenomenon as well as personal experience."

P. Horigsherin says, "The term religion will be used to denote every attitude based on, and connected with the conviction that supernatural forces exist and that relations with them are possible and significant."

According to Maclver and Page, "Religion, as we understand the term, implies a relationship not merely between man and man but also between man and some higher power."

Christopher Dawson writes, "Whenever and whenever man has a sense of dependance on external powers which are conceived as mysterious and higher than man's own, there is religion and the feelings of own self-abasement with which man is filled in the presence of such powers is essentially a religious emotion, the root of worship and prayer."

Durkheim defined religion as a "united system of belief and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden."

According to Giltin and Giltin : "The social field of religion may be regarded as including the emotionalized beliefs prevalent in a social group concerning the supernatural plus the over behaviour, material objects and symbols associated with such beliefs".

Arnold W. Green defines religion as a "system of beliefs and symbolic practices and objects governed by faith rather than by knowledge, which relates man to an unseen supernatural realm, the known and beyond the controllable."

According to H.M. Johanson, "A religion is more or less coherent system of beliefs and practices concerning supernatural order of beings, forces, places or other entities."

Thus there are numerous definitions of religion given by thinkers according to their own conceptions. As a matter of fact, the forms in which religion expresses itself vary so much that it is difficult to agree upon one definition. So it can be said that religion is a belief in God or some supernatural powers.

Primitive man has not been found to be given to philosophising as much as the modern man. However, presence of religion of one kind or another has been always reported and today it is an essential feature of human life without which attainment of full integration of the human personality is not possible. Occupation of the exact nature of the supernatural differs from society to society and people to people. For religion, as an aspect of supernaturalism, consists of systems of belief, thought and action that lie at the very root of all primitive and civilized cultures. These systems of belief and action work upward and outward throughout the cultural fabric. At points they are woven so finely into the total pattern that it is impossible to say where religion ends and the mundane begins. Religion presents so many aspects, intertwined with so many phases of culture, and is so variable that it is difficult to delineate it in terms both broad enough to encompass the whole and discriminating enough to isolate it for study.

THEORIES REGARDING THE ORIGIN OF RELIGION

Anthropological theories of religion have been concerned mainly with examining the content of various conceptions of the supernatural as prevalent in different societies at different times. The earlier anthropologists also tried to trace the evolution of religion from cruder to developed forms. Recent theories concentrate on outlining the functions of religion.

ANIMISM

About seventy years ago, Edward B. Taylor pointed out that all people in primitive economies believed in animism, that is, in the existence of insensible, non-material or spiritual beings which may be souls, ghosts, ancestor's spirits, fauna, flora, ogres or monsters or, simply objects. The origin of beliefs in such spiritual beings is probably multiple, as Taylor suggested. The presence of vitality in a living person which is unquestionably absent from a corpse results in an animistic interpretation. The persons and things heard, seen, or felt in dreams, or in temporary hallucinatory experiences as in hot weather or when a person is exhausted, or when he is under the influence of drugs yield the same result. Additional experiences which bring about or reinforce animistic beliefs are echoes, reflections in quiet pools, or other natural phenomena.

Taylor contended that once the basic premise of an animistic ideology— belief in the existence of many individual spiritual beings and souls— had been developed, the path was laid for eventual development to later stage of religious ideology. But before the second stage was reached the original belief in souls and spirits— beings had come to include beliefs in malevolent spirits or demons, and in the spirits of ancestors. Taylor presumed that the souls, ancestral spirits, and other supernatural beings of the first developmental stage tended to change as second stage into other, higher, or more gradiose forms of supernatural being such as nature gods. Neither proof nor disproof is available for such a sequence of stages because the people who are of the lowest economic level are not well enough known to indicate that they are largely or exclusively animistic.

Certainly, Taylor says, primitive man must have thought there must be two souls in a human being, a free soul which could go out of him and have experiences, and/nor body soul which if it left the body resulted in its death. The former may have been associated with and represented by breath and shadow, the latter by blood and head. Primitive man must have come to the conclusion that when the body soul left the body permanently, the person concerned died, and his soul became a ghost or spirit. The soul must have obviously appeared to be immortal because they could dream about peoples who had been long dead. The uncertainty whether the soul has left the body temporary or permanent may be a reason for the practice of double funeral, a 'green' one and a 'dry' one, found among some contemporary primitive people of India and

elsewhere. The first green funeral takes place immediately after death and the second dry funeral, is observed after the lapse of some days when all hopes of the return of the soul are given up and the second funeral is often the occasion for the most important ceremony.

So, Taylor believed that an attitude owing reverence towards these intangible and non-material spiritual beings forms the case of the earliest form of primitive religion. These spiritual beings are not under our control, and have, therefore, to be propitiated lest they should do harm, and in order that they may render help. Thus ancestor worship was the earliest form of worship and tombs the earliest temple. Animism consists of such a belief in the role of spiritual beings in human life, it is of a kind polytheism, Taylor believed that in course of time there was evolutionary development in religious beliefs and forms, and the progress was from polytheism towards monotheism.

ANIMATISM AND MANAISM

Marrett evolved a special form of animatist theory which he called manaism. He said that the entire religious life of the primitive is born out of their belief in a certain understandable impersonal, non-material, and unindividualized supernatural power which takes abode in all the objects, animate and inanimate, that exist in the world. It lies more or less beyond the reach of the senses, but is manifested as physical force or such other excellences as man can think of in himself, others and so in objects around him. It may differ in intensity, the degree which it is present in a person or an object, but in essence it is always the same. Such a set of beliefs Marrett called animatism or manaism after the term mana used by Melanesians to designate this force. Majumdar's description and analysis of the conception of bonga among the Ojibwas falls in line with Marrett's theory of primitive religion. Some North American tribes call this power orenda. It is elsewhere known as aren and wakua.

NATURISM

Max Muller derived the German theory of naturism. He said that the earliest form of religion must have been the worship of objects of nature; and evidence in support of such a view has come in from archaeological excavations concluded in Egypt and elsewhere. It is maintained that an attitude of awe or love and reverence towards objects of nature is born as a result of a 'diseased' mind which invests lifeless things with life and all the power that is associated with life. The error of mind is, according to this theory, born out of defective language. Such linguistic errors as the sun rises and sets, or thunder sends rain or that trees bear flowers and fruit, give rise to belief in some power inherent in the sun, thunder, trees etc.

So far as it is maintained that objects of nature were worshipped, no difficulty arises evidence in favour of such a practice is heavy. But any claim to such worship being the earliest form of religion or the explanation given is not convincing. There is no proof to show that various conceptions follow linguistic expression may follow certain already existent ideas.

The merit and usefulness of these various theories emerge when they are taken together, as each of them expresses some essential truth regarding primitive religions.

FUNCTIONAL THEORIES

Malinowski and Radcliffe Brown have given functional explanations of primitive religion. Malinowski pointed out, with reference to the Trobri and islanders, that religion is intimately connected with various emotional states, which are states of tension. For example, quite a few of their magical and religious practices centre round the fishing expeditions. These are the outcome of the state of fear which a possible disaster on the seas gives rise to. Similarly, hate, greed, anger, love, etc., may arise due to various situations in a man's life. These situations create stresses and strains and, if permitted to exist over a long period of time, frustrate all action. A human being has to be an acting individual, and normal action is not possible in an emotionally upset state of existence. Religion is made use of in such a situation as a tool of adaptation; its purpose is to purge the human mind of its stress and strain, i.e., it is Cathartic in its action. In other words, religion has the function of bringing about a readjustment between man and the supernatural in upset stabilities of existence. It is a device to secure mental and physical stability in an individual's life.

Redcliffe Brown takes a different stand. The function of religion, he says, is not to purge fear and other emotional strains from human mind, but to instill a sense of dependence in it. He says that, ultimately the survival of the group is more important than that of the individual and if the latter has to make some sacrifices it is in his own interest to do so, because without social survival individual survival is not possible. However, the individual does not seem to realize this always and he seeks to chart out an individual course of action. If each individual were to do this it would be possible. Adherence to a norm of behaviour is essential in terms of social survival and it is the fear of supernatural control and punishment, as also the anticipation of support in the case of socially approved conduct, that brings about this adherence. Therefore, the function of religion is to create a two-fold feeling of dependence on society and thereby obtain the individual's concurrence with the social norms, the ultimate aim being social survival. The function of religion is the contribution it makes to that total activity which is designed to perpetuate society.

Radcliffe Brown's and Malinowski's sociological explanations are derived in part, from Durkheim's theory of religion, Durkheim says that religious nations are born and conceived of when we find the social group collecting together for festivals and other social gatherings. Social life on such occasions is in its interest, and impresses the human mind which the transcendentalism and omnipotence of the group. It is conceived of as the source of all that man has and all that man is. Religion is recognitive of the superiority, moral and physical, of the collective over the individual.

RELIGION IN TRIBAL INDIA

Indian tribal presents a colour panorama of religious faiths and practices which is the manifestation of adjustment with their central ecological conditions. In tribal India entire socio-economic-political life moves around religion, Life world view, ethos and ecology of the Sauria Paharia tribes of Bihar is not interwoven with the religion that one cannot understand without understanding their religion. Their Hassanyanse and Addas are so dominant that they can not ignore them even at the smallest moment of their life. Among the Korwas there is spirit presiding over crops, one over cattle, and besides, there are several spirits which dictate the attitude of the Korwas towards their neighbours, preists, and the headman of the affairs of the tribe. Thus, animism carries with it a belief in benevolent as well as malevolent spirits which are supposed to influence destiny of man. The Todas of Nilgiri Hills and the Hos of Chotanagpur perform two kinds of ceremonies after cremation. The second one is meant to make it sure that the departure of the soul from the body is final and forever. The Todas while returning from such ceremony, scatter thorns so that the malevolent soul may not enter their village. Majority of the tribals believe that life does not end with death and that it continues to be present in one form or the other. The tribals of Chattisgarh involve the spirits of their ancestors through special ceremonies. It is further believed that certain objects are possessed by some spiritual powers and thus, a sort of fetishism appears to be the guiding, principle among such tribes.

In tribal India we find Hinduism as a widely prevalent religion. However, a good number of tribals have embraced Christianity under the influence of various missionaries. The missionaries are well-known for their role of agent for religious, social, economic and educational change in tribal India.

QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by religion? Explain the salient characteristics of tribal religion.
2. Discuss the functional theory as propounded by Durkheim.

SUGGESTED BOOKS

- | | | | |
|----|----------------|---|--|
| 1. | Boas, F. | : | General Anthropology |
| 2. | Bouguet, A.C. | : | Comparative Religion |
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| 4. | Lowie R.H | : | Primitive Religion |
| 5. | Taylor, K.B.A. | : | Primitive Culture. |



MAGIC : CONCEPT AND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MAGIC AND RELIGION

Magic is an important feature of the tribal society. The acts of magic are done in almost all tribal societies and these play an important role in the social system. The tribal man developed a devotion mixed with fear towards some supernatural forces, and it developed as religion. On the other hand, there were others who were not fearful of the supernatural forces. They tried to control those supernatural forces, and use them in accordance with their own desire. For it, they started to perform certain magical activities. Thus both religion and magic are related with the supernatural forces. It cannot be said which of the two came into existence earlier though Fraser, the renowned Anthropologist opines that the faith in religion has developed on the basis of magical beliefs. Therefore, magic may be treated as the foundation of religion.

Different anthropologist have expressed different views about magic, Malinowsky, defining magic in "magic, Science and Religion and other essays", writes that magic is purely an integrated whole of some practical activities which are used as means of fulfilling some purpose. In this definition, the practical activities are emphasized. It is a belief among the tribal people that when all other means fail in achieving the desired thing, only magic can achieve that.

Fraser takes magic as a pseudo science, and writes in his book 'The Golden Bough,' that magic is not only a collection of man's beliefs and behaviours, but it also exerts a pressure on nature on the basis of certain laws of cause and effect. In Fraser's opinion, magic is a powerful means to control nature. As such, magic is a group of certain techniques and methods for controlling the natural and supernatural forces.

The famous Indian Anthropologist, Dr. S.C. Dubey, while defining magic writes in his book "Mass and Culture" that magic is that particular force which can control the supernatural world and which can help man in using the activities according to his own desires, be it ominous or unominous, good or bad. Dr. Durbey's definition also makes it clear that magic is related to the supernatural world, and can enable man in controlling the supernatural forces which can be used by the magician to achieve required results, good or bad, depending upon the magician's conscience.

Thus magic is obviously a mechanism which fulfils human desires and needs. In this mechanism, the magician spells certain words and devises the goal in a drastic way. As

Malinowsky writes, the mechanism of magic mainly includes man as material object, affiliation to the magical laws, cognitive expression and transmission.

In tribal culture and society, magic and religion are inter-mixed with each other, so much so that it is quite difficult to distinguish between the two, because both magic and religion are related with the same supernatural forces. Both are related with mental tensions and cognitive expressions. In both the traditional cases knowledge is required. As for the aims, both intend to remove difficult situations from man's life. Besides, both are related with imagination. But despite all these similarities, there are certain differences too. The two are different types of social behaviour. The differences between religion and magic may be put as under :

Though both magic and religion are full of mystery, man considers religion as something superior to him and before which he stoops with devotion. But on the contrary magic is considered by man as something which is controllable.

Distinguishing between magic and religion, Durkheim writes that religion and religious activities are pious whereas magic and magical activities include a sense of unholiness in them. Religion is a social fact which is related with the belief of the social groups, whereas magic is a fully personal activity which is used for personal benefit or loss. The expression of religion is also in the form of a social force and social approval whereas that of magic is always solitary and objective.

There is one more striking difference between magic and religion. That is, magic is based only on a belief in some force beyond this world whereas religion is based on a belief in the supernatural forces as well as certain scientific and practical methods and techniques. It is the scientific and practical aspect of magic which sometimes takes it to science. That is why magic is called the bastard sister of science.

Magic and religion differ in their functions too. Magic may be exercised for both purposes, for personal profit, and others loss. But religion is practised for the advantage of both the practising person and others. Thus religion is positive in its nature, whereas magic is both positive and negative. The famous Sociologist, Piddington points out that in religion, the Gods and Goddesses are generally assigned human attributes, and then they are worshipped. This type of personification is not found in magic. In magic, the magician wants to control the supernatural forces without assigning to them any human forms.

Thus, it is quite obvious that if there are many similarities between magic and religion, there are differences too. As Fraser remarks, a diversity is seen in religious practices of the different parts of the world, but there are great similarities to be found in the magical practices

of the whole world. Malinowsky is right to point out that religion is an imaginative fight whereas magic is a product of practice. It is for this reason that dissimilarities are found in the religious practices of different groups, but there is a striking similarity in magical practices of the whole world.

QUESTIONS

1. Define Magic and distinguish between Religion and Magic.
2. What do you understand by Magic ? Explain the salient characteristics of tribal magic.
3. What is Magic ? Discuss its various types.

SUGGESTED BOOKS

1. Manav aur Sanskriti : S.C. Dubey
2. An Introduction to Anthropology : Beals and Hoijer
3. Social Anthropology : Majumdar and Madan
4. Races and Culture of India : D.N. Majumdar

TOTEM & TABOO : CHARACTERISTICS AND SIGNIFICANCE

TABOO

The tribes relate their 'gotra' to a particular natural object, birds, animals or other natural things and on the basis of these relationships, they give birth to different superstitions and ideas. This material object or bird or animal or any other natural object to which a particular tribe believes itself to be closely related, is called the totem of that tribe.

Totem is the symbol of the tribal lineage. In the tribal societies, it is used for the identity and representation of the gotra. The faith related to totem is called totemism. It was J. Long who used the term, "totem" for the first time in his studies regarding the Red Indian tribe in 1791. As a tribal institution, the importance of totemism was first recognised by Ja. F. Mc. Lennana. The term however, became popular only after the publication of Freud's "Totem and Taboo" in 1912. This institution is to be found almost in all the tribal societies.

Definitions :

Different anthropologists have defined the term 'totem' in different ways.

Hoebel defines it as "an object, often an animal or a plant held in special regard by the members of a social group, who feel that there is a peculiar bond of emotional identity between themselves and the totem."

S. Freud, trying to define it remarks, 'it is as a rule an animal (whether edible and harmless, dangerous and fearful) and more rarely a plant or a natural phenomenon such as rains or water, which stands in close relation to the whole clan.'

James Frazer in his book, "Totemism" defines totem as "a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect believing that there exists between him and every member of class an intimate, altogether a special relation."

Lastly, in the words of R.N. Mukherjee, "any material object or animal or bird, or any other phenomenon of nature with which a clan thinks of a mystic relation is called totem and all the ideas, beliefs and organisation associated with this totem is known as totemism."

Characteristics :

On the basis of the definitions of different anthropologists given above, certain characteristics of the institution, totem, are reflected and the study of totem will remain rather incomplete if these special features are not considered. For convenience, we may put different characteristics under the following points :

- (1) There is a peculiar holy and mystic relation of the different members of a particular clan with their totem.
- (2) The totem of a clan is the very symbol of that clan. The members of the clan take it as the representation of their clan.
- (3) A man or woman cannot be the totem of any clan. It is always some tree, bird, animal or any other natural object.
- (4) The totem is regarded by the members of the related clan as their ancestor. They, therefore, look upon it with reverence and love.
- (5) Totem is believed to be the protector of the related clan. It is the common belief among the tribal people that the protector of the clan or totem comes in dream to warn the members of some dangers and calamity, and that it makes prophecies.
- (6) Sometimes the name of the tribal clan or tribe is also after the name of the totem. In Kamuru tribe, for instance, there is a clan named 'Nagsori'. Even a person may be named after his or her clan. For example, Kasturi may be the name of some person; Kasturi is a bird which is the totem of some particular tribal groups of India.
- (7) In case, the totem of a clan is either a bird or an animal, the death of that bird or animal is believed to be unominous, often the indication of some major calamity or adversity.
- (8) The members of the clan often maintain some distance from their totem. The Mundas of Bihar avoid even the naming of their totem. So is the condition with Gujrat's Sodhina tribe which also maintains a distance despite all other respect and devotion to the totem.
- (9) Since there is a sense of respect and fear mixed devotion, the hunting and killing of the totem bird or animal is strictly prohibited in many tribal groups. None can eat the meat of the totem bird or animal in this way, but there are exceptions as well.
- (10) Those tribes whose main dish is meat are exempted from this prohibition. For instance, there is the Hopi Indian tribe of America and the Rabbit clan.
- (11) If the totem bird or animal is dead, it is buried with full reverence in accordance with the rituals of the tribal group. Its skin is kept with care as it is taken to be holy. The skin is often worn on certain occasions. The tribal people get the picture of the totem engraved on their body as a token of memory. The neglect of the totem in any way is taken to be a moral crime.

TOTEM & TABOO : CHARACTERISTICS AND SIGNIFICANCE

- (12) If the totem of a tribe is some cannibal or fierce animal, the tribal community believes that its members have no danger from the totem animals and they will not do any harm.
- (13) All the members whose totem is common, are believed to be blood related. They are kinsmen to each other, and may be identified by the engraved sign on the body of the members. Since they are inter-related, there is no marriage possible among the members of the same clan.
- (14) The tribes often perform certain religious and cultural activities which are related with their totem. In the Australian tribes, for instance, certain rituals are performed for the growth of the totem. As Freud observes, the tribes sometimes organise feasts in the memory of their ancestors. In such feasts, the members of the clan are permitted to eat even their totem bird and animals which is taken as a blessing on those occasions.

Significance of totems :

As R.N. Mukherjee has remarked, totemism is a peculiar combination of the religious elements and the social organisation. In this sense, totem is definitely a very significant and unique tribal institution. It has its solid grounds. The social importance of totems may be understood in the following way.

- (1) The totem gives the sense of sociability. It develops among the members of the same totem group the sense of collectiveness, co-operation, unity and fraternity. The members of the clan are often helpful to each other. It is the collective responsibility of the clan related with a particular totem to protect the members of the whole clan from outer dangers and attacks. In this sense, totem is an important agency to consolidate the tribal social organisation. Durkheim has rightly seen totem as the representative of collective life.
 - (2) Totem promotes the cause of marriage outside the clan. In this way, it controls marriage which is an important institution. Since the members of the same totem group are related like brothers and sisters, they cannot marry the members of the same clan. It is scientifically good.
 - (3) The concept of totem keeps the tribal people away from the several relationships with close relations. Thus, totem helps check moral corruption which is, no doubt, a positive aspect of the totem.
 - (4) Since the members of the whole clan bound to the same totem, have a sense of respect and devotion mixed with fear towards their totem whom they see as their
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guardian and ancestor, their behaviour is fairly controlled on account of this. As a result, the tribal society is saved from disintegrating; there can not be disorder due to the controlled behaviour of the members.

- (5) The concept of totem inspires in the tribal people a specific feeling towards the natural objects, birds and animals which are very integral to the environment they live in.
- (6) The institution of totem is the very identify of the tribal culture.

To sum up, there are so many other socio-cultural grounds also on which the concept of totem firmly rests. There may or may not be any solid scientific basis for this institution, but the meaningfulness of totem cannot be challenged at all. Lastly, we may reaffirm that totem is a unique tribal institution.

TABOO

Like totem, taboo or prohibition also plays a very significant role in the tribal socio-religious life. The term, taboo has been taken from Melanesian language, the language of the tribe which lies in the island north of Australia. The term, however, became popular particularly after Fraud's book. "Totem and Taboo" was published in 1912. According to Piddington, the term, "taboo" derived from the Melanesian word was often used by the north Australian tribe where there existed certain oral rules and restrictions for controlling the behaviours of the people.

As for the definition and nature of taboo, R. Piddington has expressed it most effectively. In his book "An introduction to Social Anthropology" he writes that the taboos hint at certain restrictions about which it is believed that if they are neglected, the unwanted results will automatically be created by some supernatural force. That means, the taboos are both social and religious in nature. It is the taboo's association with supernatural forces that differentiate it from law. Because those who break laws are punished by either society or some other authority recognized by it. The supernatural forces have nothing to do with that person. On the contrary those who violate the taboos are believed to be punished by only the supernatural forces. Besides if we probe into the nature of taboos, we find that they are oral. It is in the oral form that the taboos of prohibitions are carried from one generation to another.

TYPES OF TABOOS

Dr. D.N. Mazumdar talks of three types of taboos. These are

- (1) Productive taboos,
- (2) Protective taboos and
- (3) Restrictive taboos.

- (1) **Productive taboos** : This category of productive taboos includes all those taboos which are related to cultivation and husbandry. These taboos are related not only with protecting the crops and cattle, but also increase production. These are believed to consolidate the economy of the tribe.
- (2) **Protective taboos** : The protective taboos include those taboos which are related with the tribe's safety from outer dangers. For example, there are the taboos about not going to particular place, not touching something, not doing some particular work etc.
- (3) **Restrictive Taboos** : The category of restrictive taboos includes all such taboos which aim at checking someone from harming others. The woman who is under her 'period', can not touch sacred things is the restrictive-taboo.

Apart from the above classification, we may discuss three other types of taboos—

- (1) Taboos related with totems
 - (2) Taboos related with marriages, and
 - (3) Social taboos.
- (1) **Taboos related with totems** : There are certain taboos which are related with totems. For expressing a sense of reverence towards totem, the members of the clan have to follow certain taboos. These taboos aim at maintaining the holiness and significance of the totems. The taboos related with totems are to be found even in Indian tribes. There are different tribes which maintain distance despite all there reverence towards their totems. Likewise, the members don't utter the name of their totem; they cannot overlook their totem in any way. If the totem happens to be a bird or an animal, its hunting or killing is prohibited. This type of totems intend to consolidate the integrity and unity of the clan.
 - (2) **Taboos regarding marriages** : There are certain taboos which are related with the institution of marriage. It controls marriages both within the trube and outside it. This type of taboo intends to promote the inter-clan marriages. According to these taboos non can marry within the clan.
 - (3) **Social taboos** : Apart from such taboos which are related with totems and marriages, there are some other social taboos also which are quite in vogue in the tribal society. The social taboos aim at consolidating the social organisation, and controlling the behaviour of the members of the clan. The taboo that no sexual relation should be established within the clan falls under the same category. The taboos related within mutual physical contact and social behaviour of the members also fall under the same category.

In this way, the taboos may be classified into various types, but so far as the nature of taboos is concerned, it is definitely negative.

Grounds for the existence of taboos :

Like totems, taboos also exist in the tribal societies. After all there must be certain solid grounds for why the taboos are followed in the tribal societies. Riddiff Brown believes that the grounds are wholly social whereas Marguerate Meeth takes these grounds to be cultural ones. Brown holds the opinion that taboos act towards checking mutual conflicts within social organisation, so that the social organisation and social system can be maintained. In fact, the different taboos, prevalent in tribal societies, intend to check and restrain improper behaviour and thus to promote proper behaviour of the members of a particular tribal group. As such, the taboos are more of social significance than religious.

Meeth, on the other hand, has discussed the cultural importance of the taboos. In his opinion, the cultural characteristics of a particular tribal community are preserved in the taboos. Besides the social and the cultural grounds, Freud has written that taboos ensure the mental and social safety of the individuals of the tribal group.

Whatever be the ground for taboos being prevalent in tribal societies, at least this much is obvious that the taboos are the unique feature of the tribal culture. These are integral to the tribal life. The taboos seek to consolidate the social organisation, control improper behaviour, help the members of the group socialise, and preserve the special culture features of the tribal group.

THE INTER-RELATION BETWEEN TOTEMS AND TABOOS

Totem and taboos are equally prevalent in the tribal societies. Socially, both of them are quite important. Both aim at consolidation of the clan, Both try to restrain unwanted behaviour. Totems intend to check improper behaviour by means of predictions and warnings, whereas taboos do it by means of negative instructions. In both the cases, there remains the presence of some supernatural power which is believed to punish those who commit mistakes, who neglect the totem or taboo in any way. In this way, totems and taboos are inter-related.

After studying the taboos related with totems, the inter-relation between the two becomes even more evident. Though different types of taboos have been suggested by different anthropologists, the taboos related with totem are the most prevalent in the tribal societies. It is for this reason that the totem and the taboo are discussed together. Totems and taboos are so much interrelated that without totems, we cannot imagine how much the taboos are related with

them. For the so-called punishing authority in case of breaking taboos is itself related with the concept of totem. Both totems and taboos go side by side to increase the importance of the clan.

To conclude, the discussion regarding the inter-relation between totems and taboos, we may say that if totems are the flags of the clan, the taboos are that which intend to preserve the sanctity and significance of those flags. Chandrajeet Singh is quite right in this context when he says, if totems are theories, the taboos are the very grounds of their practice.

QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by Totems ? Discuss the social significance of totem in tribal life.
2. Define totem and discuss its role in tribal societies.
3. What is totemism ? Discuss its main types.
4. What do you mean by Taboo ? Discuss the reason of their prevalence.
5. Write an essay on Taboos among tribes.

SUGGESTED BOOKS

1. Totem and Taboo : S.Freud
2. Encycloepadia of Social Science : Golden Weises
3. An Introduction to Social Anthropology : R. Piddington
4. Man in the Primitive World : E.A. Hoebel

YOUTH ORGANISATION : ITS STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS

There are different social organisation in the tribal societies. The youth organisation or youth dormitory is one of those important social institutions. Different tribal societies use different names for youth organisations. 'Munda' and 'Ho' tribes of Bihar for instance, calls their youth organisation 'Geetiora'. The Gond tribe calls it 'Gotul'. The Konyak Naga tribe assigns different names to the male and the female youth organisations, 'Morung' and 'Yo' respectively. Likewise the Bhotia tribe, often found in Uttar Pradesh, calls its own organisation Rabbang. In Bihar, the Oraons call it 'Dhumkuria'. Obviously, the names of the youth organisation may differ from one tribe to another, but this type of organisation is found almost in every tribal society.

Dr. D.N. Mazumdar has given an apt explanation of the youth organisation. In this opinion, the tribal youth organisation is such an association which is set up under certain specific rules and which aims at fulfilling certain aims. In other words, we define the youth organisation as such an organisation in which the youth, either boy or girl, not only take shelter at night, but also get different sorts or training. These trainings include sex training, and the awareness of the tribal culture. The training regarding sex is that aspect of the organisation, which has caused misconception among the non-tribal people who take the organisation as a centre of luxury. But the fact is quite opposite to it. In fact, the youth organisation is a very useful institution. The anthropologists mostly agree on the point that the youth organisation is an integral part of tribal life.

Many tribal groups have separate youth organisations for boys and girls. But there are certain tribes that have combined youth organisations. Those tribes which have 'joint youth organisations, include Muria, Bhotia, Munda, Ho, Oraon and Gond. On the contrary, the Konyale and Memi tribes of Nagaland establish separate youth organisations for both the sexes. The Konyabs call the boy dormitory 'Morung' and the girl dormitory 'Yo'. Similarly, the Memi Nagas have 'Ekhoiyachi' and 'Eloyachi' names for the boy and the girl dormitories respectively.

STRUCTURE OF THE YOUTH ORGANISATION

The structure of the tribal youth organisation can be understood under the following heads :

- (1) The structure of youth organisation varies from tribe to tribe. The 'Dhumkuria' of the Oraons works in an ordinary house whereas Honingmen in his reserches found that

- the Pakistan Youth organisations are grand, enormous and well-equipped. Generally, a youth organisation has two rooms, be it ordinary or grand.
- (2) The sight of the youth organisation is also to be considered. While setting up a youth organisation, it should be out of the village. So, the youth organisation is generally situated at the border of the village. The Oraon's Dhumkuria is indeed an exception as it is situated in the middle of the village.
 - (3) All the unmarried youths of a tribe, from 5 years old onward, are members of the tribal youth organisation. As a member gets married, his or her membership expires. Membership is essential for every youth.
 - (4) The chief organiser of the youth organisation is generally a widow or a widower.
 - (5) The members of a youth organisation are often classified as senior members and junior members. In the Oraon tribe, 'Rasik' is the term used for a senior male member who is well aware of all the activities of the organisation.
 - (6) Though many tribes set up separate organisations for the boys and girls, even in the case of a joint youth organisation, there are different rooms for boys and girls to sleep.
 - (7) At the time of getting membership, generally some solemnisation is held. Once a person gets membership, he has to attend regularly.
 - (8) Those parents who do not permit or encourage their children become members of the organisation, are socially boycotted.
 - (9) It is the duty of the members of the organisation that the activities of the organisation be kept confidential. Those who publish them are punished.
 - (10) The essential finance for running the organisation is collected from the tribal families of the village.

FUNCTIONS OF THE YOUTH ORGANISATIONS

The youth organisation is an important multifarious institution of the tribal society. There are certain functions to be performed by the organisation, too glaring to be ignored. The members of the youth organisation ensure the safety of the villages or tribe. They go on collective hunting. They take part in different activities of the tribal community such as marriages, sowing and harvesting of crops, building houses. They also participate in different contests. The premises of the organisation is used by the community as guest house and otherwise on different occasions.

Besides, the Anthropologists often regard it as a centre of training and instruction. It imparts religious, practical and social training and education to its members. Sarat Chandra Ray finds four types of activities to be performed by the youth organisations. They are as follows:

- (1) **As an economic organisation :** The youth organisation works as an economic organisation. It participates in cultivation, house construction, cattle rearing and the like. Besides, it also saves the tribal people, their crops and cattle from the beasts.
- (2) **As an educational organisation :** As an educational organisation it trains the members in collective life. It makes them know their own tribal culture, tradition, customs, taboos and other activities including their practical problems. It helps the child to socialise.
- (3) **As a religious organisation :** As a religious organisation, it imparts information and instruction regarding various rituals, magic, religious aspects and totem. It tells them about their faith.
- (4) **As a recreational organisation :** The organisation serves as an important source of entertainment. Its recreational activities include games and sports, folk dance, songs, story-telling and the like.

To sum up, the above-mentioned functions are enough to clarify that the youth organisation is an integral part of the tribal life. It is the very foundation of the tribal life on which the future of the tribal youths depend.

QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by youth organization? Discuss the utility of youth organization in tribal societies.
2. Explain the organization and functioning of youth organization with suitable example.
3. Write an essay on youth organization.

SUGGESTED BOOKS

1. Adivasi Bharat : Yogesh Atal
2. Races and Culture of India : D.N. Majumdar
3. Manav aur Sanskriti : S.C. Dubey