

Study Guide

INTRODUCTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY

Code 9169

Units: 1-9



Department Of Gender & Women Studies
Faculty Of Social Science And Humanities
Allama Iqbal Open University
Islamabad

STUDY GUIDE

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3 Credit Hour

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

BS Gender and Women Studies program aims at to formalize many social scientists and researchers in gender and women issues. The discipline of gender and women studies in the department with its interdisciplinary methodology approach offers the students of AIOU an opportunity to explore a variety of gender related topics by studying various courses. Our programme indulges skilled professionalism and new students to explore new arena of gendered social milieu which may be look norm/natural in many other disciplines. Our courses formalize students to improve their knowledge and skill about the differences and similarities among genders in various societies and cultures. This course will provide a framework for analyzing diverse facts of human experience such as gender, ethnicity, language, family, politics economy and religious issues through anthropological perspectives.

This study Guide “Introduction to Anthropology” (9169) consists of nine (09) units. Each unit is structured in such a way that students can understand the basic topics covered in this study guide comfortably. The basic knowledge of the anthropology theories, principles and perspectives have been explained in such a way that students may get comprehensive knowledge of the discipline with clarity. Moreover, at the end and within most of the units, activities and self-assessment questions designed for self-learning of students are discussed.

We are grateful to Worthy Voce Chancellor and Dean Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities for the opportunities to prepare the study guide for the BS Gender and Women Studies program.

My special thanks go to all statutory bodies, unit writers, reviewers, editors and supporting staff in completing this academic task.

Atifa Nasir
Incharge/Assistant Professor
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Introduction of the Course

Dear Students,

Welcome to the course Introduction to Anthropology (9169). This 3 credit hour course comprises nine units. This study guide will introduce and familiarize you to the core concepts of the above-mentioned course.

This course is an introduction to the discipline of anthropology, which is a very broad discipline and presents a theoretical grounding in the four major subfields and research methods. Anthropology is both a scientific and humanistic endeavor that attempts to explain the differences and similarities between and among human groups. Through the study of different cultures, anthropology explores fundamental questions about what it means to be human. It seeks to understand how culture and individuals both shapes societies. This course will provide a framework for analyzing diverse facets of human experience such as gender, ethnicity, language, family, politics, economy, and religion.

Learning Objectives and Outcomes of the Course

1. To understand the subfield of anthropology along with the social institutions
2. To explain how culture and individual shape each other
3. What are the main research methods/ tools that are used in anthropology?

How to Study:

For studying material, you need to follow the given instructions

- This study guide presents an overview. You are encouraged to study at your own by studying the suggested readings given under each topic for preparation of assignments / exams. Since, BS Gender & Women Studies aims to prepare a lot of social scientists and researchers in gender and women issues. Thereby, being a researcher, the more you will equip yourself by studying available online materials, the more you will be aptly fulfilling the role of a social scientist and researcher and will successfully complete your degree.
- If you spend one hour daily to study your course, you will be able to complete your course in eighteen, 18 weeks.

- As soon as you are assigned tutors, you start working on your assignments. Try to contact your tutors if you need to understand any topic or call to GWS Faculty members (phone numbers are in your prospectus/on AIOU web) for guidance. Assignments are your personal notes, so always keep a copy with you before sending it to your tutor.
- In the mid/quarter of your study period, a workshop will be arranged for you, which is a compulsory component of your study. This workshop gives you more clarity about topics. You interact with your peers, internal and external resource persons in the workshop. Therefore, avail the best of information at the workshop and take notes of the lectures as well.
- Extensively use internet and Library for better understanding of the topics.

Tutors Guidance:

In distance learning system basically, the students have to study on their own. However, the university appoint tutors for the guidance of students. Part time tutors hold scheduled tutorial meetings online or in study centers established by the university. The students are required to regularly attend these scheduled meetings. Most probably in this course you will be assigned a correspondence tutor who not only checks your assignments, but you are also encouraged to be in contact (online) with the tutors for guidance regarding the course as it is convenient for both of you. The Regional Office as well as your tutor will inform you about the appointment of the tutor.

Assessment and Evaluation

According to university system your performance in the course will be evaluated through two modes that are:

- Home Assignments
- Final Examination
- You will be required to prepare two assignments for this course. The assignments are spread over course units and according to the schedule provided in your student kit and also on aiou.edu.pk Allama Iqbal Open

University website. Each assignment is to be submitted through post and as well as /uploading online through AGAHI portal for checking.

- The main objective of the assignments is to encourage you to study and appraise your performance. The tutor's assessment will guide you for the preparation of your next assignment.
- The marks obtained in assignments add up to the final examination. The papers for final examinations are prepared, based on the complete course. The final examinations are held in specified examination centers¹. For passing a course, one has to pass both the components of assessment and final examination.

Best wishes for your studies

Atifa Nasir
Course Development Coordinator/
Course Coordinator

¹ Can be arranged online as per AIOU policy

CONTENTS

UNIT 1	21
Introduction.....	22
Objectives	22
Learning Outcomes.....	22
1.1 Anthropology Definitions	23
1.2 Anthropology as an Integrative Interdisciplinary Discipline:.....	25
1.2.1 Biological/Physical Anthropology	27
1.2.2 Socio-Cultural Anthropology.....	29
1.2.3. Linguistic Anthropology	33
1.2.4 Archaeological Anthropology	34
1.2.4.1. Prehistoric Archaeology	36
1.2.4.2. Paleontology.....	37
1.3. Other Specialties of Sociocultural Anthropology	37
1.3.1. Urban Anthropology	38
1.3.2. Ethnolinguistics.....	39
1.4 Anthropological Theories	42
1.4.1 Evolutionism	42
1.4.2. Diffusionism.....	44
1.4.3. Historical Particularism.....	46
1.4.4. The Functionalist School.....	46
1.4.5. Culture and Personality School.....	48

1.4.6. Structuralism	49
1.4.7. Cultural Ecology and Neo-Evolutionism	50
1.4.8. Cultural Materialism and Marxist Anthropology	51
1.5. Anthropology And Other Disciplines	52
1.5.1 Relationship between Social Anthropology and Sociology	53
1.5.2. Relationship between Social Anthropology and History	55
1.5.3. Relationship between Social Anthropology and Political Science	57
1.5.4. Relationship between Social Anthropology and Psychology	57
1.5.5. Relationship between Social Anthropology and Economy	59
1.5.6. Anthropology and Earth Sciences	60
1.5.7. Anthropology and Medical Sciences	62
1.5.8. Anthropology and Life Sciences	65
1.5.9. Anthropology and Environmental Sciences	67
1.5.10. Anthropology and Literature	68
1.5.11. Anthropology and Folklore	69
1.5.12. Anthropology and Art	69
1.6 Self-Assessment Questions	71
1.7 References	72
UNIT 2	73
Introduction	74
Objective	74
Learning Outcomes	74

2.1 What is Culture: Basic Idea	75
2.2 Characteristics of Culture	78
2.2.1. Culture is Learned	79
2.2.2. Culture is Symbolic.....	80
2.2.3. Culture is Shared	81
2.2.4. Culture and Nature	82
2.2.5. Culture is All-Encompassing	83
2.2.6. Culture is Integrated.....	83
2.2.7. Culture Can be Adaptive and Maladaptive	84
2.2.8. Culture is stable and yet it Changes	84
2.3 Key Concepts Related to Culture.....	85
2.3.1 Ethnocentrism and Cultural Relativism	85
2.3.2. Ethnocentrism.....	85
2.3.3. Cultural Relativism	86
2.4. Components of Culture	87
2.4.1. Culture Traits (elements):	87
2.4.2. Culture Complex:	88
2.4.3. Culture pattern	88
2.5. Levels of Culture.....	88
2.5.1. Subcultures	89
2.6. Mechanisms of Cultural Change.....	90
2.6.1. Diffusion	90

2.6.2. Acculturation,	90
2.6.3. Independent Invention.....	91
2.7. Culture Region	91
2.7.1 Subcultures:	92
2.7.2. National Culture:	92
2.7.3. International Culture:	92
2.8. Some Important Concepts Related to Culture	93
2.8.1. Universality, Generality and Particularity.....	93
2.8.2. Universals and Generalities.....	93
2.8.3. Cultural Universals.....	94
2.8.4. Generalized Cultures	95
2.8.5. Localized Cultures.....	95
2.8.6. Culture Shock.....	96
2.9. Language and Culture	96
2.10 Self-Assessment Questions	96
2.11 References.....	98
UNIT 3	99
Introduction.....	100
Objectives	100
Learning Outcomes	100
3.1 Human Geography	101
3.2. History of Human Geography.....	102

3.4 Types of Human Geography	102
3.4.1. Economic Geography	103
3.4.2. Political Geography	104
3.4.3 Social Geography	104
3.4.4. Health Geography	105
3.4.5. Cultural Geography	107
3.4.6. Urban Geography	107
3.5. Growth of Urban Areas.....	109
3.5.1 Urban Areas.....	110
3.5.2. Urbanization	110
3.5.3. Land Use Patterns.....	111
3.5.4. The Functions of Cities	112
3.6. Geography of Population and Demography	112
3.6.2. Birth and Death Rates	113
3.7. The Study of Human Populations	114
3.7.1 Population Distribution.....	114
3.7.2 Population Density.....	114
3.8. Factors That Affect Population Distribution.....	116
3.8.2. Physical Features.....	117
3.9. Understanding Race and Ethnicity.....	117
3.9.1. Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide	120
3.9.2. Segregation.....	122
3.9.3. Pluralism.....	122

3.9.4. Assimilation	123
3.9.5. Amalgamation	123
3.10. Self-Assessment Questions	124
3.11. References	124
Unit 4	125
Introduction.....	126
Objectives	126
Learning Outcomes	126
4.1. Ethics and Methods	127
4.1.1. Informed Consent	128
4.1.2. The Basic Elements of Informed Consent.....	130
4.2. Method and Methodology Approaches and Perspectives	131
4.2.1. Research Methods, Techniques and Tools	132
4.3. Approaches of Anthropological Research	132
4.3.1. Comparative Method or Approach:.....	132
4.3.2. Cross-Cultural Comparison:.....	132
4.3.3. Historical Method:.....	133
4.3.4. Ethnographic Method.....	134
4.4. Anthropological Data.....	134
4.4.1. Primary and Secondary Data.....	135
4.4.2. Qualitative Data and Quantitative Data	135
4.5. Qualitative and Quantitative Research.....	136

4.6. Mixed Methods	137
4.7. Methods and Ethnographic Techniques in Anthropology	137
4.7. 1. Observation and Participant Observation.....	137
4.7.2. How can a Researcher Conduct Observation in the Field?.....	141
4.7.3. Uncontrolled Observation	141
4.7.4. Controlled Observation	141
4.8. Reflexivity.....	146
4.9. Genealogical Method.....	146
4.10. Key Informants	147
4.11. Emic And Etic Perspectives.....	150
4.12. Field Notes.....	152
4.13. Interview Conversations And Interviews.....	153
4.13.1. Different Types of Interviews	154
4.14. Self-Assessment Questions.....	155
4.15 References	156
Unit 5	157
Introduction.....	158
Objectives	158
Learning OutComes	158
5.1. Defining Marriage.....	159
5.1.1. Hypergamy and Hypogamy	160
5.2.1 Types of Marriage.....	161
5.2.3. Rules of Marriage.....	162

5.2.4. Marriage Payments.....	162
5.2.5. Incest and Exogamy	162
5.2.6. Endogamy.....	164
5.2.7. Caste	164
5.2.8. Marriage Across Cultures.....	165
5.2.9. Bride Wealth and Dowry.....	166
5.2.10 Divorce	168
5.3. The Concept of Kinship.....	170
5.3.1. Degree of Kinship:	171
5.3.2. Primary Kinship	172
5.3.3. Secondary kinship is also of two kinds	173
5.3.4. Tertiary Kinship	173
5.3.5. Kinship Diagrams.....	173
5.4. Anthropological Approach: Descent and Alliance	175
5.4.1. Descent	175
5.4.2. Alliance Approach	176
5.4.3. Lineage	177
5.4.4. Importance of Kinship in Rural Society.....	177
5.4.5. Kinship and its Relation to Rural Family, Property and Land:	177
5.4.6. Kinship and Marriage.....	178
5.4.7. Kinship and Rituals:.....	178
5.5. Definition and Types of the Family.....	179

5.5.1. Types of Family	180
5.5.1.1. Matriarchal Family	180
5.5.1.2. Patriarchal Family.....	180
5.5.1.3. The Joint Family.....	181
5.5.2. Functions of the Family	182
5.6 Self-Assessment Questions.....	183
5.7 References.....	184
UNIT 6.....	184
Introduction.....	186
Objectives	186
Learning Objectives	186
6.1 Definition of Religion.....	187
6.2 The Anthropological Study of Religion.....	189
6.3 Basic Elements of Religion.....	196
6.4. Categories of Religion	197
6.5. Aspects of Religion.....	198
6.7. The Function of Religion.....	201
6.8. Patterns of Belief.....	202
6.9. Elements of Religion.....	203
6.10. Religious Cosmologies	203
6.11. Belief in the Supernatural	205
6.11.1. Spirits	207

6.11.2. Gods	209
6.12. Rituals and Religious Practitioners	210
6.12.1 Rites of Passage.....	211
6.14 Religious Practitioners	212
6.15. Self-Assessment Questions.....	213
6.16. References.....	214
UNIT 7	215
Introduction.....	216
Objectives	216
Learning Outcomes.....	216
7.1 The Study of Gender and Sex.....	217
7.2. Rejecting Biological Determinism.....	222
7.3. Gender: A Cultural Invention and A Social Role	222
7.3.1 The Gender Binary and Beyond.....	223
7.3.2. Gender Relations: Separate and Unequal.....	225
7.4 Emergence of Public (Male) vs. Domestic (Female) Spheres	226
7.4.1. Sanctions, Sexuality, Honor and Shame	227
7.5 Gender and Sexuality.....	227
7.5.1 The Hunting Way of Life “Molds Man” (and Woman).....	229
7.6. New Directions in the Anthropology of Gender.....	231
7.7. Women in Anthropology	233
7.8. Masculinity Studies.....	235

7.9 Self-Assessment Questions	237
7.10. References	238
UNIT 8	239
Introduction.....	240
Objectives	240
Learning Outcomes	240
8.1. Language.....	241
8.2 Language in Anthropology	242
8.3 The Biological Basis of Language	243
8.4 The Gesture Call System and Non-Verbal Human Communication	244
8.4.1. Kinesics	245
8.5. The Structure of Language.....	247
8.6 Human Language Compared with Other Species	248
8.6.1. Hockett’s Design Features	248
8.7. Universals of Language	250
8.8 Language, Thought and Culture	251
8.8.1 Models of Language and Culture	252
8.8.2. Linguistic Relativity: The Whorf Hypothesis	253
8.9 Sociolinguistics	257
8.10 Gender Speech Contrasts	258
8.11. Globalization and Language	259
8.12 How is the Digital Age Changing Communication?	260

8.13. Self-Assessment Questions	262
8.14. References	262
UNIT 9	263
Introduction.....	264
Objectives	264
Learning Outcomes	264
9.1 Political Anthropology	265
9.2 Models Of Social Power	267
9.2.1 Fried’s Classification of Society	267
9.2.1.1 Egalitarian Societies.....	268
9.2.1.2. Ranked Societies.....	269
9.2.1.3. Segmented Societies	270
9.2.1.4. State Societies.....	270
9.2.2. Service’s Classification of Society.....	271
9.2.2.1. <i>Bands</i>	271
9.2.2.3. Tribes	272
9.2.2.4. Chiefdoms.....	272
9.2.2.5. Fried and Service on States	273
9.2.2.6 City States.....	274
9.3. Concepts Of Power	276
9.3.1. Political Power	276
9.3.2. Economic Power	277

9.3.3. Social and Ideological Power	277
9.4. Economic Anthropology	277
9.4.1 Modes of Production	279
9.4.1.2. Domestic Production	280
9.4.1.3. Tributary Production.....	281
9.3.1.4. Capitalist Production	282
9.4. Modes of Exchange.....	284
9.4.1. Reciprocity.....	284
9.4.2. Generalized Reciprocity	286
9.4.3. Balanced Reciprocity	286
9.4.4. Negative Reciprocity.....	288
9.5. Redistribution.....	288
9.6. Markets	289
9.7. Money	290
9.8. Economizing: The Formalist-Substantivist Debate	290
9.8.1. The Substantivists: Polanyi	290
9.8.2. Formalist – Substantivist Debate	292
9.9. Self-Assessment Questions.....	293
9.10 References.....	294

UNIT 1

WHAT IS ANTHROPOLOGY

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Reviewed by: Dr. Mamonah Ambreen

Introduction

Anthropology is the study of all aspects of humanity at all times. The unit in anthropology introduces the major areas including biological anthropology, archaeology, linguistic anthropology, socio-cultural anthropology and applied anthropology. Moreover, this unit sheds light on theories that are debated within anthropology. Additionally, the link of anthropology to other disciplines also makes a significant part of this unit for understanding and comprehension of the students.

Objectives

This unit aims at:

- introduce definition of anthropology and its various types
- examine different theories that relates anthropology
- explores the link of anthropology to other social science disciplines

Learning Outcomes

After reading the unit, you will be able to.

- define definition of anthropology and its various types
- debate theories related to anthropology
- discuss how various types of anthropology contribute to the discipline of anthropology and its types
- understand the relevance of anthropology with other social sciences

1.1 Anthropology Definitions

The word "anthropology" has been derived from two Greek words, anthropos (man) and logus (study or science). Anthropology is, thus, the science of man. This etymological meaning, of course, is too broad and general. More precisely, anthropology may be called "the science of man and his works and behaviour"². Anthropologists are interested in all aspects of the human species and human behaviour, in all places and at all times, from the origin and evolution of the species through its prehistoric civilizations down to the present situation. Anthropology' is less a subject matter than a bond between subject matters. It is part history, part literature; in part natural science, part social science; it strives to study men both from within and without; it represents both a manner of looking at man and a vision of man the most scientific of the humanities, the most humanist of sciences.

"Anthropology has traditionally attempted to stake out a compromise position on this central issue by regarding itself as both the most scientific of the humanities and the most humanistic of the sciences. That compromise has always looked peculiar to those outside anthropology but today it looks increasingly precarious to those within the discipline"³. "Anthropology is the study of humankind. Of all the disciplines that examine aspects of human existence and accomplishments, only Anthropology explores the entire panorama of the human experience from human origins to contemporary forms of culture and social life." According to American anthropological association Anthropology is the study of people throughout the world, their evolutionary history, how they behave, adapt to different environments, communicate, and socialize with one another. The study of anthropology is concerned both with the biological features that make us human (such as

² Eric Wolf, Anthropology, 1964.

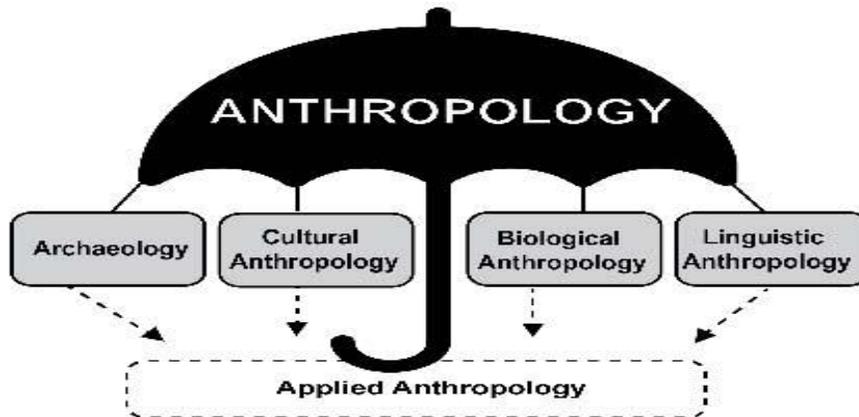
³ James William Lett. 1997. Science Reason and Anthropology: The Principles of Rational Inquiry. Rowman and Littlefield, 1997.

physiology, genetic makeup, nutritional history, and evolution) and with social aspects (such as language, culture, politics, family, and religion). Anthropologists are concerned with many aspects of people's lives: the everyday practices as well as the more dramatic rituals, ceremonies and processes which define us as human beings. A few common questions posed by anthropology are: how are societies different and how are they the same? how has evolution shaped how we think? what is culture? are there human universals? By taking the time to study peoples' lives in detail, anthropologists explore what makes us uniquely human. In doing so, anthropologists aim to increase our understanding of ourselves and of each other. "Anthropology demands the open-mindedness with which one must look and listen, record in astonishment and wonder at that which one would not have been able to guess".

Anthropology is the most humanistic of sciences and the most scientific of the humanities". The study of anthropology is the study of human beings: their culture, their behavior, their beliefs, their ways of surviving. Anthropologists study human behaviour not concerned with particular men as such but with men in "groups", with races and peoples and their happenings and doings. So, anthropology may be defined briefly as the "science of groups of men". Unlike many other subjects such as physiology, psychology, pathology, economics, sociology etc. each of which confines to one aspect only, Anthropology studies various aspects of man.

The physiologist studies the processes of life of an individual only. Similarly, the psychologist deals with the mental conditions of man. The pathologist investigates the pathological conditions or diseases of man. Economics deals with the household management and fulfillment of the needs of man or in the broad sense, production, distribution, and consumption of wealth. The sociologist discusses the social groups and institutions and their interrelationships and various social problems.

1.2 Anthropology as an Integrative Interdisciplinary Discipline:



With its holistic perspective, anthropology intersects the multiple approaches to the study of humankind, biological, social, cultural, historical, linguistic, cognitive, material, technological, affective, and aesthetic.

This inter disciplinaryity is integrated within anthropology as a whole and formalized in the four major fields that compose the discipline, archaeological, biological, linguistic, and sociocultural anthropology, although many anthropologists also conduct research across these fields.

Biological/ physical anthropologists are concerned with the physical and biocultural aspects of humans, including biological aspects of human health and wellbeing; micro-and macro evolutionary study of the human condition; relationships to other primates; human growth and development; pathology, mortality, and morbidity; and population genetics.

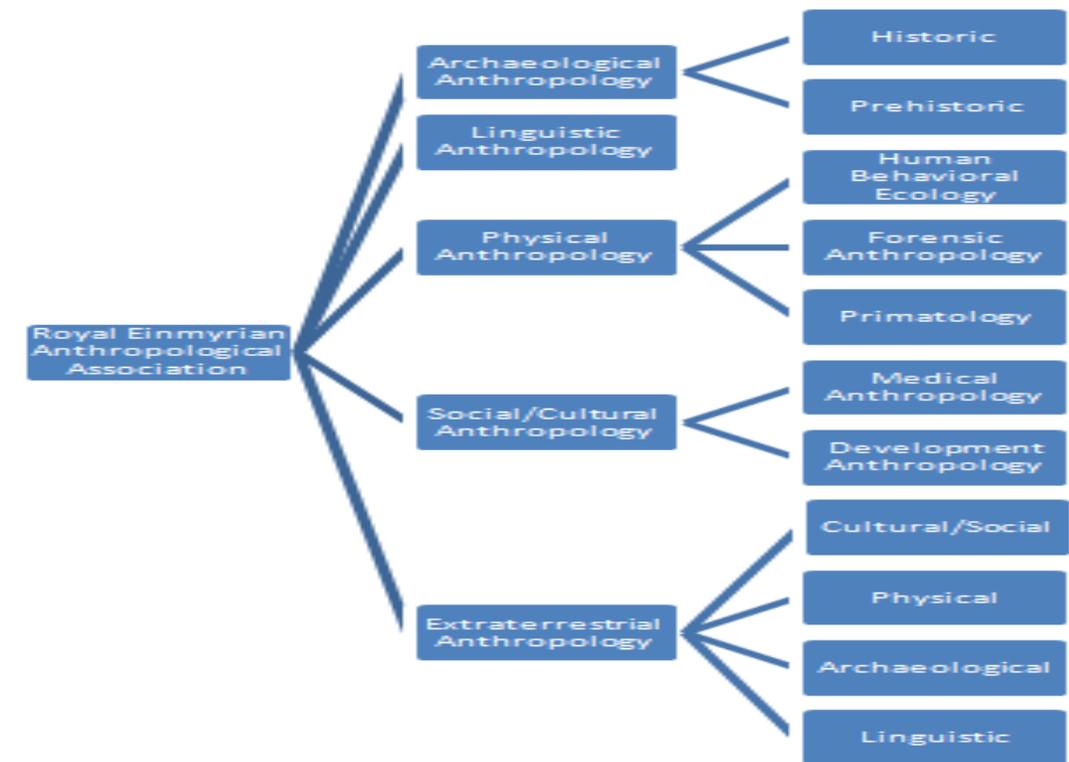
Sociocultural anthropologists are concerned with human social and cultural diversity and the bases of these distinctions, be they economic, political, environmental, biological; social roles, relationships, and social transformation; cultural identity; cultural dimensions of domination and resistance; and strategies for representing and analyzing cultural knowledge.

Linguistic anthropologists examine the history and structure of human languages, the relationship between language and culture, cognitive and biological aspects of language, and other symbolic forms and media of communication and reasoning.

Archaeological anthropologists are concerned with the evolution and historical changes to cultural and sociopolitical configurations, the materiality of human experience, and the stewardship and interpretation of cultural heritage.

Anthropology, therefore, transcends what are typically perceived as intellectual boundaries separating natural science, social science, and humanities. The four fields of anthropology areas

Are as under:



1.2.1 Biological/Physical Anthropology

Biological/ physical anthropologists seek to understand how humans adapt to different environments, what causes disease and early death, and how humans evolved from other animals. To do this, they study humans (living and dead), other primates such as monkeys and apes, and human ancestors (fossils). They are also interested in how biology and culture work together to shape our lives. They are interested in explaining the similarities and differences that are found among humans across the world. Through this work, biological anthropologists have shown that, while humans do vary in their biology and behavior, they are more similar to one another than different. Biological / physical anthropology deals mainly with can be distinguish in the following classification

- a. human biology
- b. Human evolution
- c. Human variation and
- d. Human genetics.

a. Human Biology

The Physical anthropologist studies human biology as he is interested in Homo sapiens alone. He studies man out of the vast range of creatures that claim the attention of the general biologists. Therefore, there is close relationship between the biological /physical Anthropology and the study of other living beings. The biological /physical anthropologist talks about the man's place in the animal kingdom by making a comparative study on the different groups of man and his near relations like apes, monkey, etc. whom we call primates.

b. Human Evolution

Another object of Physical Anthropology is to deal with human evolution. Like other creatures man is also a living organism. It is difficult to explain under what

conditions life had appeared on earth. But from the geological and paleontological evidence it has been known that the first living organism that had appeared on earth consisted of one cell only, which is known as a unicellular organism or amoeba. In course of time this simple homogeneous organism through the process of changes attained the heterogeneous form at various stages. Ultimately, a complex form of animal called man had emerged. All living forms of humanity today belong to the single genus and species of Homo sapiens.

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

c. Human Variation

The physical anthropologist after having studies the origin, development, and place of evolution of man focuses his attention on the study of the different varieties of man. Outwardly through they appear different, all men have some common characteristics and belong to the species - Homo-sapiens. However, it is generally found that the common hereditary does not resemble those of other groups in various ways. Each of these groups is designated as race.

d. Human Genetics

The methodology of biological /physical anthropology has now been changed. The days of descriptive stage are gone, and the analytical stage has taken its place. The classical biological /physical anthropology was mainly interested in the classification and not in the interpretation.

In recent times the attention of physical anthropologist has been diverted to genetics a branch of biology, which deals with descent, variation, and heredity. They now

study the blood types, difference in musculature etc. They also study the group differences in time of sexual maturation, in growth rates and various disease immunities. These studies have practical value, and the results may be used in various ways. The physical anthropologist studies also the influences of the natural environment on man and tries to find out whether the physical traits of man are affected by environment. Moreover, he studies the problems associated with physical changes, effects of food and mode of life on racial and physical characteristics.

Another aspect of study of biological /physical anthropology is demography which is directly related to fertility and mortality. There are various factors including heredity and environment that influence fertility and mortality. These are studied by the biological/ physical anthropologists. There is another subject called pedagogical anthropology which is directly concerned with education. In various educational fields pedagogical studies are utilized by many advanced countries. On the whole, the biological/physical anthropology is highly a specialized branch of anthropology.

1.2.2 Socio-Cultural Anthropology

There are almost as many definitions of culture as there are scholars. In order to understand culture, one must know the steps by which mankind has transformed itself from an instinct dominated anthropoid into a cultural adaptive human being. Cultural Anthropology deals with learned behavioral characteristics of the past, present, and future of human societies. Now, the main fields of studies under Cultural Anthropology are: Prehistoric archaeology, ethnology, and ethno-linguistics. Under ethnology again economic anthropology, social anthropology, ethnography, religion, art, musicology, recreation, folklore etc. are studied.

Sociocultural anthropologists explore how people in different places live and understand the world around them. They want to know what people think is important and the rules they make about how they should interact with one another. Even within one country or society, people may disagree about how they should speak, dress, eat, or treat others. Anthropologists want to listen to all voices and viewpoints in order to understand how societies vary and what they have in common. Sociocultural anthropologists often find that the best way to learn about diverse peoples and cultures is to spend time living among them. They try to understand the perspectives, practices, and social organization of other groups whose values and lifeways may be very different from their own. The knowledge they gain can enrich human understanding on a broader level. Sociocultural anthropology has many sub fields and some of them are being discussed her

1. Ethnology

Ethnology is another field of study under Cultural Anthropology. It made its appearance as a recognized branch in about 1840 and it developed very greatly during the next hundred years. It makes a comparative study of the cultures of the world and emphasizes the theory of culture. It is often called Cultural Anthropology and sometimes used as synonym for Anthropology also.

2. Ethnography

Ethnologic studies are essential for a cultural anthropologist to know the links between the different cultures and the principles guiding the socio-cultural systems. Ethnology includes in its fold Economic Anthropology, Social Anthropology, Religion, Art, Musicology and Recreation, Folklore etc. As a matter of fact, Ethnology interprets the facts on data collected through ethnographic studies, classifies them, and formulates principles with regard to the nature of human behaviour and the evolution and functioning of culture.

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

3. Economic Anthropology

The anthropologist studies under economic anthropology the different means of subsistence of man. He studies different features of production, distribution and consumption of material goods and their relationships with other aspects of the socio-cultural complex. It is a field that attempts to explain human economic behavior in its widest historic, geographic, and cultural scope. It is practiced by anthropologists and has a complex relationship with the discipline of economics, of which it is highly critical. Thus, the anthropologist studies what man produces, how he produces, what and how he consumes and what and how he distributes or exchanges. He also analyses how far the economic factors are responsible to the growth of socio-cultural system of a people. For the most part, studies in economic anthropology focus on exchange.

4. Political Anthropology

Since World War II and the consequent emergence of independent developing countries from the erstwhile empire holdings in Asia and Africa, the economics and political science have become actively interested in studying the indigenous cultures of these parts of the world. The study of primitive and the colonial system of politics has been undertaken since 1950. Political anthropology concerns the structure of political systems, looked at from the basis of the structure of societies. Contemporary political anthropology can be traced back to the 1940 publication *African Political Systems*, edited by Meyer Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard. Their goal was taxonomy: to classify societies into a small number of discrete categories,

and then compare them in order to generalize about them. The contributors of this book were influenced by Radcliffe-Brown and structural functionalism

5. Religion

It is a product of psychic reaction and adjustment of man to the supernatural world. Man could not explain why there exist the earth, the sun, the moon, the stars, fire, water, air, other etc. Man, also did not know what the causes of storm and thunder were, earthquake and volcano, drought and floods, life, and death, etc. He most often questioned why man suffers from diseases. Similarly, he was curious about many other natural phenomena. These made him think and believe that there were some supernatural powers in the background by the action of which these phenomena had come into being. Thus, religious ideas and beliefs seemed to have arisen out of these situations. Man believed that of these supernatural powers, some were benevolent and some harmful. So, he did some magico-religious performances in order to propitiate those powers. With these were associated some rituals which represent the various techniques that are applied as a means of controlling or influencing the supernatural world. These techniques were generally used by some specialists called shamans and priests who were known as religious practitioners. The shaman deals with spirits. He may have power either to cure or to do harm. The priest worships gods for the welfare of men and acts as an intermediary between gods and men. Thus, the anthropologists study the varieties of rituals connected with different beliefs and practices found among different groups of people living in different parts of the world and how they are related to their day-to-day activities which make them survive peacefully.

6. Art, Musicology, Recreation

By adapting to the natural, social, and supernatural environments in order to satisfy his biological, social, and spiritual needs man wants to undertake such other

activities as would give him some satisfaction and relaxation. That is why man took to art and recreation such as songs and dances, folk tales, poetry, play, art, and various other intellectual pursuits. With a view to improving the standard of life man takes to spiritual pursuits like morality, nurses, and values of life. So, the cultural anthropologist includes these topics to make a comparative study.

7. Folklore

Folklore may be treated as one of the branches of Cultural Anthropology. But it has also been treated as a separate discipline. It is a science "which deals with the survivals of archaic beliefs and customs in civilized peoples. It embraces everything relating to ancient observances and customs, to the notions, beliefs, traditions, superstitions, and prejudice of the common people. But also, folk tales, songs, legends, myths, proverbs, riddles, folk music and folk dance as well as folk drama belong to the sphere of folklore".

While for a whole century (1860 to 1960 roughly) political anthropology developed as a discipline concerned primarily with politics in stateless societies, a new development started from the 1960s, and is still unfolding: anthropologists started increasingly to study more "complex" social settings in which the presence of states, bureaucracies and markets entered both ethnographic accounts and analysis of local phenomena.

1.2.3. Linguistic Anthropology

Linguistic anthropology' is an interdisciplinary field dedicated to the study of language as a cultural resource and speaking as a cultural practice. Anthropologists study the history of language, the way languages change over time and across cultures, and how languages shape human behavior and social life. Linguistic anthropology is an interdisciplinary field dedicated to the study of language as a cultural resource and speaking as a cultural practice. It assumes that the human

language faculty is a cognitive and a social achievement that provides the intellectual tools for thinking and acting in the world. Its study must be done by detailed documentation of what speakers say as they engage in daily social activities. This documentation relies on participant observation and other methods, including audiovisual recording, annotated transcription, and interviews with participants. As an interdisciplinary field, linguistic anthropology has often drawn from and participated in the development of other theoretical paradigms. Some of its own history is reflected in the oscillation often found among a number of terms that are not always synonyms: linguistic anthropology, anthropological linguistics, ethnolinguistics, and sociolinguistics. Its main areas of interest have changed over the years, from an almost exclusive interest in the documentation of the grammars of aboriginal languages to the analysis of the uses of talk in everyday interaction and throughout the life span (Duranti ,1997, Foley 1997). This article provides a brief historical account of linguistic anthropology, and highlights important past and present issues, theories, and methods.

1.2.4 Archaeological Anthropology

Archaeological anthropology is the study of past humans and cultures through material remains. It involves the excavation, analysis and interpretation of artifacts, soils, and cultural processes. Like detectives, archaeological anthropologists work to reconstruct the daily lives of past cultures by studying what's been left behind. To them, things like unearthed weapons, pots, tools, and even decayed bones give clues into past people groups and cultures. However, unlike detectives, archaeological anthropologists aren't looking for lost treasures for the reason of just finding lost treasures; they are more like historians - they seek them in order to find feasible explanations for how past cultures functioned, changed, and eventually ceased to exist. In a sense, this makes archaeology the cultural anthropology of the past. Archaeology is also related to biological anthropology in its use of the same

methods in excavating and analyzing human skeletal remains found in archaeological sites. Wild and domesticated grains have different characteristics, which allow archaeologists to distinguish between gathering and cultivation. Examination of animal bones reveals the ages of slaughtered animals and provides other information useful in determining whether species were wild or domesticated. Unlike historians, who usually only deal with societies that have left written records, our archaeological anthropologists reach further back in time to prehistory, the time before written record. For instance, while a historian will study ancient Greece by reading the works of men like Aristotle, our archaeological anthropologist might very well go further back in time, uncovering pottery and paintings from the even more ancient Greek island of Crete. Archaeology is similar to anthropology in that it focuses on understanding human culture from the deepest history up until the recent past. It differs from anthropology in that it focuses specifically on analyzing material remains such as artifact and architectural remnants. Archaeologists study human culture by analyzing the objects people have made. They carefully remove from the ground such things as pottery and tools, and they map the locations of houses, trash pits, and burials in order to learn about the daily lives of a people. They also analyze human bones and teeth to gain information on a people's diet and the diseases they suffered. Archaeologists collect the remains of plants, animals, and soils from the places where people have lived in order to understand how people used and changed their natural environments. The time range for archaeological research begins with the earliest human ancestors millions of years ago and extends all the way up to the present day. Like other areas of anthropology, archaeologists are concerned with explaining differences and similarities in human societies across space and time.

The historical reason for this archaeological tradition in this part of the world has to do with the origins of anthropology. Franz Boas, the founding father of anthropology as a science, envisioned a holistic approach for a better understanding

of cultural variation and cross-cultural comparisons. Archaeology as anthropology has received wonderful feedback from cultural anthropology, physical anthropology, and linguistics anthropology. For a better understanding of past societies, it is compulsory to have broad perspective of contemporary societies (actually, evolution, as a theory, relies on geological events that occurred in the past, and only are understood in the present).

Anthropological archaeology is concerned with daily life activities, status in the past, ecological adaptations, evolution of technology, and political economic changes. This academic tradition has opened the door to ethnoarchaeology, geoarchaeology, zooarchaeology, and paleoethnobotany. With these interdisciplinary intersections, archaeology reinforces anthropology as a science with all capital letters. Diverse anthropological events around the world and during distinct epochs can be compared by cross-cultural studies.

Archaeology contributes to anthropology in a unique way: the study of diachronic and long-term processes that all the other social sciences do not have. Geography, sociology, political sciences, cultural studies, and even history all rely on historical sources. Anthropological archaeology relies on material culture. The focus is the study of ancient populations, as complex or simple as they were. They use both qualitative and quantitative methods and analyze different social strata by combining bottom-up and top-down perspectives. Also, archaeology has the opportunity for addressing agency, identity, ethnicity, and gender roles. There are two subfields of archeology as under;

1.2.4.1. Prehistoric Archaeology

It is now a specialized branch of sociocultural Anthropology. The prehistorians with their pick and shovel have been contributing much to get the firsthand knowledge about the extinct peoples and their cultures and the past phases of living peoples. They enlighten us with how the prehistoric people coped with the natural

setting by making tools and implements, weapons and other necessary equipment in order to serve their biological and psychological needs such as food, clothing, art etc. Prehistoric archaeology has also been helpful in finding out the sequence of culture and dating the past by adopting the various methods such as Stratigraphy, Radio-carbon methods, etc.

1.2.4.2.Paleontology

There is another scientific discipline called paleontology which is closely associated with prehistory and helpful to make a study on the extinct races from their fossilized forms. It tells us how the modern races have evolved from those extinct fossil races. In order to satisfy his wants and to live by adjusting with the natural environment, man had to make some material objects such as tools and implements, weapons, utensils, clothes, houses, canoes etc. This is called the material culture of the people. The study of the techniques of making these objects of material culture is known as technology. This aspect of culture in the past is being studied with the help of Prehistoric Archaeology.

1.3. Other Specialties of Sociocultural Anthropology

It has been coined by Sol Tax. According to him an action anthropologist is to study the processes of change in the society and help the people to overcome the adverse effects of change and guide planning in such a way that the people do better in the process of change. Though it is an offshoot development from applied anthropology, it does not stop with the humanistic study as an applied anthropologist does with the natives and minority peoples. Rather, the action anthropologists involve themselves intimately with anthropological problems and pursue their studies in a context of action. In such a study, the distinction between the pure research and the applied research generally disappears.

The anthropologist accepts a problem as his own and proceeds through trial-and-error method. Applied or practicing anthropologists are an important part of anthropology. Each of the four subfields of anthropology can be applied. Applied anthropologists work to solve real world problems by using anthropological methods and ideas. For example, they may work in local communities helping to solve problems related to health, education, or the environment. They might also work for museums or national or state parks helping to interpret history. They might work for local, state, or federal governments or for non-profit organizations. Others may work for businesses, like retail stores or software and technology companies, to learn more about how people use products or technology in their daily lives.

Some work in the Pakistan while others work internationally. Jobs for applied anthropologists have shown strong growth in the recent past with more and more opportunities becoming available as demand grows for their valuable skill sets. While anthropologists devote much of their attention to what human groups share across time and space, they also study how these groups are different. Just as there is diversity in the ways people physically adapt to their environment, build, and organize societies, and communicate, there are also many ways to do anthropology. Unique approaches to anthropology developed in many countries around the world. For example, in some countries the four-field approach is not as strong as it is in others. Anthropologists from across the globe work together through international organizations to try and understand more about our lives as humans

1.3.1. Urban Anthropology

Urban Anthropology came to grow as a distinctive area of study in Anthropology in recent times. It is a subset of anthropology concerned with issues of urbanization, poverty, urban space, social relations, and neoliberalism. The field has become consolidated in the 1960s and 1970s. Although some anthropologists studied ethnic

populations in urban settings since the beginning of this century, urban anthropology in fact was started as special study since 1967 when there broke out riots in some cities of the United States. The urban anthropologists are trying to bring the unique attributes of anthropology to the study of urban cultures in contemporary cities. Urban anthropology is heavily influenced by sociology, especially the Chicago School of Urban Sociology. The traditional difference between sociology and anthropology was that the former was traditionally conceived as the study of civilized populations, whilst anthropology was approached as the study of primitive populations. There were, in addition, methodological differences between these two disciplines-sociologists would normally study a large population sample while anthropologists relied on fewer informants with deeper relations.

As interest in urban societies increased, methodology between these two fields and subject matters began to blend, leading some to question the differences between urban sociology and urban anthropology. The lines between the two fields have blurred with the interchange of ideas and methodology, to the advantage and advancement of both disciplines.

1.3.2. Ethnolinguistics

Another branch of Cultural Anthropology is the Ethnolinguistics which is highly specialized. Ethnolinguistics (sometimes called cultural linguistics) is a field of linguistics which studies the relationship between language and culture, and the way different ethnic groups perceive the world. It is the combination between ethnology and linguistics. The former refers to the way of life of an entire community, i.e., all the characteristics which distinguish one community from the other. Those characteristics make the cultural aspects of a community or a society.

It is the study of human speech and of the various dead and living languages and dialects of the different groups of people of the world. By studying these anthropologist tries to find out the origin and development of the languages and their interrelationships. Then they are classified. The linguist also helps to unveil the men's past and the diffusion of their culture. In the American universities there is a growing trend to establish independent departments of ethnolinguistics. As a science the study of language is somewhat older than Anthropology. The two disciplines become closely associated in the early days of anthropological fieldwork, when anthropologists took the help of linguistics to study unwritten languages. An example is the way spatial orientation is expressed in various cultures. In many societies, words for the cardinal directions east and west are derived from terms for sunrise/sunset. The nomenclature for cardinal directions of Inuit speakers of Greenland, however, is based on geographical landmarks such as the river system and one's position on the coast. Similarly, the Yurok lack the idea of cardinal directions; they orient themselves with respect to their principal geographic feature, the Klamath River

Linguistic anthropologists argue that human production of talk and text, made possible by the unique human capacity for language, is a fundamental mechanism through which people create culture and social life. Contemporary scholars in the discipline explore how this creation is accomplished by using many methods, but they emphasize the analysis of audio or video recordings of “socially occurring” discourse that is, talk and text that would appear in a community whether or not the anthropologist was present. This method is preferred because differences in how different communities understand the meaning of speech acts, such as “questioning,” may shape in unpredictable ways the results derived from investigator-imposed elicitation, such as “interviewing.” Linguistic anthropologists explore the question of how linguistic diversity is related to other kinds of human

difference. Franz Boas insisted that “race,” “language,” and “culture” are quite independent of one another. For instance, communities of Pygmy hunters in East Africa are biologically and culturally distinct from neighboring cultivators, but both groups share the same Bantu languages. Yet, as mentioned above, the Puebloan peoples of the U.S. Southwest share a common cultural repertoire, but they speak languages that belong to four different and unrelated families.

The approximately 6,000 languages spoken in the world today are divided by historical linguists into genealogical families (languages descended from a common ancestor). Some subgroups such as the African Bantu languages (within the Niger-Congo language family), which include hundreds of languages and cover an enormous geographic area are very large.

The question of why one language expands and diversifies at the expense of its neighbors was particularly critical at the beginning of the 21st century, when a few world languages (notably English, Spanish, and Chinese) were rapidly acquiring new speakers, while half of the world’s known languages faced extinction. Applications of linguistic anthropology seek remedies for language extinction and language-based discrimination, which are often driven by popular ideologies about the relative prestige and utility of different languages. Linguistic anthropologists study the many ways people communicate across the globe. They are interested in how language is linked to how we see the world and how we relate to each other. This can mean looking at how language works in all its different forms, and how it changes over time. It also means looking at what we believe about language and communication, and how we use language in our lives. This includes the ways we use language to build and share meaning, to form or change identities, and to make or change relations of power. For linguistic anthropologists, language and communication are keys to how we make society and culture.

1.4 Anthropological Theories

Over the years, we can see the development of different schools of thoughts in the discipline of anthropology. Some important schools are the school of evolutionism, the historical particularism, the diffusionism, the culture and personality school, the French structuralism, the cultural ecology and neo-evolutionism, the postmodern school, and the feminist anthropology. The section of this unit concentrates on the main themes of these schools.

1.4.1 Evolutionism

The main protagonists of the theory evolution are Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin. In general, the term evolution represents the process of gradual development. This is the process through which simple things, over the time, become complex. The English naturalist Charles Darwin, in his extraordinary classic titled ‘On the Origin of Species’ depicted the evolution of the biological organisms existing in the world. This work was published in 1859. This landmark work immensely influenced the then scientific community of that time.

Another scholar Herbert Spencer (also known as an evolutionist and his works had huge influence in the American and the British Sociology) applied this theory to his explanation of the development of the society. According to Munch (1994; 35): “He combined the philosophical utilitarianism of his British compatriots Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill with the organicism and evolutionism blossoming in his own days because of striking success of Darwin’s evolutionary theory in biology”. Though Spencer’s theory had a huge influence during his lifetime, just after his death, these theories faced huge criticisms from the scholars of the new age. But the idea of evolutionism dominated for many years. Other than Darwin and Spencer, scholars like Tylor, Morgan, Bastain, Rrazer and some others are also considered as evolutionists.

The protagonist, Darwin is mainly considered as a naturalist. Herbert Spencer is more renowned as a sociologist. The two evolutionists who were regarded as anthropologists are the British anthropologist E. B. Tylor and the American anthropologist L. H. Morgan. They are considered as the founders of the nineteenth century evolutionism. E. B. Tylor's famous contribution titled 'Primitive Culture' was published in 1871. He got influenced by the revolutionary philosophical development of the nineteenth century. He was influenced by the works of Charles Darwin also. If we concentrate on the world history of that point of time, we shall find out that in that particular era, English people were mainly concentrating on expanding their political territory through massive colonialism. As a result, many people like the travelers, explorers, businessmen, missionaries, and several officials of the Government were visiting the different parts of the world. Tylor took the help of these people in preparing his thoughts and writings. Tylor (1903; 1) gave an innovative all-embracing definition of culture:

“Culture, or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the society” (Tylor,1903; 1).

Tylor proposed the idea of unilineal evolution. According to him, a society's evolution is unidirectional, and it passes through three different stages one after another: the savagery, the barbarism, and the civilization. Tylor also proposed an evolutionary theory of the origin of religion. He defined religion as the belief in spiritual beings (Langness, 1974; 23).

The other important proponent of evolutionism is Lewis Henry Morgan. His most prominent work titled 'Ancient Society' was published in the year of 1877. “Morgan was interested in the evolution of a number of specific things. He listed them as follows: Subsistence, Government, Language, the Family, Religion, House

Life and Architecture, and Property”. For example, in terms of the evolution of the family, by examining the Hawaiian society, Morgan anticipated that human beings of the past used to live in the ‘primitive hoards’ where they used to practice unregulated sexual behavior and as a result, people could not identify their own fathers. After that there came brother-sister marriage and group marriage in a chronological order. Then there came the matriarchal society, and the last form of family is the patriarchal one where men took the charge of economy and politics. There is no doubt that in its time, evolutionism got huge appreciation as a school of thought and as a result, we get a good number of thinkers following this school. But later, with the entry of new thinkers in the field of anthropology, this school faced huge criticisms. Firstly, it was established by the critics that the evolutionists like Spencer, Tylor and Morgan did not go for extensive systematic fieldwork rather their works are mostly the results of secondary data and philosophical speculations. In fact, the origin of ‘race theory’¹ in anthropology can be traced back to this evolutionism school. Race theorists were influenced by evolutionism (Ember, Ember and Peregrine, 2011; 18). Thirdly, this unilineal evolution was also criticized for its simplistic nature. It talks about a one directional single-lined development. All the societies in the world may not follow this unilineal developmental pattern. This is an oversimplification of the realities. Even after these criticisms, evolutionists can be credited for introducing systematic thinking in the field of anthropology and these thinking helped the next generation anthropologists to get advanced in their endeavors.

1.4.2. Diffusionism

Haviland, Prins, Walrath and McBride (2011; 579) defined diffusion as ‘the spread of certain ideas, customs, or practices from one culture to another’. Diffusionism as an anthropological school of thought started growing in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries (Ember, Ember and Peregrine, 2011; 20). Among the

diffusionists, there are mainly two different schools: the British school and the German school. The British diffusionists like G. E. Smith and W. J. Perry were experts in Egyptology and they proposed that every aspect of the civilization (from technology to religion) actually originated from Egypt and later it got spread in the other parts of the world.

One of the most prominent scholars of German diffusionism was Father Wilhelm Schmidt. Just like the British diffusionists, the German diffusionists also believed that men are in general uninventive and try to borrow from the other cultures. But the German diffusionists did not believe that there is only one origin of culture (like Egypt). They believed that there used to be several cultural centers and cultural diffusion occurred from these different cultural circles. This German view of diffusionism is also known as *Kulturkreise* which means cultural circles.

Another diffusionist school was the American one led by Clark Wissler and Alfred Kroeber. Kroeber believed that diffusion always creates some change in the receiving culture. Like the other schools of thoughts, the diffusionists also faced a lot of criticisms. Firstly, it could not come out of the ethnocentric ideology that some cultures are better than the others. Thus, again, the inherent inferiority of the non-Western people got highlighted by them (Scupin and DeCorse, 2012; 283). Secondly, they could not give any convincing explanation of the fact why some cultures do not show any sign of the culture origins (like Egypt). Thirdly, though they take diffusion as an inevitable process, anthropologists found that ‘societies can adjoin one another without exchanging cultural traits.

1.4.3. Historical Particularism

In the development of anthropological theories, another prominent school after evolutionism is the school of historical particularism. The pioneer of this thought is the German born American anthropologist Franz Boas who is also regarded as the father of American anthropology.

Boas' contribution was noteworthy as he logically criticized the ethnocentrism of evolutionism. He was also a serious critique of armchair anthropologists before his time. He highlighted the importance of fieldwork and over his lifetime he made several fieldtrips. He conducted research on the Eskimos living in the Northern Canada and the Kwakiutl Indians in the North-west Coast.

According to Boas, the societies cannot be categorized as 'savage' or 'civilized'. This approach follows a kind of belittling. Rather than following a 'nomothetic' (considering several cases at a time) approach, he encouraged the anthropologists to follow an 'idiographic' (dealing with particular/ specific cases) approach (Langness, 1974; 57). This is the basis for his thought of 'historical particularism'. According to him, each culture of each society has its own uniqueness, and the society has its own distinctive historical development. That is why he introduced the concept of 'cultural relativism' and invited the anthropologists to disregard the prevailing ethnocentric views. Boas was a dynamic anthropologist who worked almost in all four subfields of anthropology. He emphasized heavily on the fieldwork method. Though Boas made several fieldtrips in his lifetime, later, he was criticized for not staying in those fields for a prolonged period.

1.4.4. The Functionalist School

The functionalist school had huge influence on the disciplines like sociology and anthropology. Ember, Ember and Peregrine (2011; 21) mentioned that functionalism 'looks for the part (function) that some aspects of culture or social life plays in maintaining a cultural system'. The base of functionalist theories was the organic theories.

By comparing the society with the biological organisms, it was said that just like a living body, the society also has different parts that are interrelated and each of these parts has some specific functions to be performed. The pioneers of sociology like Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim were the main proponents

of the structural functionalist school. In anthropology, the main scholars of this school are A R Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski. Both of them are regarded as the leading ethnographic researchers of all time.

Radcliffe-Brown is recognized as a structural functionalist. His most prominent work was based on the Andaman Islands situated in Southeastern Asia. Radcliffe-Brown conducted his ethnographic study among the Andaman Islanders from 1906 to 1908. Radcliffe-Brown focused on the issue of how the society works. According to him, a society has several institutions like economic, social, political, and religious. These institutions ensure solidarity and work for integrating the society as a whole. Radcliffe-Brown concentrated on the social structure and suggested that ‘a society is a system of relationships maintaining itself through cybernetic feedback, while institutions are orderly sets of relationships whose function is to maintain the society as a system.

Radcliffe-Brown suggested that all norms for specific behaviors and obligations among different people in the kinship relationships promote order and stability. Thus, to Radcliffe-Brown, these social institutions serve society’s needs” (Scupin and DeCorse, 2012; 285). Another famous functionalist Bronislaw Malinowski suggested the existence of functionalism from a psychological perspective. According to Malinowski, ‘all cultural traits serve the needs of individuals in a society; that is, they satisfy some basic or derived needs of the members of a group’. He did his phenomenal anthropological research on the Trobriand Islanders. He found that these islanders have belief in magic and in case of dealing with high level of uncertainty, uncontrollability, and insecurity, they rely on magical techniques in order to ensure some psychological support (Scupin and DeCorse, 2012).

Malinowski concluded that ‘individual has needs, both physiological and psychological, and cultural institutions, customs and traditions exist to satisfy them’ (Scupin and DeCorse, 2012). The functionalist scholars were always criticized

because of their lack of attention towards change and historical processes. Their too much emphasis on structure, harmony and stability ignores the need for change in the society.

1.4.5. Culture and Personality School

Boas' followers Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead were the founders of the Culture and Personality school. This school highlighted that personality patterns are dependent on different socialization practices. Culture is a reflection of the personalities of its members.

In her famous masterpiece titled '*Patterns of Culture*' published in the year of 1934, Ruth Benedict analyzed the Plains and the Pueblo societies (the native American Indian societies). She characterized the Plain people as 'Dionysian' (representing war, violence, use of alcohol and drugs, self-torture) and the Pueblo people as 'Apollonian' (representing gentleness, cooperation, harmony, tranquility, peacefulness) (Scupin and DeCorse, 2012; 234). Scupin and DeCorse (2012) commented that: "In Benedict's analysis, the culture of a particular society can be studied by studying the personality of its bearers. The patterning and configuration of a particular culture is simply reflected in an individual's personality".

The prolific writer and famous scholar Margaret Mead worked on Samoan and New Guinea people. Her famous work titled '*Coming of Age in Samoa*' published in 1928 was a revolutionary work that concluded that the development of an individual depends on the cultural expectations rather than the biological traits. By analyzing the behaviors of different genders in these three tribes, Mead found that gender traits are not biologically but culturally determined. She found that the Arapesh were the mountain dwellers and in their society both men and women possessed the so-called feminine traits like cooperation, sensitivity, and passivity. Again, in Mundugumor (the cannibal and headhunter tribe) also both men and women possessed similar characteristics but, in this case,

both were having the so-called masculine characteristics like aggressiveness, insensitiveness, assertiveness and jealousy. Finally, in the Tchambuli, men used to possess female traits like submissiveness, emotion etc. whereas women possess male characteristics like dominance, assertiveness, and managerial qualities

1.4.6. Structuralism

Another influential school in anthropology is the structuralist school. According to Klages (2006; 31) structuralism is ‘a way of thinking that works to find the fundamental basic units or elements of which anything is made’. In anthropology, the main scholar of structuralism is the famous French anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss. He studied on kinship. He suggested that if anyone tries to understand kinship, it cannot be understood by studying a single-unit family consisting of father, mother, and their children. Rather, this single-unit family is a unit of a larger kinship system which is generally considered as secondary. Other than the kins like father, mother, son and daughter, there are other kins like grandfather, grandmother, uncles, aunts, cousins, nephew, niece and others.

Kinship is to be analyzed in the context of this greater structure. Kinship can only be understood when it will be treated as a part of the larger whole. He also worked on myths. Tyson (2006; 209) commented that: “The existence of structural similarities among seemingly different myths of different cultures was one of Levi-Strauss’s particular areas of interest”. He analyzed the common features/themes of the different versions of the myths and classified them in groups. He named these bundles as ‘mythemes’. From these, he found that human mind fundamentally thinks through binary oppositions. Hegel’s prominent issues of thesis, antithesis and synthesis are present here. He found that myths deal with the binary oppositions, i.e., thesis and antithesis and finally looks for reconciliation through synthesis. According to him, the structure of savage mind was similar to the civilized mind. He was interested in the universal model of mind and looked for this universal

structure for everything. Thus, his thinking was ‘synchronic’ in nature rather than ‘diachronic’. Lévi-Strauss was criticized because of focusing on human mind only. According to many scholars, his theories are difficult to understand. Specially, the postmodernists do not believe in this universality.

1.4.7. Cultural Ecology and Neo-Evolutionism

After the Second World War, the highly criticized issue of evolutionism again got a momentum by some new anthropologists. This school of thought is termed as neo-evolutionism. The main theorist in neo-evolutionism was Leslie White. He tried to highlight the factors like energy use and technology as the main causes of cultural evolution and change. According to him, the cultural change depends on the per capita use of energy in a year. If this per capita energy use increases, change happens. For example, in the hunter and gatherers society, people only used human energy and could not use any other energy. In the agricultural society, people could use their own energy plus the energy of animals and plants. As a result, cultural change happened. In the modern industrialized societies, people are using diverse sources of energy. As a result, there was a huge transformation in culture. The more complex the use of technology, the more complex becomes the cultural development.

Another important theoretical development was termed as the ‘cultural ecology’. It is also called as ecological anthropology. Its main proponent was Julian Steward. Steward classified evolutionism suggested by different scholars at different times into three categories. The first one is the unilineal evolution that is suggested by Tylor and Morgan. The second one is the neo-evolutionism suggested by Leslie White. Steward termed it as universal evolution as Leslie White, in his theory, did not focus on any particular/individual culture and used the term culture in a broad sense (Ember, Ember and Peregrine, 2011; 22). According to Ember, Ember and Peregrine (2011; 22), Steward ‘classified himself as a multilineal evolutionist: one

who deals with the evolution of particular cultures and only with demonstrated sequences of parallel culture change in different areas’.

Steward mentioned that ‘a social system is determined by its environmental resources. the main idea of cultural ecology is ‘to determine whether cultural adaptation toward the natural environment initiate social transformations of evolutionary change’. Steward emphasized the ‘interrelation among the natural conditions in the environment – rainfall, temperature, soils – and technology, social organization, and attitudes within a particular sociocultural system’

1.4.8. Cultural Materialism and Marxist Anthropology

Cultural materialism was proposed by Marvin Harris who refined the ideas of Leslie White and Julian. Steward. It seeks to explain the organizational aspects of politics and economy and the ideological and symbolic aspects of society as a result of the combination of variables relating to the basic biological needs of a society”. According to the cultural materialists, the socio-cultural systems can be divided into:

- a. Infrastructure: ‘... the technology and practices used for expanding or limiting the production of basic resources such as food, clothing, and shelter (Scupin and DeCorse, 2012; 288).
- b. Structure: It constitutes the domestic and the political economy. The domestic economy includes family structure, domestic division of labor, age and gender roles and the political economy includes political organizations, class, castes, police, and military (Scupin and DeCorse, 2012; 288).
- a. Superstructure: It includes philosophy, art, music, religion, ideas, literature, sports, games, science, and values (Scupin and DeCorse, 2012; 288)

Karl Marx also highlighted the issue of materialism. It is said that Marx was influenced by the evolutionist Lewis Henry Morgan's works. Marx has also shown a kind of social evolution. He said that society has evolved through different stages like the tribal, the Asiatic, the feudal and lastly the capitalist stage (Scupin and DeCorse, 2012; 288). According to Roseberry (1997; 27): "The starting point of Marx's materialism was the social, conceived as material. Individuals within the social collectivity were seen as acting upon nature and entering into definite relations with each other as they did so, in providing for themselves". Anthropological theories also got influenced by the thoughts of Karl Marx. Marxist anthropology came up as a theoretical perspective. Marx's theory is also representing a form of materialism as 'it emphasizes how the systems of producing material goods shape all of society' (Scupin and DeCorse, 2012; 288).

1.5. Anthropology and Other Disciplines

Today anthropology has become a broad-based study much more than any other scientific discipline as it has to deal with a wider variety of problems. Anthropology includes a broad range of approaches derived from both natural and social sciences. The place of social anthropology in relation to other social sciences is discussed here. Social anthropology has close relationship to these social sciences. It shares its subject-matter with many other disciplines, but it does not restrict itself to the problems of other disciplines.

A distinction is that it studies mainly in small-scale societies and cross-culturally whereas the other specialized social sciences study mostly in advanced and complex societies. Social anthropologists more than the social sciences need to have acquaintance with some of the concepts and methods of a number of other subjects. Because they have to study unfamiliar societies in a holistic way and investigate the several dimensions of their social and cultural life. A mark

difference is that they study mainly simple and small-scale societies and confront the problems of society differently from the related specialist-subjects in confronting the same kind of problem in complex societies

1.5.1 Relationship between Social Anthropology and Sociology

Sociology is a science of society that studies human behavior in groups. Anthropology is a science of man and studies human behavior in social surroundings. Thus, it is clear that the subject matter of sociology and social anthropology is common to a great extent. Sociology and anthropology have highly influenced each other. Hoebel states that sociology and social anthropology in their broadest senses are one and the same. Evans Pritchard takes social anthropology as a branch of sociological studies that devotes to primitive societies. Radcliffe-Brown suggests that anthropology be renamed Comparative Sociology. Concerning the tendency in the United States, Levi-Strauss wants to regard sociology as a special form of anthropology.

Even though social anthropology and sociology share an interest in social relations, organization and behavior, there are important differences between these two disciplines. John Beattie (1964: 29) points out the difference in the area of study. He writes,

" ...sociology is by definition concerned with the investigation and understanding of social relations, and with other data only in so far as they further this understanding, social anthropologists, although as we have seen they share this concern with sociologists, are interested also in other matters, such as people's beliefs and values, even where these cannot be shown to be directly connected with social behavior. In brief, social anthropologists are cultural anthropologists as well for example, people's religious and

cosmological ideas do not necessarily reflect their social system, though it has sometimes been assumed that they do. And even where such relationships can be established, the anthropologist's interest in people's ideas is by no means exhausted when these connections have been pointed out. He is interested in their ideas and beliefs as well as in their social relationships, and in recent years many social anthropologists have studied other people's belief systems not simply from a sociological point of view, but also as being worthy of investigation in their own right."(P:29).

Initially sociologists focus on industrial West; anthropologists, on non-industrial societies. Social systems studied by anthropologists are usually face-to-face in relation. It is true that a great deal of sociological research has been done in small groups, but these have usually been small groups in larger societies and not groups which are more or less coterminous with the whole society. This concern with social systems that are small in scale has led to a particular concern by social anthropologists with the idea of totality, the notion that societies are wholes, or at least can be studied as if they were.

Different methods of data collection and analysis emerged to deal with those different kinds of societies. To study large scale complex societies, sociologists use questionnaires and other means of gathering masses of quantifiable data. Sampling and statistical techniques have been basic to sociology. Traditional ethnographers studied small-scale societies without written records. One of their key methods is participant observation - taking part in events one is observing, describing, and analyzing. In addition, social anthropologists have mostly worked in unfamiliar cultures. That is why in anthropological field work, a sound knowledge of the language of the community being studied is indispensable for a people's categories of thought and the forms of their language are inextricably bound together.

Sociologists usually suggest means for improvement along with its study. In comparison, the study of anthropology is more neutral, and the anthropologists do not offer suggestion.

Interdisciplinary collaboration is a hallmark of academic life today with ready borrowing of ideas and methods between disciplines. Among contemporary societies which are neither primitive nor industrially advanced, of which India may be taken as an example, distinction between the two disciplines has little meaning. Both carried out studies on caste system, village communities, industrialization, globalization, inter-city life, etc. Again, anthropologists and sociologists share an interest in issues of race, ethnicity, social class, gender, and power relations in modern nations including the United States, China, Russia etc.

1.5.2. Relationship between Social Anthropology and History

The historians are more interested in particular sequences of past events. Anthropologists are centrally interested in understanding the present conditions of culture or community which they are studying. But the two disciplines have a close relationship. Both history and ethnography (the empirical description of a people on which the cross-cultural comparison technique is applied for the extraction of anthropological theories) are concerned with societies other than the one in which the researcher live. Whether this otherness is due to remoteness in time, or to remoteness in space, or even to cultural heterogeneity, is of secondary importance compared to the basic similarity of prospective. The historian or ethnographer enlarges a specific experience to the dimensions of a more general one, which thereby becomes accessible as experience to men of another country or another epoch. And in order to succeed, both historian and ethnographer must have the same qualities: skill, precision, a sympathetic approach, and objectivity (Levi-Strauss 1963: 17).

John Beattie⁴ (1964) mentions that history may be important to social anthropologists; not only as an account of past events leading up to and explaining the present, but also as a body of contemporary ideas which people have about these events, what the English philosopher Collingwood aptly called 'encapsulated history'. People's ideas about the past are an intrinsic part of the contemporary situation, which is of immediate concern to the anthropologists, and often they have important implications for existing social relationships.

About the fundamental difference between the two disciplines, Levi-Strauss also writes that it is not on the subject of study or goal or method because, they share the same subject, which is social life; the same goal, which is a better understanding of man; and, in fact, the same method, in which only the proportion of research techniques varies. They differ, principally, in their choice of complementary perspectives: history organizes its data in relation to conscious expressions of social life, while anthropology proceeds by examining its unconscious foundations.

Although historians use documentary evidence infrequently available to anthropologists, and anthropologists employ first-hand observation rarely possible for historians, both are concerned with the description and understanding of real human situations, and they use whatever methods are available and appropriate to this purpose. Like historians, a social anthropologist brings out a general interpretation. Both anthropologist and historians attempt to represent unfamiliar social situations in terms not just of their own cultural categories but in terms of the categories of the actors themselves.

⁴ *Other Cultures: Aims, Methods and Achievements in Social Anthropology*. By John Beattie. London: Cohen & West, 1964. Pp. xii, 283. 32s.

1.5.3. Relationship between Social Anthropology and Political Science

Political science developed to investigate particular domain of human behavior. It also works mainly in modern nations. In small-scale societies where social anthropology grew up, politics generally do not stand out as distinct activities to separate analysis, as they do in modern society. Rather they are submerged or embedded in the general social order. There is no formal authority figure. People generally follow orders of their kin rather than formal leaders. Studying political organizations cross-culturally, anthropologists find out a wide range of various political and legal systems. It is found that legal codes along with ideas of crime and punishment, means of resolving conflicts vary substantially from culture to culture.

In this way, political anthropology, a late specialization of anthropological research, attempts to transcend particular political experiences and doctrines. It studies man as homo politicus and seeks properties common to all political organizations in all historical and geographical diversity. It studies various institutions and practices that constitute the government of men and the systems of thought and the symbols on which they are based. Thus, political anthropology is seen as a discipline concerned with 'archaic' societies in which the state is not clearly constituted and societies in which the state exists and takes on a wide variety of forms. It confronts the problem of the state's origin and earliest forms. It also confronts the problem of segmentary societies without a centralized political power. In this way, political science, the discipline which is mainly concerned with the political sphere of modern nation differs from social anthropology.

1.5.4. Relationship between Social Anthropology and Psychology

Like sociologists and economists, most psychologists do research in their own society. Anthropology again contributes by providing cross-cultural data.

Statements about human psychology cannot be based solely on observations made in one society or a single type of society. The area of social anthropology known as psychological anthropology studies cross-cultural variation in psychological traits. Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and others attempted to find out different patterns and psychological traits among different cultures.

Both social anthropology and psychology deal with the same basic subject matter, people in relation with other people. Psychology is mainly concerned with the nature and functioning of individual human minds. Social anthropology is more keenly interested in the study of various forms and structure of groups and organizations. Its unit of study is society. It tries to find out types of society, their function, structure, origin, and development. But psychology is not basically interested in the society and their forms. It is interested in the study of individual's behavior. Broadly speaking social anthropology studies the culture and social system in which the individuals live rather than the individuals themselves. But the individual and society cannot exist separately of each other. Thus, the subject matter is almost the same but with the difference in emphasis.

Regarding the importance of psychology in social anthropology, John Beattie (1964) states, "In fact every field anthropologist must be, to a considerable extent a practicing psychologist, for a main part of his job is to discover the thinking of those people whom he studies, and this is never a simple task. Ideas and values are not given as data; they must be inferred, and there are many difficulties and dangers in such inferences, especially when they are made in the context of an unfamiliar culture. It may well be that there is much to be learned about the less explicit values of other cultures (as well as about those of our own), especially about the kinds of symbolism involved in ritual and ceremonial, through techniques of depth psychology. But a word of warning is necessary. The incautious application in unfamiliar cultures of concepts and assumptions derived from psychological

researchers in western society may lead - and indeed has led - to gross distortions. The Oedipus complex, for example, is something to be proved, not assumed, in other cultures. Nevertheless, it is likely that as psychologists increasingly work in cultures other than their own profitable collaboration between them and social anthropologists will take place”.

1.5.5. Relationship between Social Anthropology and Economy

Economics is one of the oldest and theoretically most sophisticated disciplines in comparison to anthropology. But, like other social sciences, economics developed to investigate particular domains of human behavior and work mainly in advanced societies. In small-scale societies wherein the anthropologists mainly study, there may not be distinct economic transaction as found in the advanced societies.

The subject matter of economics has been defined as economizing - the rational allocation of scarce means (resources) among alternative ends (uses). In the west, the goal of maximizing profit - the profit motive is assumed to guide economic decision making. Studying cross-culturally, the anthropologists find variation in the motivations. Anthropologists know motives other than the desire for personal gain for making economic decisions in different cultures. And, in recent decades, fewer social-cultural anthropologists have tried to borrow some general ideas from economics; others strongly feel that it would be irrelevant to explain economic behavior of small-scale (pre-industrial) societies in terms of formal economics which were developed for the industrial societies.

Economic anthropology classifies the diversity of economic systems into different types at different technological levels. Anthropologists find such categories as hunter-gatherer or band economics, pictorial economies, hoe and forest cultivators, sedentary cultivators and so.

Some of the economic systems of small-scale societies may be found strange and without formal economic value to an economist. If the people happen to be hunters and gatherers, the notion of hard work is likely to be misinterpreted. In western culture, hunting is a sport; hence, the men in food-foraging societies are often misperceived as spending virtually all of their time in recreational pursuits, while the women are seen as working themselves to bone. To understand how the schedule of work or demands of a given society is balanced against the supply of goods and services available, it is necessary to introduce a non-economic variable - the anthropological variable of culture (Haviland, 1994:417). From this perspective social anthropologists differ from economists, for the economists study the economic behavior and institution in purely economic terms whereas the social anthropologists analyze this sphere of human society in relation to non- economic considerations such as social, religion and polity.

1.5.6. Anthropology and Earth Sciences

Anthropology and Earth Sciences have intimate relationship. The earth sciences include geology and human geography. Archaeology is closely linked to geology in analyzing the archaeological sites and in dating the past and finding out the chronological sequence. Anthropology, cutting across the barriers of time and space, naturally takes interest in men past especially prehistoric past. Thus, archaeologists may be seen serving as the 'historians' among anthropologists involved in the cultural reconstruction of man's past. Till sometimes back the term prehistory or prehistoric archaeology has been popular. Unlike a socio-cultural anthropologist, an archaeological anthropologist cannot observe human behavior and culture directly but reconstructs them from material remains like pottery, tools, cave/rock paintings, ruins of shelter, ornaments and so many other materials remain that survive the wear and tear of climatic factors. To recreate man's past without

any written record is not an easy task. It is like a jigsaw puzzle. Interpretation of what went on in the past requires a lot of imagination and common sense.

To discover, analyze and interpret their finds archaeological anthropologists have to take the help of geologists, human geography and a host of other specialists. When one digs deep into the earth one cannot do without geology. When you date the past, you require the help of human geography and others. But despite all this inter-disciplinary collaboration, the archaeological anthropologist shall always remain handicapped at least on one count. He will never be able to know as to what speech or language the prehistoric man was using. Still, reconstructing the past shall remain an anthropological preoccupation. Before launching a proper and planned investigation of the prehistoric anthropology of a selected area or region, it is quite important to study the past geography and climate besides geology. We have a fairly good account of the present-day climate and geography of the world. But both these phenomena underwent drastic changes since the time when "man the tool-maker" first appeared in the beginning of Pleistocene epoch till to date the entire world over.

Hence a thorough knowledge of these changes is a matter of concern to pinpoint sites and settlements which formed the above of human groups, and their movements in search of animal and plant food. Such meaningful and objective assessment of the climatic conditions of the past mainly through geological deposits of different types and their impact on the life activities of prehistoric communities particularly with regard to their psycho-social development can be achieved with the assistance and association of a competent professional climatologist. Geology, the science of earth's crust, provides the law of stratigraphy which as the foundation of our knowledge of chronological order of facts with the position and nature of each stratum containing prehistoric remains furnishes information as to the relative antiquity of the finds as well as the strata. Further, the interpretation of the finds

can be objectively done only when one explains the manner of the deposition of different layers. The archaeological strata formed by the effects of geological processes and mechanisms can help us in understanding the environment existed in the past.

As stone is the most imperishable material, it has been extensively used in the manufacturing of tools and weapons by prehistoric communities of different times. The knowledge of different rock types in relation to different prehistoric cultures is very essential in all prehistoric investigations. For all these things it is necessary to depend on the geologist apart from the prehistoric archaeologist who possesses a fairly good idea of these aspects. Pedology, the science of soils, is another potential field with which prehistory is related. The analysis of the soil is not only used in dating but also in understanding the manner of the formation of deposits as well as about the environment at the time of their formation. With the help of the pedologist it is possible to know whether the deposits were natural or man-made because it is these deposits, if at all artificial, which contain remains of ancient people.

1.5.7. Anthropology and Medical Sciences

Much of the development of medical anthropology has occurred since World War II. The beginning of major anthropological involvement in medical problems was clearly reviewed by Caudil (1953, 'Applied anthropology', in *Anthropology Today*, Edited by A.L. Kroeber, Chicago; University of Chicago Press, PP 771-806) in his landmark paper on applied anthropology in medicine. But, even at that time, involvement of anthropologists and other social scientists in health programme and medical research has changed considerably and there has been a marked increase in the input of social scientists in medicine and medically related areas.

In recent times, there was a spurt in ethno-medical studies particularly among rural and tribal communities (e.g., Choudhury 1986, 1990). Medical anthropology, in

fact, is one of the main areas where a holistic bio-cultural approach is called for. Basically, quite a few things are common in anthropology and medicine. In the proper study of mankind, anthropology aims at discovering man as a human being, so it should be the case with a physician. He should make a human approach to the patient if he is to remain useful to them.

As a student of anthropology, we put more emphasis on the groups. We are particularly concerned about the study of human beings within the framework of a culture. Culture, in the simplest words may be defined as a set of beliefs and behaviours shared by a group of people. It is the culture that provides people with a way of perceiving the world at large and with the ways of coming into terms with the problems they face. This includes their attitudes about the body and ways in which a person should be treated when ill.

Obviously, people with different culture orientations and experiences have different notions with regard to the concepts of disease cure, treatment, and have different expectations from the physician. If this communication is impeded, the purpose of the physician is defeated.

Thus, e.g., in simple societies seven main types of disease concepts may be recognized. There are:

- I. Sorcery or Magic: Accidents, stumbling etc., among the Australian aborigines as among many other simple people. Death is never regarded as due to natural causes but is always ascribed to sorcery. Diagnosis, treatment, and prognosis are done by traditional medicine men as counter magic.
- II. Breach of taboo: The "Voodoo death" where the victim dies of a shock is scarcely distinguishable from true wound shock. Expiation of offence can be done by a traditional medicine man using some magical acts.

- III. Disease - object - intrusion: Entrance of foreign object may be caused by human/ super-human agency. It carries some spiritual essence which is the real cause of the illness. Object may be a pebble, splinter of wood or bone, a hair, an insect, a lizard or a worm. Extraction is the only curative measure.
- IV. Spirit intrusion: Disease, caused by a spirit, ghost or a demon intrusion. There are 3- curative measures.
 - a. exorcism - ejection by conjuration,
 - b. mechanical extraction, and
 - c. transference
- V. Exorcism is nearly always practiced together with one or both of the other methods.

Soul or Body (organ) loss: Among the Australian aborigines the abstraction of the kidney fat is held to be a common cause of disease. It may be removed by sorcery which may lead to death. Diagnosis and prognosis are done by divination and curative measures are suggested accordingly.
- VI. Dreaming: In the pacific and in the Southwestern areas of North America, one may dream that one has eaten poisoned foods or that an animal has entered one's body and fallen ill shortly afterwards.
- VII. Independent occurrence: These kinds of diseases can be treated with domestic remedies.

This knowledge about the various concepts of disease and healing in various communities is very essential for a medical practitioner. Anthropological studies provide such information to us. With regard to the direct relationship between anthropology and health, it may be specifically noted that cultural anthropology has exercised a remarkable influence upon the fields of psychiatry and psychosomatics, and many other forms of diseases. Malinowski (1948) developed the theory of culture in terms of the operating basic and derived needs of the organism.

It appears that the structure of the ego is largely determined by the manner in which these basic needs are satisfied. The function of the ego is to secure adequate satisfaction of basic and secondary needs to maintain the organism in equilibrium. When needs are not adequately satisfied, there is a failure of ego-integration, and psychic-dis-equilibrium of one sort or another results. Similarly, anthropologists had known since long that feelings and somatic functions are closely related.

Accordingly, they had been advocating for psychosomatic Medicine that has been recognized as a branch of Medicine only recently. Psychosomatic functions are culturally organized. Further, Margaret Mead's *Coming of age in Samoa* (1928) demonstrates that stresses and strums during 'adolescing' are largely the consequences of cultural factors peculiar to particular societies. Even otherwise, health cannot be given to the people, nor can it be bought or sold as a commodity. It invariably calls for people's active participation (e.g., lifestyle, food, attitude towards various medical systems). Thus, anthropology can assist more clearly and satisfactorily in identifying the health needs, and in clarifying factors influencing acceptability and utilization of health services and can also assist in showing how these health needs can be most appropriately solved.

1.5.8. Anthropology and Life Sciences

Anthropology is closely related to several of the natural sciences for example: Zoology - in terms of the relationship to other animals and the overall places of the human species in the process of evolution. Biology- in terms of the evolution of humans from early pre-human forms; Anatomy and Physiology- in its concerned with the structure of the human body, the relationship of the various parts and the operation or function of these different parts Genetics - concern with variation in the world to-day Anthropology studies the physical characteristics of man.

It uses the general principles of biology and utilizes the findings of anatomy, physiology, embryology, zoology, paleontology and so on. Although it is related to the biological sciences like anatomy, physiology etc., it does not restrict itself to the study of "contemporary average man". Rather it is interested in the comparative study of man considering the past, present, and even future. Actually, physical anthropology is more elaborate and detailed than biology. For instance, when a zoologist tries to understand the biology of an animal, he never goes into the details of the length and breadth of the skull. Physical anthropology examines the skull in all its details. Thus, anthropology has a sort of specialization or sharpening of certain aspects of general biology. Still another special feature of anthropology is that it is concerned only with limited and restricted study of the human species. It never moves beyond the study of humans. Anthropology considers the human species as a biological entity. Some anthropologists are concerned primarily with the past forms of Pre-human and early human species, an area of study known as fossil man. Others concentrate on the similarities and differences between the various primate species, which include not only human, but apes and monkeys as well. This area of study is called primatology. A third area, known as the study of human variation, or anthropological genetics, deals with contemporary as well as historical variations among populations of humans. It is concerned with questions such as the adaptation of a group of people to a specific climate, the natural immunity of some peoples to certain disease.

1.5.9. Anthropology and Environmental Sciences

Scientists of different disciplines have increasingly become interested in the study of different aspects of environment. Anthropologists are no exception to this. As a matter of fact anthropologists always attach great importance to environment, because man is regarded as product of interaction between heredity and environment. Man as an organism is grown and developed in conformity with both

physical and social environment. If he cannot meet the challenge or adapt to his environments, especially physically, man will die and would have been extinct since prehistoric times. Many creatures have been found to have become extinct being unable to bear the rigors of the environment. Being equipped with cultural means in coping with nature, human beings have been able to adjust to variety of environments including even the polar areas. As they had to depend upon their biological qualities only without having any cultural equipment, the other creatures could not live in the adverse environment and so their living is not so widespread in the world. Man, on the other hand, could alter the environmental conditions by means of his culture and making it favorable to serve his needs. If there is dearth of water, man can dig well or pond and get water. If the habitat is full of jungles and forests, man clean the jungles and forests by his tools and implements and make it suitable for agriculture. By domestication of plants, he can have variety of fruits and others. With the materials available in the surroundings man can build house to have a settled life. But, however, man has to depend partly on physical environment and natural resources as he cannot make him absolutely free from influences of environment. That is why different cultures have taken shape in accordance with different environments. Thus, environment and culture have close relationship. Friedrich Ratzel, a German anthropo-geographer had opined that natural setting plays a great role in shaping the ways of life of the people, but his followers emphasized that environment determines man's way of life and sponsored the theory of geographical determinism. According to the environmentalist's man is subservient to environment and culture. The contribution of environment which determines the ways of man's living natural resources, climate, geographical situation not only control the material cultural activities but also determines the development of industry, commerce, religion, social systems, and civilizations also.

The students of cultural anthropology maintain that the way in which a human group adapts to a particular environment is not determined by its geographical features alone but is also influenced by various other forces like technological, biological, psychological, historical which play on culture. In the small state of Swat in North -Western Pakistan among the three ethnic groups, one was found to have recourse to both agriculture and pastoralism combined. So, it is found that each human society exploits equipment to serve their different needs. Further, it has been observed that although the Eskimos of northernmost North America and the Chukchi of Siberia face rigors of arctic climate. Their cultures are different. Again, culture may be the same in different environments. In the West cultivation is generally undertaken in the plain areas and the same is found on the hills also.

The Assamese people in the Brahmaputra valley do rice cultivation. From the above example, it can be concluded that no single factor can determine the ways of life of a people. So, no one of the forces that influence life should be over emphasized.

1.5.10. Anthropology and Literature

'Literature' is an umbrella term for poetry, fiction, drama, and criticism. All these emanate from and get sustenance from the imagination. It appeals to the imagination too. Human emotions are mostly their subject matter, and they mix pleasure with instruction or knowledge giving. Such writings have an artistic aspect to them. Literature is a wonderful domain which functions in a wonderful area and works in the imaginative field. It gives us joy, laughter, sadness, wisdom, thought etc.

Literature helps us to relax giving us a perspective on life. It also gives us a picture of life. Written literature is not available among the primitive societies. Rather they existed in the form of folklores. These folklores show that they possess a good knowledge about the subject matter, characters, and style of a story. In dormitories,

young boys and girls listen to various kinds of folklores which contain important information about the origin of their tribe; about the origin of creation; about the mutual relations among men and women; about the origin of various social institutions and about many other things.

It is through the medium of these folklores that the folk literature of the primitive societies is verbally communicated from one generation to another.

1.5.11. Anthropology and Folklore

Folklore has an important place in every primitive culture. It is through the medium of folklores that the culture of a primitive society is transmitted from one generation to the next generation. folklores contain the philosophy of the primitive people. How the world was evolved is a theme of many folklores of existing tribes. In most of the folklores, a reference to the mutual relation of the people and their gods is given. Various folklores aim at socialization and point out how different offences are punished by the supernatural powers in different ways. Descriptions about birds, animals and the trees, besides human beings are given in these folklores.

The folklores are more imaginative and entertaining than awe-inspiring. Their main function appears to entertain their listeners. A good number of similarities are found in most of the folklores of the world and their subject matter is very much alike. Many hundred events are described in different ways in different folklores. Much folklore like the story of Oedipus and Cinderella found in western tribes are also found in primitive societies of India. In this way, folklores are important means to understand human culture.

1.5.12. Anthropology and Art

The search of beauty is an eternal craving of mankind. This urge does not always satisfy the material needs; rather it brings satisfaction to the mind and the eye. The

impulse arises out of an aesthetic sense. Every individual responds to it in some way or the other. Art is, therefore, a product of a deep-rooted human urge and has been integrated with the life of the people as an instinct since the early days of human existence.

The nature and style of art vary from culture to culture. As culture regulates the patterns of behavior in a society, it revolves round the specific beliefs and feelings. Therefore, cultural variations in artistic expression are quite natural. As per our modern outlook, we generally want an artist to be original and innovative. In general, artists are swayed by the creativity in their own style of creation. Often, they are more appreciated by the show of their originality. Commonly two distinct lines of art are differentiated—pure art and applied art. Applied art aims at some utility rather than searching pure beauty and pleasure. On the other hand, pure art does not bother about utility; they express impulse and rhythm which manifest the beauty and pleasure of life. Here the sense of beauty comes from an abstract thought or images¹ as conceived by the respective society. Culture exerts its influence by introducing the specific social values, metaphysical concepts, particular tradition, style, and techniques depending upon the material apparatus available therein.

Anthropologists consider the artistic activities as one of the four basic social activities of human life. But it is a matter of surprise that how art appeared in the dim past, hundreds of thousands of years back. What inspiration acted behind those aesthetic activities? The anthropologists, art historians, art critics, philosophers all seek this answer. However, the various pursuits of creativity have been classified in a number of groups like visual art, oral literature, music, dance etc. Among these, the visual art is the oldest as well as a tangible expression of thought. It includes drawing, painting, carving, engraving, sculpture etc. Although, much of the evidence have persistence only a few have survived in the graves on implements and on the walls of the caves.

Primitive art cannot be termed as crude art as some primitive forms of artistic expression are highly complex. They show mature techniques and sophisticated ideologies ranging from naturalism and realism to conventionalized abstraction. For example, Bushmen's art is naturalistic and at the same time full of vitality; Australians' art is abstract and symbolic; Eskimos' art is naturalistic as well as technically sophisticated. What primitive art lacks is the knowledge of perspective. Therefore, in no way they can be defined as 'an art for art's sake'. Rather here the creativity was plunged in usefulness. Thus, ancient art was very close to the life of the primitives; an artist served the demand of the social life.

1.6 Self-Assessment Questions

1. Explain in detail the definition of anthropology.
2. Describe the four types of anthropology in detail.
3. Describe the various subfields of biological / physical anthropology.
4. Discuss the subareas of sociocultural anthropology in detail.
5. How archeology is helpful for the history of humankind? Discuss.
6. Discuss the differences and similarities between evolutionism, diffusionism, historical particularism and functionalism.
7. How did the culture and personality theory emerge? What important personality character do you think you have from your own cultures shaping?
8. Discuss the relevance of anthropology with other academic disciplines in detail.
9. How is anthropology related to social sciences? Discuss in detail.
10. How anthropology makes links with earth sciences? Discuss.
11. Debate about the importance of anthropology with medical sciences.
12. How is anthropology related to folklore, art, and literature? Explain in detail.

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UNIT 2

CULTURE

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Introduction

The commonsense meaning of culture, as we use it in our ordinary conversations, is often too much limited in scope; it does not capture the complex aspects of culture. However, culture is defined as being equivalent to the entire learned and shared behaviors, beliefs, practices, institutions, of a society or a group of people; all the material and non-material objects created and used by the group is culture. This unit highlights on the definition of culture, its characteristics and core terms that define culture.

Objective

The aim of this unit is to:

Introduce the basic concepts related to culture

Familiarize key concepts and terms related to culture

Learning Outcomes

After studying the unit, you will be able to:

1. Define the concept of culture
2. Describe some major characteristics or features of culture
3. Describe some key cultural concepts;

2.1 What Is Culture: Basic Idea

When someone says the word culture, what is the first thing that comes to mind? Some of us may think about certain beliefs, such as religious or moral beliefs. Others may think about the way people dress or decorate themselves, like wearing turbans or having facial tattoos. Additionally, some of us may think of the artifacts from ancient cultures, like the well-known statues from Greek or Egyptian archaeology. All of these things are tied to culture in one way or another. But what does culture mean to the anthropologists who study it? Well, the truth is that anthropologists often disagree about the precise definition of culture. However, for the purposes of this lesson, culture can be defined as sets of human behavior that are passed down from one generation to the next. This transmission of culture isn't always purposeful and may take place anywhere that young people can interact with older people.

Culture is a term that describes and characterizes various ways in which human differences and similarities are recognized and marked. It is inseparable from many important ideas such as cultural tradition, cultural relativism, cultural imperialism, popular culture, mass culture, etc. Moreover, culture is often used as a recognizable genre that marks a division of labor among anthropologists (and other scholars). Cultural anthropology itself is built on the conceptualization of culture's meanings, its changes, and its problems, all of which are interdisciplinary. The questions of culture, its conceptualization, and its embedded meanings of civilization, the nation-state, aesthetics, economy, and everyday life are tied to the entire history of anthropology as an academic discipline all over the world but also in many other countries. As a foundational concept of anthropology, culture has been continuously shaped to adapt to changes both inside and outside the discipline.



Anything apart from the naturally or biologically occurring thing is cultural. However, this all-encompassing view culture should be viewed cautiously because it may mislead beginners to assume that society itself is cultural. The concept of culture has been defined in quite several ways; there are as many definitions as there are writers in the fields of anthropology or sociology. One of the most often cited definitions of culture was the one formulated by the British anthropologist by the name of Tylor. His definition basically equates culture with all the habits and capabilities that a person acquires as a member of a group.

The important features of culture are that culture is all encompassing; it is socially learned; it seizes nature; it is adaptive and maladaptive; is stable yet changes; is shared; is symbolic; is specific and general; is shared; patterned and people use it creatively. All human beings are cultured; there is no cultural superiority or inferiority among societies. However, all people to some extent tend to regard their own cultural values and norms as better and somewhat normal or natural; this tendency is called ethnocentrism; on the other hand, we need to realize that every cultural trait need to be understood in its own context; this necessitates cultural relativism. Cultural relativism taken to its extreme however, poses danger and controversies.

Some cultural beliefs and practices are universal, meaning they are found among all human groups; others are generalized, meaning they are practiced by most peoples in the world; while others are particular, meaning they are limited to few human groups. Culture has components within it; culture traits represent the simple strands or elements in people's culture, like the use of knife or fork when eating food; culture traits combined together are culture complexes, and culture complexes combined together give us the culture pattern of people. Culture and the behaviors of individual persons in group or society are intimately tied together. Individuals usually behave, act, think, and view things according to the general cultural values, norms, beliefs of the group to which they belong. Peoples' character and personality types are mainly the reflections of their culture.

The concept of culture has long been basic to anthropology and more than a century. A central concept in our discipline is the idea of culture, a concept that changed how we explain human differences. Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917) in his book *Primitive Culture*, the British anthropologist proposed that cultures, systems of human behavior and thought, obey natural laws, and therefore still offers an overview of the subject matter of anthropology and is widely quoted.

In simple words culture is the characteristics and knowledge of a particular group of people, encompassing language, religion, cuisine, social habits, music, and arts. The word "culture" derives from a French term, which in turn derives from the Latin "colere," which means to tend to the earth and grow, or cultivation and nurture. Moreover, culture is the patterns of learned and shared behavior and beliefs of a particular social, ethnic, or age group. It can also be described as the complex whole of collective human beliefs with a structured stage of civilization that can be specific to a nation or time period. Humans in turn use culture to adapt and transform the world they live in. The anthropological study of culture can be organized along two persistent and basic themes: Diversity and Change. An

individual's upbringing, and environment (or culture) is what makes them diverse from other cultures. It is the differences between all cultures and sub-cultures of the world's regions. People's need to adapt and transform to physical, biological, and cultural forces to survive represents the second theme, Change. Culture generally changes for one of two reasons: selective transmission or to meet changing needs. This means that when a village or culture is met with new challenges for example a loss of a food source, they must change the way they live. This could mean almost anything to the culture, including possible forced redistribution of, or relocation from ancestral domains due to external and/or internal forces.

2.2 Characteristics of Culture

An anthropologist would look at that and study their ways to learn from them. Culture is:

- Learned through active teaching, and passive habitus
- Shared meaning that it defines a group and meets common needs.
- Patterned meaning that there is a recourse of similar ideas. Related cultural beliefs and practices show up repeatedly in different areas of social life.
- Adaptive which helps individuals meet needs across variable environments.
- Symbolic which means that there are simple and arbitrary signs that represent something else, something more.

2.2.1. Culture is Learned



On the basis of cultural learning, people create, remember, and deal with ideas. They grasp and apply specific systems of symbolic meaning. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz defined culture as ideas based on cultural learning and symbols. Cultures have been characterized as sets of “control mechanisms, plans, recipes, rules, instructions, what computer engineers call programs for the governing of behavior” (Geertz 1973: 44). These programs are absorbed by people through enculturation in particular traditions.

People gradually internalize a previously established system of meanings and symbols, which helps guide their behavior and perceptions throughout their lives. Every person begins immediately, through a process of conscious and unconscious learning and interaction with others, to internalize, or incorporate, a cultural tradition through the process of enculturation. Sometimes culture is taught directly, as when parents tell their children to say “thank you” when someone gives them something or does them a favor. The ease with which children absorb any cultural tradition rests on the uniquely elaborated human capacity to learn. Other animals may learn from experience, so that, for example, they avoid fire after discovering that it hurts. Social animals also learn from other members of their group. Wolves, for instance, learn hunting strategies from other pack members. Such social learning

is particularly important among monkeys and apes, our closest biological relatives. But our own *cultural learning* depends on the uniquely developed human capacity to use symbols, signs that have no necessary or natural connection to the things they stand for or signify.

Culture also is transmitted through observation. Children pay attention to the things that go on around them. They modify their behavior not just because other people tell them to do so but as a result of their own observations and growing awareness of what their culture considers right and wrong. Culture also is absorbed unconsciously. People acquire their culture's notions about how far apart people should stand when they talk not by being told directly to maintain a certain distance but through a gradual process of observation, experience, and conscious and unconscious behavior modification. No one tells Latins to stand closer together than North Americans do; they learn to do so as part of their cultural tradition.

2.2.2. Culture is Symbolic

Symbolic thought is unique and crucial to humans and to cultural learning. A symbol is something verbal or nonverbal, within a particular language or culture, that comes to stand for something else. Anthropologist Leslie White defined culture as dependent upon symboling. Culture consists of tools, implements, utensils, clothing, ornaments, customs, institutions, beliefs, rituals, games, works of art, language, etc. (White 1959: 3).

For White, culture originated when our ancestors acquired the ability to use symbols, that is, to originate and bestow meaning on a thing or event, and, correspondingly, to grasp and appreciate such meanings (White 1959: 3). There need be no obvious, natural, or necessary connection between the symbol and what it symbolizes. The familiar pet that barks is no more naturally a *dog* than it is a *chien*, *Hund*, or *mbwa*, the words for “dog” in French, German, and Swahili, respectively. Language is one of the distinctive possessions of *Homo sapiens*. No

other animal has developed anything approaching the complexity of language, with its multitude of symbols.

Symbols often are linguistic. There also are myriad nonverbal symbols, such as flags, which stand for various countries, and the arches that symbolize a particular hamburger chain. Holy water is a potent symbol in Roman Catholicism. As is true of all symbols, the association between a symbol (water) and what is symbolized (holiness) is arbitrary and conventional. Water probably is not intrinsically holier than milk, blood, or other natural liquids. Nor is holy water chemically different from ordinary water. Aab-e-ZamZam (holy water) is a symbol within Muslims which is part of an international cultural system. A natural thing has been associated arbitrarily with a particular meaning for Catholics, who share common beliefs and experiences that are based on learning and that are transmitted across the generations. For hundreds of thousands of years, humans have shared the abilities on which culture rests, the abilities to learn, to think symbolically, to manipulate language, and to use tools and other cultural products in organizing their lives and coping with their environments. Every contemporary human population has the ability to use symbols and thus to create and maintain culture. Our nearest relatives, chimpanzees, and gorillas have rudimentary cultural abilities. However, no other animal has elaborated cultural abilities to the extent that *Homo* has.

2.2.3. Culture is Shared

Culture is an attribute not of individuals per se but of individuals as members of *groups*. Culture is transmitted in society. Don't we learn our culture by observing, listening, talking, and interacting with many other people? Shared beliefs, values, memories, and expectations link people who grow up in the same culture. Enculturation unifies people by providing us with common experiences.

Today's parents were yesterday's children. People become agents in the enculturation of their children, just as their parents were for them. Although a

culture constantly changes, certain fundamental beliefs, values, worldviews, and child-rearing practices endure. Consider a simple American example of enduring shared enculturation. As children, when we didn't finish a meal, our parents may have reminded us of starving children in some foreign country, just as our grandparents might have done a generation earlier.

2.2.4. Culture and Nature

Culture takes the natural biological urges we share with other animals and teaches us how to express them in particular ways. People have to eat, but culture teaches us what, when, and how.

Cultural habits, perceptions, and inventions mold "human nature" into many forms. People have to eliminate wastes from their bodies. But some cultures teach people to defecate standing, while others tell them to do it sitting down. Peasant women in the Andean highlands squat in the streets and urinate, getting all the privacy they need from their massive skirts. All these habits are parts of cultural traditions that have converted natural acts into cultural customs. Our culture and cultural changes affect how we perceive nature, human nature, and "the natural." Through science, invention, and discovery, cultural advances have overcome many "natural" limitations. We prevent and cure diseases such as polio and smallpox, which felled our ancestors. We use Viagra to enhance or restore sexual potency. Through cloning, scientists have challenged the way we think about biological identity and the meaning of life itself. Culture, of course, does not always protect us from natural threats. Hurricanes, floods, earthquakes, and other natural forces regularly overthrow our wishes to modify the environment through building, development, and expansion.

2.2.5. Culture is All-Encompassing

For anthropologists, culture includes much more than refinement, good taste, sophistication, education, and appreciation of the fine arts. Not only college graduates but all people are “cultured.” The most interesting and significant cultural forces are those that affect people every day of their lives, particularly those that influence children during enculturation. Culture, as defined anthropologically, encompasses features that are sometimes regarded as trivial or unworthy of serious study, such as those of “popular” culture. To understand contemporary Pakistani culture, we must consider television, fast-food restaurants, sports, and games. As a cultural manifestation, trends on social media may be as significant as a book-award winner.

2.2.6. Culture is Integrated

Cultures are not haphazard collections of customs and beliefs. Cultures are integrated, patterned systems. If one part of the system (the overall economy, for instance) changes, other parts change as well. For example, during the 1950s women in general planned domestic careers as homemakers and mothers. Most of today’s college women, by contrast, expect to get paying jobs when they graduate. Work competes with marriage and family responsibilities and reduces the time available to invest in childcare.

Cultures are integrated not simply by their dominant economic activities and related social patterns but also by sets of values, ideas, symbols, and judgments. Cultures train their individual members to share certain personality traits. A set of characteristic Core values (key, basic, central values) integrates each culture and helps distinguish it from others. Different sets of dominant values influence the patterns of other cultures.

2.2.7. Culture Can be Adaptive and Maladaptive

Humans have both biological and cultural ways of coping with environmental stresses. Besides our biological means of adaptation, we also use “cultural adaptive kits,” which contain customary activities and tools that aid us. Although humans continue to adapt biologically, reliance on social and cultural means of adaptation has increased during human evolution and plays a crucial role.

Sometimes, adaptive behavior that offers short-term benefits to particular subgroups or individuals may harm the environment and threaten the group’s long-term survival. Economic growth may benefit some people while it depletes resources needed for society at large or for future generations. Thus, cultural traits, patterns, and inventions can also be *maladaptive*, threatening the group’s continued existence (survival and reproduction). Air conditioners help us deal with heat, as fires and furnaces protect us against the cold. Automobiles permit us to make a living by getting us from home to workplace. But the by-products of such “beneficial” technology often create new problems. Chemical emissions increase air pollution, deplete the ozone layer, and contribute to climate change. Many cultural patterns such as overconsumption and pollution appear to be maladaptive in the long run. Can you think of others?

2.2.8. Culture is Stable and Yet it Changes

Culture is stable and yet changing Culture is stable when we consider what people hold valuable and are handing over to the next generation in order to maintain their norms and values. However, when culture comes into contact with other cultures, it can change. That is, cultural diffusion, the spread of cultural traits from one are to the other, may cause cultural change However, culture changes not only because of direct or indirect contact between cultures, but also through innovation and adaptation to new circumstances. That is, the forces of culture change are not only external, but they are also internal.

2.3 Key Concepts Related to Culture

2.3.1 Ethnocentrism and Cultural Relativism

The concepts of ethnocentrism and cultural relativism occupy key position in socio-cultural anthropology. They are the most sensitive and controversial issues in sociology and sociocultural anthropology.

2.3.2. Ethnocentrism

All of us often tend to judge the behavior of other people in other groups by the standards of our own culture. Because of ethnocentrism, we often operate on the premise that our own society's ways are the correct, normal, better ways, for acting, thinking, feeling, and behaving. Our own group is the center or axis of everything, and we scale and rate all others with reference to it. Ethnocentrism leads us to minimize our indebtedness to other people (Zanden, 1990:74). Anthropologists endeavor as far as possible to avoid ethnocentrism. It is not logically possible and proper to underestimate or overestimate or judge other cultures on the basis of one's cultural standard. Ethnocentrism, in general, is an attitude of taking one's own culture and ways of life as the best and the center of all and on the other hand, regarding other ethnic groups and cultures. as inferior, bad, full of errors, etc. It is the tendency to apply one's own cultural values in judging the behavior and beliefs of people raised in other cultures. It is a cultural universal. People everywhere think that familiar explanations, opinion, and customs as true, right, proper, and moral. They regard different behavior as strange or savage.

2.3.3. Cultural Relativism



We cannot grasp the behavior of other people if we interpret what they say and do in the light of our values, beliefs, and motives. Instead, we need to examine their behavior as insiders, seeing it within the framework of their values, beliefs, and motives. This approach is called cultural relativism. It suspends judgment and views the behavior of people from the perspective of their own culture (Ibid:76). Every society has its own culture, which is more or less unique. Every culture contains its own unique pattern of behavior which may seem alien to people from other cultural backgrounds. We cannot understand the practices and beliefs separately from the wider culture of which they are part. A culture has to be studied in terms of its own meanings and values. Cultural relativism describes a situation where there is an attitude of respect for cultural differences rather than condemning other people's culture as uncivilized or backward. Respect for cultural differences involves:

Appreciating cultural diversity;

- Accepting and respecting other cultures;
- Trying to understand every culture and its elements in terms of its own context and logic;

- Accepting that each body of custom has inherent dignity and meaning as the way of life of one group which has worked out to its environment, to the biological needs of its members, and to the group relationships;
- Knowing that a person's own culture is only one among many; and
- Recognizing that what is immoral, ethical, acceptable, etc., in one culture may not be so in another culture

Cultural relativism may be regarded as the opposite of ethnocentrism. However, there is some problem with the argument that behavior in a particular culture should not be judged by the standards of another. This is because in its extremeness, it argues that there is no superior, international, or universal morality. The anthropologists' main aim is to present accurate accounts of cultural phenomena. They do not have to approve customs such as infanticide, cannibalism, or torture. Anthropologists respect human diversity. Although they are sensitive to objectivity, sensitivity, and a cross-cultural perspective, they respect international standards of justice and morality (Scupin and DeCorse, 1995; Kottak, 2002).

2.4. Components of Culture

For the sake of anthropological analysis, culture may be broken down into three main component parts. These components are culture trait, culture complex and culture pattern. A culture is more than the sum of its parts. A mere listing of customs and norms and the material objects associated with them would by no means give a true picture of the culture.

2.4.1. Culture Traits (elements): are the smallest (simplest) units of a certain culture. They are the building blocks of culture. It can be material or nonmaterial culture. For example, pen, car, computer, plow, pot etc. (material); greeting, the custom of eating *injera*, respect for the elderly, treating patients, the practice of smoking using fork, knife, playing football, etc. (non- material)

2.4.2. Culture Complex: when a number of culture traits or elements are fitted or combined together, they give a meaningful whole called culture complex. Culture complex is any integrated and patterned system of culture traits that function as a unit in a society. It is sometimes referred to as culture trait complex.

2.4.3. Culture Pattern is the organization of culture complexes constituting the entire cultural configuration of a society. E.g., the culture of sport in Pakistan, the culture of medicine, the traditional medical beliefs, practices and institutions of Pakistan. The concepts of culture trait, complex and pattern need further elaboration. Culture traits are not necessarily confined to a single culture. More than one culture system may exhibit a particular culture trait, but each will consist of a discrete combination of traits. Such a combination is referred to as a culture complex. For example, in many cultures, the herding of cattle is a trait. However, cattle are regarded and used in different ways by different cultures.

The Massai of East Africa could be good examples for this. Although the Massai culture complex is only one of the many cattle keeping complexes, no other culture complex exhibits exactly the same combination of traits as that of Massai. Culture complexes have traits in common, and so it is possible to group within complexes together as culture systems. Ethnicity, language, religion, medical beliefs and practices, marriage and family system, political organization, and economic activity, etc., all make up the culture system of a given society or country.

2.5. Levels of Culture

We distinguish between different levels of culture: national, international, and subcultural.

In today's world these distinctions are increasingly important. National culture embodies those beliefs, learned behavior patterns, values, and institutions that are shared by citizens of the same nation. International culture extends beyond and

across national boundaries. Because culture is transmitted through learning rather than genetically, cultural traits can spread through borrowing or diffusion from one group to another.

Because of diffusion, migration, colonialism, and globalization, many cultural traits and patterns have acquired international scope. The contemporary United States, Canada, Great Britain, and Australia share cultural traits they have inherited from their common linguistic and cultural ancestors in Great Britain. The football World Cup has become an international cultural event, as people in many countries know the rules of, play, and follow soccer.

Cultures also can be smaller than nations (see Jenks 2005). Although people who live in the same country share a national cultural tradition, all cultures also contain diversity. Individuals, families, communities, regions, classes, and other groups within a culture have different learning experiences as well as shared ones.

2.5.1. Subcultures

are different symbol-based patterns and traditions associated with particular groups in the same complex society. In large or diverse nations such as the United States or Canada, a variety of subcultures originate in region, ethnicity, language, class, and religion. The religious backgrounds of Muslims, Christians, and Jews create subcultural differences between them. While sharing a common national culture, U.S. northerners and southerners also differ in their beliefs, values, and customary behavior as a result of national and regional history. French-speaking Canadians sometimes pointedly contrast with English-speaking people in the same country. Italian Americans have ethnic traditions different from those of Irish, Polish, and African Americans.

Nowadays, many anthropologists are reluctant to use the term *subculture*. They feel that the prefix sub- is offensive because it means “below.” Subcultures thus may be perceived as “less than” or somehow inferior to a dominant, elite, or national,

culture is contested. Various groups may strive to promote the correctness and value of their own practices, values, and beliefs in comparison with those of other groups or the nation as a whole.

2.6. Mechanisms of Cultural Change

Why and how do cultures change? One way is diffusion or borrowing of traits between cultures. Such exchange of information and products has gone on throughout human history because cultures never have been truly isolated. Contact between neighboring groups has always existed and has extended over vast areas (Boas 1940/1966).

2.6.1. Diffusion is *direct* when two cultures trade with, intermarry among, or wage war on one another. Diffusion is *forced* when one culture subjugates another and imposes its customs on the dominated group. Diffusion is *indirect* when items or traits move from group A to group C via group B without any firsthand contact between A and C. In this case, group B might consist of traders or merchants who take products from a variety of places to new markets. Or group B might be geographically situated between A and C, so that what it gets from A eventually winds up in C, and vice versa. In today's world, much international diffusion is indirect culture spread by the mass media and advanced information technology.

2.6.2. Acculturation, a second mechanism of cultural change, is the exchange of cultural features that results when groups have continuous firsthand contact. The cultures of either or both groups may be changed by this contact (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936). With acculturation, parts of the cultures change, but each group remains distinct. One example of acculturation is a *pidgin*, a mixed language that develops to ease communication between members of different cultures in

contact. This usually happens in situations of trade or colonialism. Pidgin English⁵, for example, is a simplified form of English. It blends English grammar with the grammar of a native language. Pidgin English was first used for commerce in Chinese ports. Similar pidgins developed later in Papua New Guinea and West Africa. In situations of continuous contact, cultures have also exchanged and blended foods, recipes, music, dances, clothing, tools, and technologies.

2.6.3. Independent Invention

It is the process by which humans innovate, creatively finding solutions to problems, is a third mechanism of cultural change. Faced with comparable problems and challenges, people in different societies have innovated and changed in similar ways, which is one reason cultural generalities exist. One example is the independent invention of agriculture in the Middle East and Mexico. Over the course of human history, major innovations have spread at the expense of earlier ones. Often a major invention, such as agriculture, triggers a series of subsequent interrelated changes. These economic revolutions have social and cultural repercussions. Thus, in both Mexico and the Middle East, agriculture led to many social, political, and legal changes, including notions of property and distinctions in wealth, class, and power (Naylor, 1996).

2.7. Culture Region

Sociocultural anthropologists talk about culture region which is the geographical territory in which a particular culture prevails. It is marked by all the characteristics

⁵Pidgin English is a non-specific name used to refer to any of the many pidgin languages derived from English. Pidgins that are spoken as first languages become creoles. English-based pidgins that became stable contact languages, and which have some documentation

of a culture, including modes of dress, building styles, farms and field and other material manifestation.

2.7.1 Subcultures: We use the concept of subculture to denote the variability of culture within a certain society. It is system of perceptions, values; beliefs and assumption that are differed from those of dominate culture. Subculture is a distinctive culture that is shared by a group within a society. We call it subculture, because groups (with their subcultures) exist within and as a smaller part of the main, dominant culture. Examples of subculture could be the distinctive culture of university students, street children and the culture of medical professionals, etc.

2.7.2. National Culture: refers to experience, ideologies and beliefs learned, and values shared by citizens of the same nation. The term “national couture” may seem misleading; a more appropriate term may thus be the “mainstream” or “dominant” culture, which is more or less subscribed to by multiplicity of groups in a given country.

2.7.3. International Culture: *refers to* cultural traditions that extend beyond national boundaries through borrowing or diffusion. Again here, the term “international culture” may seem misleading. So, a more “academic” term may be “global culture”. One of the main aspects of

globalization is that a relatively uniform world culture is taking shape today in the world. The global culture may entail all speaking some language, share the same values and norms, and sustain common und of knowledge as of residents of the same community. (Kottak 2002). Global culture may also be associated with cultural imperialism, the unequal cultural exchange in the global system whereby western material and non-material cultures have come to occupy a dominating and

imposing role over the indigenous cultures of the Third World peoples (Kottak 2002). The global culture is often promoted by:

1. The global spread of capitalism
2. Consumerism and the consumer culture
3. The growth of transnational media, particularly electronic mass media such as BBC, CNN, etc.

2.8. Some Important Concepts Related to Culture

There are many cultures related concepts which are explained below;

2.8.1. Universality, Generality, and Particularity

Anthropologists agree that cultural learning is uniquely elaborated among humans and that all humans have culture. Anthropologists also accept a doctrine termed in the 19th century “the psychic unity of man.” This means that although *individuals* differ in their emotional and intellectual tendencies and capacities, all human *populations* have equivalent capacities for culture. Regardless of their genes or their physical appearance, people can learn *any* cultural tradition. To recognize biopsychological equality is not to deny differences among populations. In studying human diversity in time and space, anthropologists distinguish among the universal, the generalized, and the particular. Certain biological, psychological, social, and cultural features are universal, found in every culture. Others are merely generalities, common to several but not all human groups. Still other traits are particularities, unique to certain cultural traditions.

2.8.2. Universals and Generalities

Biologically based universals include a long period of infant dependency, year-round (rather than seasonal) sexuality, and a complex brain that enables us to use symbols, languages, and tools. Among the social universals is life in groups and in

some kind of family. Generalities occur in certain times and places but not in all cultures. They may be widespread, but they are not universal. One cultural generality that is present in many but not all societies is the *nuclear family*, a kinship group consisting of parents and children. Although many middle-class Americans ethnocentrically view the nuclear family as a proper and “natural” group, it is not universal. It was absent, for example, among the Nayars, who live on the Malabar Coast of India. Traditionally, the Nayars lived in female-headed households, and husbands and wives did not live together. In many other societies, the nuclear family is submerged in larger kin groups, such as extended families, lineages, and clans.

Societies can share the same beliefs and customs because of borrowing or through (cultural) inheritance from a common cultural ancestor. Speaking English is a generality shared by North Americans and Australians because both countries had English settlers. Another reason for generalities is domination, as in colonial rule, when customs and procedures are imposed on one culture by another one that is more powerful. In many countries, use of the English language reflects colonial history (for example Pakistan and India). More recently, English has spread through *diffusion* (cultural borrowing) to many other countries, as it has become the world’s foremost language for business and travel.

2.8.3. Cultural Universals

Anthropology assumes that all human beings are fundamentally alike, and they share the same basic biological, psychological, social, and other characteristics. All people all over the world have certain common obligations one to another. All people are members of a single community; they all have the same root and destiny. This belief is either explicit or implicit in most of the great world religions (Hammond, 1971). The perceptive famous statement of the American anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn suggests this truth:” every human is like all other humans, some other humans, and no other humans” (cited in Scupin and DeCorse,

1995:195). Certain biological, psychological, social, and cultural features of human beings are universal; others are merely generalities, common to several but not to all human groups. Still other cultural features are particularities unique to certain cultural traditions.

Biological universals: long period of infant dependency; year-round sexuality; a complex brain that enables to use symbols, languages, tools, etc. Whether “modern” or “primitive” all people share these universal biological features.

Psychological universals: arise from human biology and from experiences common to human development in all cases: growth in the womb, birth, interaction with parents, etc

Social universals: life in groups, family, food sharing, exogamy, incest taboo, etc. For example, all people prohibit sexual contact or marriage between individuals with close blood relations. It is regarded as a taboo that is something unmentionable or forbidden to touch or talk about.

2.8.4. Generalized Cultures

Cultural generality refers to regularities that occur in different times and places but not in all cultures (Kottak, 2002). Cultural generalities may be explained by diffusion of cultures from one place to another. It could be through contacts, trades, wars, etc.; or by independent invention; this means two or more societies may invent or create similar cultural belief or practice independently, not by copying or imitation. Examples for this include nuclear family, monogamy, strict control over women’s virginity, etc.

2.8.5. Localized Cultures

These are cultural traditions which are unique to only few societies. They occur rarely. For example, polyandrous marriage practice, eating of raw meat, etc. The major elements of culture are symbols, language, norms, values, and artifacts.

Language makes effective social interaction possible and influences how people conceive of concepts and objects.

2.8.6. Culture Shock

Culture shock is the psychological and social maladjustment at micro or macro level that is

experienced for the first time when people encounter new cultural elements such as new things, new ideas, new concepts, seemingly strange beliefs, and practices.

No person is protected from culture shock. However, individuals vary in their capacity to adapt and overcome the influence of culture shock. Highly ethnocentric people are exposed widely to culture shock. On the other hand, cultural relativists may find it easy to adapt to new situations and overcome culture shock (Angeloni, 1998; Howrad and Dunaif-Hattis, 1992).

2.9. Language and Culture

Some important concepts and issues relating to language and culture. Language is one of the corner stones of national identity, of cultural unity, and of community cohesion. Old languages with historic roots and languages spoken by threatened minorities are nurtured and fostered by their speakers. But language can also be a weapon in cultural conflict and in political strife. Language, defined as a system of verbal and in many cases written symbols with rules about how those symbols can be strung together to convey more complex meanings (Henslin and Nelson 1995), is the distinctive capacity and possession of humans; it is a key element of culture. Culture encompasses language, and through language, culture is communicated and transmitted. Without language it would be impossible to develop, elaborate and transmit culture to the future generation (Broom and Lsezenki, 1973).

2.10 Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is culture?
2. Discuss the key characteristics of culture.
3. Distinguish between ethnocentrism and cultural relativism.
4. How should you as a health science student being trained in a highly rationalized science respond to the traditional values, beliefs and practices (including for example the so-called harmful traditional practices), as these may appear to be contradicting with your field of training?
5. Why and how does culture shock occur? Have you ever experienced culture shock? Did it have any adverse impact on your life? Discuss.
6. What is the relationship between culture and language?
7. Identify at least five cultural beliefs and practices, which you think are universally practiced among all Pakistani people.
8. Identify at least three cultural beliefs and practices, which you think to be generally found in most parts of Pakistan
9. Give examples of cultural particularities in Pakistan. Mention at least three diseases that you think are associated with the social behavior, lifestyles and cultural practices of people. Explain why you think so.

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UNIT 3

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

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Introduction

Human geography, also called cultural geography is the study of the many cultural aspects found throughout the world and how they relate to the spaces and places where they originate and the spaces and places they then travel to, as people continually move across various areas. This unit highlight various concepts related to population, urbanization, race, and ethnicity and how they are connected to each other. Further, this unit also looks into the factors that affect all these thoughts together.

Objectives

This unit aims at:

- Introduce definition, history, and types of human geography
- Study geography of population and demography and how they are interconnected to each other
- Examine factors that affect human population
- Observe the difference between race and ethnicity and its effect on human population

Learning Outcomes

After reading the unit, you will be able to:

- define relevant concepts that are pertinent to human geography
- debate about various concepts related to population, demography, and their interrelatedness
- discuss factors how human population is affected by various factors
- understand the difference between race and ethnicity and related concepts

3.1 Human Geography

Human geography is one of the two major branches of geography, together with physical geography. Human geography is also called cultural geography. It is the study of the many cultural aspects found throughout the world and how they relate to the spaces and places where they originate and the spaces and places they then travel to, as people continually move across various areas. Human geography is the branch of geography that deals with the study of people and their communities, cultures, economies, and interactions with the environment by studying their relations with and across space and place. Human geography attends to human patterns of social interaction, as well as spatial level interdependencies, and how they influence or affect the earth's environment. As an intellectual discipline, geography is divided into the sub-fields of physical geography and human geography, the latter concentrating upon the study of human activities, by the application of qualitative and quantitative research methods. Some of the main cultural phenomena studied in human geography include language, religion, different economic and governmental structures, art, music, and other cultural aspects that explain how and/or why people function as they do in the areas in which they live. Globalization is also becoming increasingly important to the field of human geography as it is allowing these specific aspects of culture to travel across the globe easily.

Cultural landscapes are important to the field because they link culture to the physical environments in which people live. A cultural landscape can either limit or nurture the development of various aspects of culture. For instance, people living in a rural area are often more culturally tied to the natural environment around them than those living in a large metropolitan area. This is generally the focus of the "Man-Land Tradition" in the Four Traditions of geography, which studies the

human impact on nature, the impact of nature on humans, and people's perception of the environment.

3.2. History of Human Geography

Human geography developed out of the University of California, Berkeley and was led by Professor Carl Sauer. He used landscapes as the defining unit of geographic study and said that cultures develop because of the landscape and also, conversely, help to develop the landscape. Sauer's work and the cultural geography of today are highly qualitative in contrast to the quantitative methodology used in physical geography.

3.3. Human Geography Today

Human geography is still practiced, and more specialized fields within it have developed to further aid in the study of cultural practices and human activities as they relate spatially to the world. Such specialized fields include feminist geography, children's geography, tourism studies, urban geography, the geography of sexuality and space, and political geography.

3.4 Types of Human Geography

As a branch of human geography and a subset of population studies, population geography studies the ways in which spatial variations in the distribution, composition, characteristics and growth of populations are related to the nature of places (Ajaero and Madu,2016).

Since 1945 human geography has contained five main divisions. The first four, economic, social, cultural, and political, reflect both the main areas of contemporary life and the social science disciplines with which geographers

Interact (i.e., economics, sociology, anthropology, and political science and international relations, respectively); the fifth is historical geography. All five have remained central, being joined in the mid- to late 20th century by concentrations on particular types of areas, notably urban. Research interests in specific regions have declined, and relatively few geographers now identify themselves as experts on a particular part of the world.

3.4.1. Economic Geography

Economic geography has a long pedigree. Its traditional focus has been the distribution of various productive activities, with subdivisions into, for example, the geography of agriculture, industrial geography, and the geography of services and patterns of trade such as transport geography. Such concentrations were strengthened by the move into spatial analysis. Relatively little work in that mold is now undertaken, however, and the models of idealized economic landscapes that dominated in the 1960s and '70s are now rarely deployed or taught. Part of the change reflects economic shifts, notably the extension of globalization. Transport costs have decreasing significance for many location decisions, relative to labour and other costs. Instead, the decision making of transnational corporations dominates the changing global pattern of activity, reflecting a wide range of political as well as economic concerns regarding the profitability of investing in different countries and regions. Much contemporary work studies company locational decision-making processes, the regulatory regimes of individual states (including policies designed to attract and retain investment), and their impact on the pattern of economic activity.

Economic and cultural worlds are closely intertwined. Many individual economic decisions in advanced industrial countries e.g., what to buy, where to eat, and where to take vacations reflect not needs but rather culturally induced preferences, which change rapidly, in part responding to advertising and media discussions of tastes

and fashions. To some commentators, this generates a significant shift in the major features of capitalist production and consumption. It is moving away from mass products manufactured on large assembly lines toward countless small markets with factories having relatively short production lines and rapid changes in the details of their products. Economic geographers investigate how markets for goods and services are culturally created and changed and the implications for both where production occurs and where jobs are created and destroyed.

3.4.2. Political Geography

Political geography is a branch of geography that deals with human governments, the boundaries, and subdivisions of political units (as nations or states), and the situations of cities.

political geography also has a considerable pedigree, although it attracted little attention during the mid-20th century. Its main concerns are with the state and its territory with states' external relations and the relationships between governments and citizens. The geography of conflict incorporates both local conflicts, over such matters as land use and environmental issues, and international conflicts, including the growth of nationalism and the creation of new states. Electoral geography is a small subfield, concerned with voting patterns and the translation of votes into legislative seats through the deployment of territorially defined electoral districts.

3.4.3 Social Geography

Social geography concentrates on divisions within society, initially class, ethnicity, and, to a lesser extent, religion; however, more recently others have been added, such as gender, sexual orientation, and age. Mapping where different groups are concentrated is a common activity, especially within urban areas, as is investigating the related inequalities and conflicts. Such mappings are complemented by more-detailed studies of the role of place and space in social behavior as with studies of

the geography of crime and of educational provision and in how mental representations of those geographies are created and transmitted.

Other subdisciplines associated with social geography are sometimes seen as separate. Population geography is largely concerned with the three main demographic characteristics of fertility, mortality, and migration; investigations using census and other data are complemented by detailed case studies of decision making, such as whether and where to migrate and how relevant information is received and processed. Medical geography focuses on patterns of disease and death of how diseases spread, for example, and how variations in morbidity and mortality rates reflect local environments and on geographies of health care provision

3.4.4. Health Geography

Geography and health are intrinsically linked. Where we are born, live, study and work directly influences our health experiences: the air we breathe, the food we eat, the viruses we are exposed to and the health services we can access. The social, built, and natural environments affect our health and well-being in ways that are directly relevant to health policy. Spatial location (the geographic context of places and the connectedness between places) plays a major role in shaping environmental risks as well as many other health effects. For example, locating health care facilities, targeting public health strategies or monitoring disease outbreaks all have a geographic context.

Health geography is a subdiscipline of human geography, which deals with the interaction between people and the environment. Health geography views health from a holistic perspective encompassing society and space, and it conceptualizes the role of place, location and geography in health, well-being, and disease. Although health geography is closely aligned with epidemiology, its distinct primary emphasis is on spatial relations and patterns. Whereas

epidemiology is predicated on the biomedical model and focuses on the biology of disease, health geography seeks to explore the social, cultural, and political contexts for health within a framework of spatial organization. Traditionally, research in health geography spans 2 distinct avenues: the patterns, causes and spread of disease, and the planning and provision of health services. Research in these interlinked areas supports policy development. For example, disease epidemiology is in part related to the geography of health service provision.

Concerns about social and spatial polarization especially with socio-economic inequalities, inequities and poverty have prompted research that explores the determinants and consequences of health variations, including issues related to poverty, health care access and public health. The identification of persistent inequalities in health between rich and poor people and between rich and poor communities has provided evidence that can support policies to address the underlying causes of health problems. With respect to global, national, and regional processes, the local contexts of places and peoples' everyday lives are crucial and evolving considerations for health policy development. Some of the main cultural phenomena studied in cultural geography include language, religion, different economic and governmental structures, art, music, and other cultural aspects that explain how and/or why people function as they do in the areas in which they live. Globalization is also becoming increasingly important to this field as it is allowing these specific aspects of culture to easily travel across the globe.

Cultural landscapes are also important because they link culture to the physical environments in which people live. This is vital because it can either limit or nurture the development of various aspects of culture. For instance, people living in a rural area are often more culturally tied to the natural environment around them than those living in a large metropolitan area. This is generally the focus of the "Man-Land Tradition" in the Four Traditions of geography and studies human impact on

nature, the impact of nature on humans, and people's perception of the environment.

3.4.5. Cultural Geography

Cultural geography developed out of the University of California, Berkeley and was led by Carl Sauer. He used landscapes as the defining unit of geographic study and said that cultures develop because of the landscape but also help to develop the landscape as well. In addition, his work and the cultural geography of today is highly qualitative rather than quantitative a main tenant of physical geography. Today, cultural geography is still practiced and more specialized fields within it such as feminist geography, children's geography, tourism studies, urban geography, the geography of sexuality and space, and political geography have developed to further aid in the study of cultural practices and human activities as they relate spatially to the world⁶.

3.4.6. Urban Geography

Urban Geography is just one branch of the study of human geography as a whole. Urban Geography is concerned with the different aspects of location, space, and how spacial processes create patterns that are visible in urban areas. It tracks where and why cities are located where they are. And the connections between and within a cities boundary.

A human perspective around 4500 B.C. in Sumer, an ancient country in what today

⁶ Briney, Amanda. (2021, August 6). An Overview of Cultural Geography. Retrieved from <https://www.thoughtco.com/overview-of-cultural-geography-1434495>

is Iraq, the city of ur was settled. eventually it grew to be home to as many as 34,000 people. archaeologists believe that it was one of the first cities in the world. within the city walls, a broad avenue led up to an immense temple with a roof that loomed 80 feet above the ground. surrounding the temple were private homes and large open markets with shops on streets resembling those in cities of southwest Asia today. Some people lived in two-story houses with balconies and even had clay-lined drains for waste disposal. A canal ran through the city from the river to a harbor built on its northern edge. this was not an overgrown village, but a real city.

In the centuries since, cities have grown so important that geographers have developed the field of urban geography the study of how people use space in cities. The study of urban geography can help us have a better understanding of the economics of what goes on within cities and recognize the small things that are involved in local, national, and international scales. It helps us isolate patterns so that we have a basic understanding of location and spacing within a community. There are many reasons that people study urban geography. It helps us understand everything that is occurring around us inside city limits and outside as well. It lets us have a better understanding of why things are occurring economically and why certain cities are thriving, and others are shrinking.

The study of cities and city life from a geographical perspective. Although urban geography is one of the most popular and productive parts of human geography, a precise delineation of the field is understandably difficult. Attempts to find the essential characteristics of urban places or urban life, for example, by contrast with the rural and rural life, have proved inconclusive (see rurality; urbanism). In much of the world, the distinction between urban and non-urban is blurred or meaningless, as those characteristics once associated with cities such as waged labour, electricity, or the preponderance of secondary relations (i.e., with strangers)

become more widespread. In one sense, therefore, the vast majority of human geographical work may be described as urban by default. Considering urban settlements in historical perspective also complicates the search for essential urban qualities. Furthermore, the geographical study of urban life is informed by and contributes to studies in allied disciplines; one of the main journals in the field is simply called urban studies. A final complication is that the city as a spatial form can be regarded as both the cause and the consequence of social relations. From one perspective, exemplified by the Chicago School of urban ecology, cities shaped social effects among their inhabitants. By contrast, many Marxist-inspired geographers in the 1970s thought of cities as the projection of less visible economic processes; inquiry should focus on the processes rather than the outcome. In this regard, David Harvey's contributions have been critical in pointing a way forward.

Despite some ambivalence about the term 'urban geography', over the past sixty years urban geographers have developed some distinct and ongoing themes (Hall and Barrett 2012). Perhaps the most important has been the study of the internal social and spatial structure of cities, in part inspired by ideas from the Chicago School. Urban morphology considers the three-dimensional layout and appearance of cities in different historical and national contexts. It can be extended by typologies of different kinds of urban area, for example, edge city, exurb, or suburb. Most focus has been on the social differentiation of urban areas by class, age, race, gender, and sexuality, as well as its causes and consequences. A second long-standing theme considers cities as systems or networks, linked by flows of people, goods, money, and information. The third area of inquiry has considered the diversity of cities in historical and international contexts, again frequently through typologies (see industrial city; pre-industrial city; post-industrial city).

3.5. Growth of Urban Areas

Today, much of the population of the world lives in cities. Cities are not just areas

with large populations they are also centers of business and culture. Cities are often the birthplace of innovation and change in a society. Urban lifestyles are different from those of towns, villages, or rural areas. When geographers study urban areas, they consider location, land use, and functions of the city.

3.5.1 Urban Areas

An urban area develops around a main city called the central city. The built-up area around the central city may include suburbs, which are political units touching the borders of the central city or touching other suburbs that touch the city. These suburbs are within commuting distance of the city. Some suburbs are mostly residential, while others have a whole range of urban activities. Smaller cities or towns with open land between them and the central city are called exurbs⁷. The city, its suburbs link together economically to form a functional area called a metropolitan area. A megalopolis is formed when several metropolitan areas grow together. An example of a megalopolis is the corridor in the northeastern United States including Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington.

3.5.2. Urbanization

The dramatic rise in the number of cities and the changes in lifestyle that result is called urbanization. The trend to live in cities increased rapidly over the last two centuries. As more and more people moved into cities to find work, the cities and their surrounding areas grew. Today, some cities are enormous in physical area and have populations exceeding 10 million residents. As you can see above, cities are found on all continents except Antarctica. Aside from the population, urban places also have common characteristics. Think of ‘urban’ and many people think of roads, buildings and infrastructure like electricity cables and sewage systems.

⁷ a prosperous area beyond a city's suburbs

Others will think of shops, offices, and busy transport hubs. Site refers to the land on which a settlement is built. For example, it might be on gently sloping land, facing south, with well-draining soil, a water supply from a local spring, and on a river bend. These features would all make it a good site for an early settlement in the pre-industrial age:

- gently sloping land – prevents flooding
- facing south – in the northern hemisphere, it means the settlement will be warmed by the sun during the day (also good for growing crops locally)
- with well-draining soil – so it's easy to build on
- a water supply from a local spring – for drinking etc.
- on a river bend – provides a defensive barrier from attack

As urban areas have grown, site factors have become less important. For example, most cities do not source their water locally (from springs and rivers) but receive it in pipes from elsewhere. In the modern age, most urban areas are still found in places that have good 'site' features, but this is not because of the features of the site itself.

3.5.3. Land Use Patterns

Land use in urban areas is easily identifiable as *not rural* meaning there is little agricultural land use. (There are no farms.) Land use is often closely linked to the function. In almost all urban areas, residential is the main land use. In industrial centers, industrial land use will be common, and so on. However, there are land use types that are not necessarily a function of the urban area, but are closely linked:

- Open space – parks, riversides, 'empty' places awaiting development
- Sports facilities – informal (such as parks) and formal (such as football stadia)

- Local transport – roads, railways, metro systems for moving local people around
- Government services and social amenities – libraries, schools, hospitals
- Infrastructure – telephone exchanges, data centers (for internet servers), gas terminals and so on

3.5.4. The Functions of Cities

Function refers to ‘what the places does’, or ‘the reason the city is there’. Almost all settlements have more than one function, and the larger the urban area the more functions it is likely to have. Typical functions of urban function include:

- Administrative centers – headquarters for government offices
- Industrial
- Transport – ports, railway junctions, airline hubs
- Retail
- Markets – places where agricultural products made in the surrounding area can be sold
- Residential
- Financial – headquarters of major banks, insurance companies etc.

Functions are both cause and effect of a city’s growth. For example, Hong Kong grew to its current population of over 7 million because it had a historical administrative function, as well as a transport function as a seaport. Over time it has grown into a financial center, a retail center, and an airline transport hub. This is a good example of cumulative causation.

3.6. Geography of Population and Demography

3.6.1. Worldwide Population Growth

The earth’s population hit the one billion marks in the early 1800s. As the world

industrialized, people grew more and better food and improved sanitation methods, and the population of the world began to soar. As more and more women reached childbearing age, the number of children added to the population also increased. As you can see in the diagram at the right, by 1930 two billion people lived on the earth. Notice that the number of years between each billion mark gets smaller.

3.6.2. Birth and Death Rates

A population geographer studies aspect of population such as birth and death rates, distribution, and density. To understand population growth, geographers calculate several different statistics. One is the birthrate, which is the number of live births per thousand population. In 2000, the highest birthrate in the world was more than 54 per thousand in Niger, and the lowest rate was about 8 per thousand in Latvia. The world average birthrate is 22 per thousand. Another way to study population is to look at the fertility rate. The fertility rate shows the average number of children a woman of childbearing years would have in her lifetime, if she had children at the current rate for her country. A fertility rate of 2.1 is necessary just to replace current population. Today, the worldwide average fertility rate is about 3.0.

The mortality rate also called the death rate is the number of deaths per thousand people. In general, a society is considered healthy if it has a low mortality rate. However, some healthy nations have higher mortality rates because they have large numbers of elderly people.

For this reason, geographers also look at infant mortality rates in measuring how healthy the people of a nation are. The infant mortality rate shows the number of deaths among infants under age one per thousand live births. In the 1800s, the worldwide infant mortality rate was about 200 to 300 deaths per thousand live births. At the beginning of the 21st century, improved health care and nutrition led to a much lower rate worldwide. However, some parts of the world still record as many as 110 infant deaths per thousand. To find the rate at which population is

growing, subtract the mortality rate from the birthrate. The difference is the rate of natural increase, or population growth rate.

3.7. The Study of Human Populations

Demography is the study of human populations their size, composition and distribution across space and the process through which populations change. Births, deaths, and migration are the 'big three' of demography, jointly producing population stability or change. A population's composition may be described in terms of basic demographic features age, sex, family, and household status and by features of the population's social and economic context language, education, occupation, ethnicity, religion, income, and wealth. The distribution of populations can be defined at multiple levels (local, regional, national, global) and with different types of boundaries (political, economic, geographic). Demography is a central component of societal contexts and social change.

3.7.1. Population Distribution

Population is the arrangement of the population on a certain area in accordance with conditions and requirements of the society. Population geography is a division of human geography. It is the study of the ways in which spatial variations in the distribution, composition, migration, and growth of populations are related to the nature of places. Population geography involves demography in a geographical perspective. It focuses on the characteristics of population distributions that change in a spatial context. Examples can be shown through population density maps. A few types of maps that show the spatial layout of population are choropleth, isoline, and dot maps. Population distribution is a social phenomenon exist by the combined affection of series of factors. In addition, the factor helps to decide how the population distribute is the level of the labor force, the property of the economy then to the cause of natural conditions, history of the exploitation of that area, the

migrations. World population is uneven as some places are considered rural and are sparsely populated, while others are more urban and are densely populated. Population geographers interested in population distribution often study past distributions of people to understand how and why specific areas have grown into large urban centers today. The world's population is growing very rapidly. In 1820 the world's population reached 1 billion. In 1990 it reached 6 billion people. The population of the world is now over 7 billion people, the vast majority of whom live in the developing world. Population growth increased significantly as the Industrial Revolution gathered pace from 1700 onwards.

The last 50 years have seen a yet more rapid increase in the rate of population growth due to medical advances and substantial increases in agricultural productivity, particularly beginning in the 1960s, made by the Green Revolution. In 2007 the United Nations Population Division projected that the world's population will likely surpass 10 billion in 2055. In the future, the world's population is expected to peak, after which it will decline due to economic reasons, health concerns, land exhaustion and environmental hazards. According to one report, it is very likely that the world's population will stop growing before the end of the 21st century. Further, there is some likelihood that population will actually decline before 2100. Population has already declined in the last decade or two in Eastern Europe, the Baltics and in the Commonwealth of Independent States. Population geography studies:

- Demographic phenomena (natality, mortality, growth rates, etc.) through both space and time
- Increase or decrease in population numbers
- The movements and mobility of populations
- Occupational Structure

The way in which places in turn react to population phenomena e.g., immigration
Research topics of other geographic sub-disciplines, such as settlement
geography, have also a population geographic dimension:

- Grouping of people in settlements
- The way from the geographical character of places e.g., settlement pattern

2.7.2. Population Density

Population density is a measurement of population per unit area or unit volume; it is a quantity of type number density. It is frequently applied to living organisms, and particularly to humans. It is a key geographic term. The world's population is around 7 billion, and Earth's total area (including land and water) is 510 million square kilometers (197 million square miles). Therefore, the worldwide human population density is around $7 \text{ billion} \div 510 \text{ million} = 13.7 \text{ per km}^2$ (35 per sq. mile). If only the Earth's land area of 150 million km² (58 million sq. miles) is considered, then human population density increases to 47 per km² (120 per sq. mile). Several of the most densely populated territories in the world are city-states, microstates, and dependencies. These territories have a relatively small area and a high urbanization level, with an economically specialized city population drawing also on rural resources outside the area, illustrating the difference between high population density and overpopulation.

3.8. Factors That Affect Population Distribution

The factors affecting population distribution is discussed below;

Economic, Political Factors

Population Distribution depends upon Economic Factors. population was directed to parts of Siberian plains, which were hitherto not suitable for human habitation. Likewise, in China, planned colonization of the interior, encouraged by the communist government, has resulted in significant change in population patterns.

The type of technology employed, social policy, economic activity affects Population Distribution. When a Government set steel plants in the public sector at any place, the native people are attracted to these "steel towns" for employment.

3.8.2. Physical Factors

Physical Factors affect Population Distribution indirectly. It includes like Water Bodies, Climate, Soils, altitude, and latitude, Staszewski, (2011) in his exhaustive analysis of the vertical distribution of population, has shown that both numbers and densities in different parts of the world decline with increasing altitude. climate must be something to which people can adapt. Extremely hot or cold places are difficult in which to live as well as places with extreme weather.

3.9. Understanding Race and Ethnicity

The idea of race refers to superficial physical differences that a particular society considers significant, while ethnicity describes shared culture. Moreover, the term “minority groups” describe subordinate groups, or that lack power in society regardless of skin color or country of origin. For example, in modern U.S. history, the elderly might be considered a minority group due to a diminished status that results from widespread prejudice and discrimination against them. Ten percent of nursing home staff admitted to physically abusing an older person in the past year, and 40 percent admitted to committing psychological abuse (World Health Organization, 2011). In this chapter, we focus on racial and ethnic minorities.

Race, in biological terms, refers to a socially constructed way to identify humans based on physical characteristics, resulting from genetic ancestry. Shared genetic ancestry is a result of geographical isolation. Geographic isolation, since the era of colonization and even before then, has significantly decreased in most areas of the

world. Less geographic isolation results in the mixing of racial groups. Thus, classifying people by their race with any accuracy is difficult.

Most biologists, geographers, and social scientists have all taken an official position rejecting the biological explanations of race. Over time, the typology of race that developed during early racial science has fallen into disuse, and the social construction of race is a more sociological way of understanding racial categories. Research in this school of thought suggests that race is not biologically identifiable and that previous racial categories were arbitrarily assigned, based on pseudoscience, and used to justify racist practices (Omi and Winant 1994; Graves 2003). When considering skin color, for example, the social construction of race perspective recognizes that the relative darkness or fairness of skin is an evolutionary adaptation to the available sunlight in different regions of the world.

Contemporary conceptions of race, therefore, which tend to be based on socioeconomic assumptions, illuminate how far-removed modern understanding of race is from biological qualities. In modern society, some people who consider themselves “white” actually have more melanin (a pigment that determines skin color) in their skin than other people who identify as “black.” In some countries, such as Brazil, class is more important than skin color in determining racial categorization. People with high levels of melanin may consider themselves “white” if they enjoy a middle-class lifestyle. On the other hand, someone with low levels of melanin might be assigned the identity of “black” if he or she has little education or money.

The social construction of race is also reflected in the way names for racial categories change with changing times. It is worth noting that race, in this sense, is also a system of labeling that provides a source of identity; specific labels fall in and out of favor during different social eras. For example, the category “Negroid,”

popular in the nineteenth century, evolved into the term “negro” by the 1960s, and then this term fell from use and was replaced with “African American.” This latter term was intended to celebrate the multiple identities that a black person might hold, but the word choice is a poor one: it lumps together a large variety of ethnic groups under an umbrella term while excluding others who could accurately be described by the label but who do not meet the spirit of the term. For example, actress Charlize Theron is a blonde-haired, blue-eyed “African American.”

Ethnicity is a term that describes shared culture, the practices, values, and beliefs of a group. This culture might include shared language, religion, and traditions, among other commonalities. Like race, the term ethnicity is difficult to describe, and its meaning has changed over time. Moreover, as with race, individuals may be identified or self-identify with ethnicities in complex, even contradictory, ways. For example, ethnic groups such as Irish, Italian American, Russian, Jewish, and Serbian might all groups whose members are predominantly included in the “white” racial category. Shared geography, language, and religion can often, but not always, factor into ethnic group categorizations. Ethnic groups distinguish themselves differently from one period to another. Ethnic identity can be used by individuals to identify themselves with others who have shared geographic, cultural, historical, linguistic, and religious ancestry; however, like race, ethnicity has been defined by the stereotypes created by dominant groups as a method of “Othering.” Othering is a process in which one group, usually the dominant group, views and represents themselves as “us/same” and another group as “them/other.” Ethnicity, like race, continues to be an identification method that individuals and institutions use today whether through the census, affirmative action initiatives, nondiscrimination laws, or simply in day-to-day personal relations.

3.9.1. Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide

Srebrenica, 25 years later: Lessons from the massacre that ended the Bosnian



conflict and unmasked a genocide

Genocide is usually defined as the intentional killing of large sums of people targeted because of their ethnicity, political ideology, religion, or culture. At first glance, it appears that ethnic cleansing and genocide are similar. With ethnic cleansing, the aim is to remove a group of people with similar ethnic backgrounds from a specific geographic region by any means possible. This could include forced migration, terror and rape, destruction of villages, and large-scale death. With genocide, the real intent is the death of a group of people at any scale possible until they are extinct. This has happened many times in recent history including Bosnia-Herzegovina, Burma, Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Sudan, and now Syria. Sadly, with all these ethnic conflicts, most were not officially declared as genocides by the United Nations Security Council, but the conditions on the ground and the reasons why they were occurring fit the definition. The treatment of aboriginal Australians is also an example of genocide committed against indigenous people. Historical accounts suggest that between 1824 and 1908, white settlers killed more than 10,000 native Aborigines in Tasmania and Australia (Tatz 2006).

Settlers also enslaved Native Americans and forced them to give up their religious and cultural practices. However, the primary cause of Native American death was neither slavery nor war nor forced removal: it was the introduction of European diseases and Indians' lack of immunity to them. Smallpox, diphtheria, and measles flourished among indigenous American tribes who had no exposure to the diseases and no ability to fight them. Quite simply, these diseases decimated the tribes. How planned this genocide was remains a topic of contention. Some argue that the spread of disease was an unintended effect of conquest, while others believe it was intentional citing rumors of smallpox-infected blankets being distributed as "gifts" to tribes.

Genocide is not just a historical concept; it is practiced today. Recently, ethnic, and geographic conflicts in the Darfur region of Sudan have led to hundreds of thousands of deaths. As part of an ongoing land conflict, the Sudanese government and their state-sponsored Janjaweed militia have led a campaign of killing, forced displacement, and systematic rape of Darfuri people. Although a treaty was signed in 2011, the peace is fragile. Today, there are a few situations that may be classified as a genocide. The first is in Myanmar, where the Buddhist government has been systematically driving out Muslim populations called Rohingya. In July 2011, South Sudan became the world's newest country when it voted to break away from Sudan. Yet by December 2013, fighting between the new government and rebel fighters created a new civil war within the new country. Thousands of civilians have been killed, with millions more displaced by the violence. Like Yemen, there is now growing concern that the civil war will create a nationwide famine.

The 20th Century was also the deadliest century, regarding war, in human history. This century experienced two world wars, multiple civil wars, genocides in Rwanda (Tutsis and moderate Hutus), Sudan, Yugoslavia, and the Holocaust that decimated the Jewish population in Europe during WWII. In addition to WWI and

WWII, this century experienced the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Cold War, and the first Gulf War. Additionally, this century saw regional and civil conflicts such as those experienced in the Congo (6 million people died), as well as an upsurge in child soldiers and modern slavery. Some of the worst acts by humans have been concerning ethnic cleansing and genocide. The United Nations Security Council established Resolution 780, which states that ethnic cleansing is “a purposeful policy designed by one ethnic or religious group to remove by violent and terror-inspiring means the civilian population of another ethnic or religious group from certain geographic areas.”

3.9.2. Segregation

Segregation refers to the physical separation of two groups, particularly in residence, but also in the workplace and social functions. It is essential to distinguish between *de jure* segregation (segregation that is enforced by law) and *de facto* segregation (segregation that occurs without laws but because of other factors). A stark example of *de jure* segregation is the apartheid movement of South Africa, which existed from 1948 to 1994. Under apartheid, black South Africans were stripped of their civil rights, and forcibly relocated to areas that segregated them physically from their white compatriots. Only after decades of degradation, violent uprisings, and international advocacy was apartheid finally abolished.

3.9.3. Pluralism

Pluralism is represented by the ideal of the United States as a “salad bowl”: a great mixture of different cultures where each culture retains its own identity and yet adds to the flavor of the whole. Genuine pluralism is characterized by mutual respect on the part of all cultures, both dominant and subordinate, creating a multicultural environment of acceptance. In reality, true pluralism is a challenging goal to reach. In the United States, the mutual respect required by pluralism is often

missing, and the nation's past pluralist model of a melting pot posits a society where cultural differences aren't embraced as much as erased.

3.9.4. Assimilation

Assimilation describes the process by which a minority individual or group gives up its own identity by taking on the characteristics of the dominant culture. For example, in the United States, which has a history of welcoming and absorbing immigrants from different lands, assimilation has been a function of immigration. Most people in the United States have immigrant ancestors. In relatively recent history, between 1890 and 1920, the United States became home to around 24 million immigrants. In the decades since then, further waves of immigrants have come to these shores and have eventually been absorbed into U.S. culture, sometimes after facing extended periods of prejudice and discrimination. Assimilation may lead to the loss of the minority group's cultural identity as they become absorbed into the dominant culture, but assimilation has minimal to no impact on the majority group's cultural identity.

Assimilation is opposing to the "salad bowl" created by pluralism; rather than maintaining their cultural flavor, subordinate cultures give up their traditions in order to conform to their new environment. Social scientists measure the degree to which immigrants have assimilated to a new culture with four benchmarks: socioeconomic status, spatial concentration, language assimilation, and intermarriage. When faced with racial and ethnic discrimination, it can be difficult for new immigrants to assimilate fully. Language assimilation, in particular, can be a formidable barrier, limiting employment and educational options and therefore constraining growth in socioeconomic status.

3.9.5. Amalgamation

Amalgamation is the process by which a minority group and a majority group combine to form a new group. Amalgamation creates the classic "melting pot"

analogy; unlike the “salad bowl,” in which each culture retains its individuality, the “melting pot” ideal sees the combination of cultures that results in a new culture entirely. Amalgamation, also known as miscegenation, is achieved through intermarriage between races.

3.10. Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is human geography? Discuss.
2. What is the history of human geography? Discuss its types in detail.
3. What is urbanization. Discuss.
4. Describe function of city and land use pattern in detail.
5. Discuss human population.
6. What is population distribution?
7. What are the factors that affect population distribution? Discuss.
8. What is meant by ethnicity? Discuss with examples.
9. How would you discuss race? Can you support your answer with examples?
10. What is genocide? Describe with examples.
11. What is the difference between amalgamation and assimilation? Discuss

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Unit 4

ETHICS AND METHODS

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Introduction

The discipline of anthropology and the research 'style' of ethnography present one of the more complex methodological and theoretical approaches within Social Sciences. This is due to the range of theoretical and ethical assumptions that can inform the different directions research can take, and the multiplicity of methods that can be adopted to conduct the research. This unit looks at some of the most important methods, which are used in anthropological research studies. This unit will also shed light on the role of ethics in anthropological research and researcher.

Objectives

This unit aims at:

- introduce definitions of ethics, ethical research, and its significance for research methods
- examine basic methods that are used in anthropological research

Learning Outcomes

After reading the unit, you will be able to.

- define and relevant concepts that are pertinent to ethics and ethical research
- discuss various methods used in anthropological research

4.1. Ethics

Ethics in anthropology basically reflects general moral principles of what is bad and what is good in terms of what one should not do and what one should do as a professional in the discipline. However, in practice the emphasis is mostly on the negative that harm must be avoided to research subjects. Anthropologists increasingly are mindful of the fact that science exists in society, and in the context of law and ethics. Anthropologists can't study things simply because they happen to be interesting or of value to science. As anthropologists conduct research and engage in other professional activities, ethical issues inevitably arise. Anthropologists typically have worked abroad, outside their own society. In the context of international contacts and cultural diversity, different value systems will meet, and often compete.

Throughout the history of anthropology during the 20th century and into the present one, many of the ethical controversies, and some scandals as well, have erupted in connection with research associated with war, especially secret or secret work.

Politics is usually involved as well, annoying the difficulty and heat in issues. But there are numerous and diverse cases of ethical problems beyond the association with war as well because ethical dilemmas and choices are inevitable in many different kinds of situations. Most anthropologists try to be ethical in their own work even if they do not become engaged in controversies.

No matter the technique and ethnographic approach, it is obligatory that cultural anthropologists conduct ethical research. This includes getting informed consent, which means that the group/person under study agree to take part in research. It will probably include seeking the permission of national government, local government, and individuals. Cultural anthropologists must always put the welfare and interests of research subjects before their own research.

Part of the challenge in making ethical decisions is the fact that anthropology has always been an activist discipline. E. B. Tylor claimed that “the science of culture is essentially a reformer’s science” and Ruth Benedict said that the “purpose of anthropology was to make the world safe for human difference.” John Bodley has been quoted saying that anthropology is a subversive science.

To work in a host country and community, researchers must inform officials and colleagues there about the purpose and funding, and the anticipated results and impacts, of the research. Researchers have to gain the informed consent of all affected parties from the authorities who control access to the field site to the members of the community to be studied. Before the research begins, people should be informed about the purpose, nature, and procedures of the research and its potential costs and benefit to them.

4.1.1. Informed Consent

(Agreement to take part in the research, after having been so informed) should be obtained from anyone who provides information or who might be affected by the research.

Within the discipline of anthropology much has been written about the question of what constitutes Informed Consent. Informed consent is not considered sufficiently achieved through a piece of paper but must be an ongoing process. The disciplinary ethical discussions have centered on the questions of what constitutes “informed” and what constitutes “consent”. Anthropological research takes place through the long-term embedding of the researcher within the communities that they study. The researchers build up trust with their research participants over time and in many cases, they also build lifelong friendships, and are sometimes even viewed as extended family by the research participants. Often the goal of anthropological research is to become immersed enough into a culture, or group of people, that the

researcher can develop an extensive and detailed understanding of how people in the group think, act, live their lives day in and day out, and how their lives are affected by specific social, political, or economic dynamics.

This methodological approach means that often research does not have a clear starting moment and a clear ending moment. Trust with research participants has to be built before the research can really “start” and yet, if this trust is successfully built and members of the group consent to being a part of the research, the process of gaining trust retroactively becomes important data in the research project. Once trust is established, and consent for participation in the research is confirmed, the additional ethical concern arises that participant often share personal information with the researcher which they do not intend for publication.

The question of consent therefore becomes an ongoing process. Rather than a yes/no consent process, in anthropological research, consent to participate in a research project cannot be taken to mean consent to share all information provided. The researcher has to use their best judgement, and if possible, communicate with the research participants, about which information can be shared, and which cannot. Additionally, anthropological research often takes place in locations where, or with groups of people from whom, the notion of “research”, and especially the potential implications of being part of a research project, cannot be fully understood even when these are explained clearly and often. Some groups are not accustomed to the use of written documents (or if they are these have only ever been used by government officials, colonial powers, money lenders, etc. leading to the wrong impression being made and the necessary trust being diminished) and some are largely illiterate.

The question of hierarchical power dynamics between the researcher and the research participants should also be taken into consideration and, where possible, a certain degree of trust/familiarity should be established prior to requesting consent, so that the consent is freely given. Anthropological research does not always

involve the maintaining of a full list of participants' names, which means that if written informed consent is used, it would create the only existing record of all research participant's real names and identities potentially compromising their privacy and safety. Finally, in anthropological research individual consent is not always the best approach and anthropologists sometimes opt instead for forms of consent at the group level. Anthropologists therefore may first have to determine the appropriate level of informed consent (individual, group, or both) that is required and design appropriate consent mechanisms. This requires a certain level of knowledge of the field that can only be gained through research.

4.1.2. The Basic Elements of Informed Consent

The following elements of information are necessary to obtain informed consent:

1. A fair explanation of the procedures to be followed, and their purpose, including identification of any procedures which are experimental
2. A description of any attendant discomforts and risks reasonably to be expected
3. A description of any benefits reasonably to be expected;
4. A disclosure of any appropriate alternative procedures that might be advantageous for the subject;
5. An offer to answer any inquiries concerning the procedures; and
6. An instruction that the person is free to withdraw his consent and to discontinue participation in the project or activity at any time without prejudice to the subject.

Informed Consent The cornerstone of ethical research is 'informed consent' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The term consists of two important elements, with each requiring careful consideration, that is, 'informed' and 'consent'. Participants must be fully informed of what will be asked of them, how the data will be used, and what (if any) consequences there could be. The participants must provide explicit,

active, signed consent to take part with the research, including understanding their rights to access to their information and the right to withdraw at any point.

The informed consent process can be seen as the contract between researcher and the participants. The aspects of ‘informed’ should include clear explanation on:

- Who the researcher(s) are,
- What the intent of the research is,
- What data will be collected from participants,
- How the data will be collected from participants,
- What level of commitment is required from participants
- How this data will be used and reported, and
- What are the potential risks of taking part in the research

4.2. Method and Methodology Approaches and Perspectives

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

4.2.1. Research Methods, Techniques and Tools

In general usage, a method is a broader term than a technique, which is very specific. A method could make use of more than one technique to achieve a given end. In this sense, a case study could be said to be a method, for which one might have to use different techniques such as interview, observation, questionnaire etc. However, it is not uncommon to call an interview or observation a method, though they would strictly fit into the label of technique. A tool merely refers to the specific devices or instruments that are required to use a particular technique in a particular context. For instance, if one has to carry out an interview, it is not possible without a set of well-planned interview guide or interview schedule which are merely the devices for carrying out the interview.

4.3. Approaches of Anthropological Research

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

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

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

advanced by G P Murdock. Culture and its peculiarities cannot be adequately understood simply by studying single cultures. Cultures should be studied in comparison with one another to interpret the similarities and differences across cultures. In Anthropology *cross-cultural comparison is a method of studying cultural phenomena across cultures of the same period.*

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

4.3.3. Historical Method: History is the study of the past. Nobody can negate history. Each and every social and cultural phenomenon has its roots in the past. Hence, if anybody wants to study the origin, development and evolution of a social institution, societies and cultures, historical method is one of the options. We have already pointed out that historical method is nothing but studying a phenomenon in historical sequence and hence it facilitates comparison across time. *In historical method, the origin, development and gradual evolution of institutions, societies and cultures are studied.* The principles of biological evolution have definitely influenced the historical method. It studies social institutions in the background of whole human history. The famous book *History of Human Marriage* written by Westermarck is an excellent example of study in historical method wherein he studied the gradual evolution of the institution of marriage. Folklore, monuments, inscriptions, autobiographies, coins, materials kept in archives, travelogues and museum specimens are the major sources of historical method. These are helpful in collecting historical data and studying the origin and evolution of societies and cultures through historical method.

4.3.4. Ethnographic Method

Ethnography means to write about a particular culture. It emphasizes the perspective of those being studied. You could recollect the details of the early ethnographic studies and fieldwork tradition that you have studied in the previous year. Ethnographic method is the core of anthropological research. The traditional ethnographic approach assumes that cultures are whole units and can be comprehended

as such. It tries to interpret and describe the symbolic and contextual meanings of the everyday practices in their natural setting. Any anthropological research is essentially based on ethnographic fieldwork, involving mainly participant observation, case study and genealogical method. Each of these methods is discussed in detail in the subsequent sections.

Today the ethnographic fieldwork could be even a virtual site, where people interact with each other, sometimes with high intensity. The different forms of such social networking sites include Facebook, twitter, WhatsApp etc. whichever may be the field, one of the most important aspects of ethnographic research is to develop the skill to systematically record the field data. Whatever may be the approach, in order to make the research scientific, the data gathered during the study need to be clear, and correct? The success of the research depends upon the data gathered for it.

4.4. Anthropological Data

The term *data* is often confusing and misleading. Hence, it needs elaboration. Data is the basic unit of any scientific research. The term data usually refers to distinct pieces of information in raw or unorganized form, such as alphabets, numbers, or symbols. It can represent conditions, ideas, or objects. Thus, *data means any information collected for research*. A researcher has to collect reliable and accurate data systematically. The researcher should also follow specific research procedures that include appropriate techniques, methods, and a methodology. The researcher

should decide what methodology, method and technique are to be employed for data collection and how the data are to be processed, analyzed and conclusions arrived at. You may have also come across different types of data such as primary and secondary data, qualitative and quantitative data. What are the major differences between these concepts.

4.4.1. Primary and Secondary Data

Depending on the sources of data, it can be classified in to primary or secondary. Primary data need to be collected by the researcher directly from the field or from the subjects of research. Thus, it is the firsthand information collected by the researcher directly. At the same time if the researcher uses the data collected earlier by another person or agency, it is considered secondary data. Here researcher gets data not directly, but through secondhand source. In economics, the data may be primarily in the form of prices of goods and cost of production, or in other words, *in the form of numbers*. In Anthropology, it may be in the form of kinship terms, customs, rituals, texts of a native culture, and descriptions of material and non-material culture, or in other words, *in the form of words*. That means, data can be represented in words as well as in numbers. Thus, the data could also be classified either as qualitative or as quantitative based on the nature of the data. Depending on the type of data in particular research, research can be called qualitative research or quantitative research.

4.4.2. Qualitative Data and Quantitative Data

The qualitative data are expressed in the form of words, whereas quantitative data are expressed in the form of numbers. The data collected directly from the field could be analyzed statistically, or without statistics. In social science research, different methodologies are used for arriving at results or conclusions. In a way, it is classified as either qualitative research or quantitative research.

4.5. Qualitative and Quantitative Research

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

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



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

4.6. Mixed Methods

In recent years, anthropologists have begun to combine ethnography with other types of research methods. These mixed-method approaches integrate qualitative and quantitative evidence to provide a more comprehensive analysis. For instance, anthropologists can combine ethnographic data with questionnaires, statistical data, and a media analysis. Anthropologist Leo Chavez used mixed methods to conduct the research for his book *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation* (2008). He started with a problem: how has citizenship been discussed as an identity marker in the mainstream media in the United States, especially among those labeled as Latinos. He then looked for a variety of types of data and relied on ethnographic case studies and on quantitative data from surveys and questionnaires. Chavez also analyzed a series of visual images from photographs, magazine covers, and cartoons that depicted Latinos to explore how they are represented in the American mainstream.

Mixed methods can be particularly useful when conducting problem-oriented research on complex, technologically advanced societies such as the United States. Detailed statistical and quantitative data are often available for those types of societies. Additionally, the general population is usually literate and somewhat comfortable with the idea of filling out a questionnaire.

4.7. Methods and Ethnographic Techniques in Anthropology

4.7. 1. Observation and Participant Observation

Of the various techniques and tools used to conduct ethnographic research, observation in general and participant observation in particular are among the most important. Ethnographers are trained to pay attention to everything happening

around them when in the field, from routine daily activities such as cooking dinner to major events such as an annual religious celebration. They observe how people interact with each other, how the environment affects people, and how people affect the environment. It is essential for anthropologists to rigorously document their observations, usually by writing field notes and recording their feelings and perceptions in a personal journal or diary.

As previously mentioned, participant observation involves ethnographers observing while they participate in activities with their informants. This technique is important because it allows the researcher to better understand why people do what they do from an emic perspective. Malinowski noted that participant observation is an important tool by which “to grasp the native’s point of view, his relation to life, to realize *his* vision of *his* world.”⁶

To conduct participant observation, ethnographers must live with or spend considerable time with their informants to establish a strong rapport with them. Rapport is a sense of trust and a comfortable working relationship in which the informant and the ethnographer are at ease with each other and agreeable to working together.

Ethnographic method, as discussed earlier, is essentially based upon field observation, as one of the primary methods of obtaining data about the world around us. Participant observation, for many years, has been a hallmark of both anthropological and sociological studies. In recent years, the field of education has seen an increase in the number of qualitative studies that include participant observation as a way to collect information. Qualitative methods of data collection, such as interviewing, observation, and document analysis, have been included under the umbrella term of "ethnographic methods" in recent years. In the

contemporary western world, the people are under constant observation wherever they go, as they come under the close circuit television. The non-western world is also fast catching up with it. Observing and being observed are two important features of modern society. It is said that ours is becoming an observation society.

Marshall and Rossman (1995) define observation as "the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study" (p.79). Observations enable the researcher to describe existing situations using the five senses, providing a "written photograph" of the situation under study (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993). Dewalt and Dewalt (2002) describe participant observation as the primary method used by anthropologists doing fieldwork. Fieldwork involves "active looking, improving memory, informal interviewing, writing detailed field notes, and perhaps most importantly, patience". Moreover, participant observation is the process enabling researchers to learn about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and participating in those activities. It provides the context for development of sampling guidelines and interview guides (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002). Participant observation as "the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting" (Marshall and Rossman.,1995).

Bernard (1994) adds to this understanding, indicating that participant observation requires a certain amount of deception and impression management. Most anthropologists, he notes, need to maintain a sense of objectivity through distance. He defines participant observation as the process of establishing rapport within a community and learning to act in such a way as to blend into the community so that its members will act naturally, then removing oneself from the setting or community to immerse oneself in the data to understand what is going on and be

able to write about it. He includes more than just observation in the process of being a participant observer; he includes observation, natural conversations, interviews of various sorts, checklists, questionnaires, and unobtrusive methods. Participant observation is characterized by such actions as having an open, nonjudgmental attitude, being interested in learning more about others, being aware of the propensity for feeling culture shock and for making mistakes, the majority of which can be overcome, being a careful observer and a good listener, and being open to the unexpected in what is learned.

Fine (2003) uses the term "peopled ethnography" to describe text that provides an understanding of the setting and that describes theoretical implications through the use of vignettes, based on field notes from observations, interviews, and products of the group members. He suggests that ethnography is most effective when one observes the group being studied in settings that enable him/her to "explore the organized routines of behavior" (P:41). Fine (2003) in part, defines "peopled ethnography" as being based on extensive observation in the field, a labor-intensive activity that sometimes lasts for years. In this description of the observation process, one is expected to become a part of the group being studied to the extent that the members themselves include the observer in the activity and turn to the observer for information about how the group is operating. He also indicates that it is at this point, when members begin to ask the observer questions about the group and when they begin to include the observer in the "gossip," that it is time to leave the field. This process he describes of becoming a part of the community, while observing their behaviors and activities, is called participant observation (Fine, 2003).

In social research, one of the most important and extensively used methods is observation. All observations are not scientific. An observation becomes scientific only if it is planned and executed systematically. It may take place in real life setting

or in a laboratory. An anthropologist as an ethnographer observes individual and collective behaviour in real-life settings. Hence, Herskovits, the American Anthropologist terms the field as the 'ethnographer's laboratory'.

4.7.2. How Can a Researcher Conduct Observation in the Field?

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

Self-assessment Questions

1. Which type of observation is ideal for anthropological field work? Why?
2. Would an intimate relationship with the group members adversely affect the data collection process?
3. How can we overcome such difficulties in the field?

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

4.7.3. Uncontrolled Observation

Uncontrolled observation is a form of observation which is made in the natural environment without being influenced by outside control or external factors. Most of the knowledge about the social phenomena is generally derived through

uncontrolled observation. There are two types of uncontrolled observations, participant observation and non-participant observation.

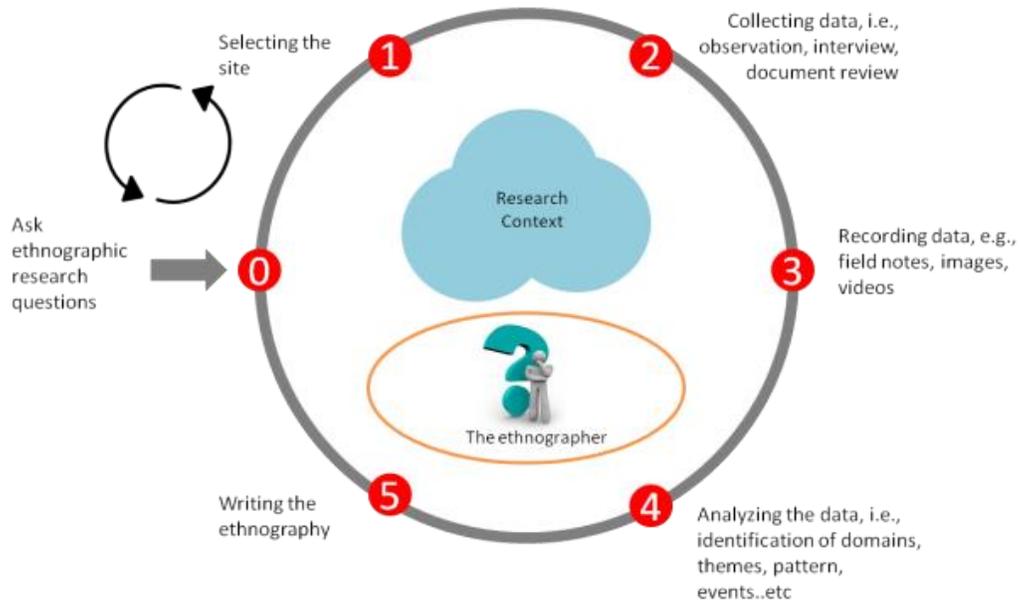
Participant Observation: When the researcher actively participates in the activities of the group under investigation, it is known as participant observation. In the extreme level of participant observation, the researcher might conceal one's identity. It can be called *total participant observation*.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

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

4.7.4. Controlled Observation

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

Ethnography



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Ethnographic methods developed within the field of social anthropology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Among the most notable studies, under what became to be known as the ‘British School’ of social anthropology, are those by Bronislaw Malinowski⁸ and E. E. Evans- Pritchard⁹. These studies involved long periods of intensive fieldwork and participant observation with small tribes of indigenous people and advocated an approach to anthropology which sought to understand the culture from their perspective. Whereas anthropology had traditionally visited discrete communities in remote areas of the globe, the ‘Chicago

⁸ Malinowski B. *Argonauts of the western Pacific: an account of native enterprise and adventure in the archipelagoes of Melanesia New Guinea*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; 1922.

⁹ Pritchard EE. *Witchcraft, oracles and magic among the Azande*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 1937

School' of sociology and criminology in the mid-twentieth century adapted the commitments of the early social anthropologists, turning attention to social problems within urban settings closer (geographically) to home. A definition of 'little' ethnography 'ethnography-as-fieldwork' is suggested.

Ethnography is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally.

Ethnography is a methodology which largely, though not exclusively, employs qualitative methods; however, it has a distinctive approach over and above the particular methods it employs, which could be useful in process evaluations to explore the detail of how complex interventions operate. Despite its benefits, the potential contribution of ethnography to process evaluation has not been realized. This article briefly introduces ethnography as a methodology and then discusses three useful features that are relevant to process evaluations: (1) producing valid data, (2) understanding data within social contexts, and (3) building theory productively. The comments made in this article could be applicable to other types of complex interventions besides those targeting health-behaviour change. The focus here on health-behaviour change and public health is because there is an increasing recognition of the social determinants of health in public health research; studies are consequently addressing the social, environmental, and organizational contexts to a greater degree. Ethnography has traditionally examined social contexts and is, therefore, a very relevant methodology for this field.

Ethnography is characterized by long-term participant observation as a central method, where the researcher spends an extended period of time in a social group in order to collect data. The term 'ethnography' is often used interchangeably with

the term ‘participant observation’, but it is actually a much broader methodology than this, both because of the range of methods it employs and because it encompasses an overall orientation to research, which is detailed below. It comprises a collection of different ways of eliciting and collecting data, including the observation of individuals and groups of individuals, unstructured interviews, documentary analysis, and the use of a researcher’s field notes. It employs these methods within a long-term, holistic, and flexible

The ethnographic researcher participates, overtly or covertly, in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions; in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues with which he or she is concerned

Engagement with a particular social or cultural group is also a distinguishing feature of ethnography, as reflected in Curry et al.’s (2009) definition:

Ethnography is a form of field research that seeks to learn the culture of a particular setting or environment. It often relies on participant observation through prolonged field work and may include other qualitative and quantitative methods. The researcher becomes embedded in ongoing relationships with research participants for the purpose of observing and recording talk and behavior. In such cases, the researcher (as opposed to, for instance, surveys or questionnaires) is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. The researcher seeks to place specific events into a broader, more meaningful context, with a focus on the culture and social interaction of the observed people or groups. Ethnography is particularly valuable in

understanding the influence of social and cultural norms on the effectiveness of health interventions

Ethnography is a research method central to knowing the world from the standpoint of its social relations. It is a qualitative research method predicated on the diversity of culture at home (wherever that may be) and abroad. Ethnography involves hands-on, on-the-scene learning, and it is relevant wherever people are relevant. Ethnography is the primary method of social and cultural anthropology, but it is integral to the social sciences and humanities generally, and draws its methods from many quarters, including the natural sciences. For these reasons, ethnographic studies relate to many fields of study and many kinds of personal experience including study abroad and community-based or international internships.

According to Hammersley (1992) ethnography is research with the following features:

- people's behaviour is studied in everyday contexts rather than under unnatural or experimental circumstances created by the researcher; data are collected by various techniques but primarily by means of observation;
- data collection is flexible and unstructured to avoid pre-fixed arrangements that impose categories on what people say and do;
- the focus is normally on a single setting or group and is small-scale;
- the analysis of the data involves attribution of the meanings of the human actions described and explained (see also Atkinson and Hammersley 1992: 110–11).

4.8. Reflexivity

Reflexivity is another relatively new approach to ethnographic research and writing. Beginning in the 1960s, social science researchers began to think more carefully about the effects of their life experiences, status, and roles on their

research and analyses. They began to insert themselves into their texts, including information about their personal experiences, thoughts, and life stories and to analyze in the accounts how those characteristics affected their research and analysis.

Adoption of reflexivity is perhaps the most significant change in how ethnography is researched and written in the past 50 years. It calls on anthropologists to acknowledge that they are part of the world they study and thus can never truly be objective. Reflexivity has also contributed to anthropologists' appreciation of the unequal power dynamics of research and the effects those dynamics can have on the results. Reflexivity reminds the ethnographer that there are multiple ways to interpret any given cultural scenario. By acknowledging how their backgrounds affect their interpretations, anthropologists can begin to remove themselves from the throne of ethnographic authority and allow other, less-empowered voices to be heard.

4.9. Genealogical Method

Collecting a personal narrative of someone's life is a valuable ethnographic technique and is often combined with other techniques. Life histories provide the context in which culture is experienced and created by individuals and describe how individuals have reacted, responded, and contributed to changes that occurred during their lives. They also help anthropologists be more aware of what makes life meaningful to an individual and to focus on the particulars of individual lives, on the tenor of their experiences and the patterns that are important to them. Researchers often include life histories in their ethnographic texts as a way of intimately connecting the reader to the lives of the informants.

The genealogical method was invented by W.H. R. Rivers (1864—1922) during the Torres Straits Expedition of 1898-99. He described it most fully in *Notes and*

Queries on Anthropology (1912), after which it became standard procedure in social anthropology. Its primary purpose, as Rivers saw it, was to improve the analysis of social organization, i.e., the concrete actuality of interpersonal relations and living arrangements. The method required extensive interviewing of named individuals in order to: (1) collect vital statistics among a non-literate population, and (2) record their pedigrees, which reflected rights and responsibilities relating primarily to descent, succession, and inheritance.

The method was used, along with censuses and settlement plans, in field research for classical monographs on the Todas (Rivers), Tallensi (Meyer Fortes), Tikopia (Raymond Firth), Ndembu (Victor Turner) and Sinhalas (Edmund Leach) among others. Robin Fox added a further dimension to the method by showing that, because a genealogy is a cultural form, care has to be taken that names are elicited in accordance with local practice. Fox's Irish islanders began not with a named individual (an ego) but with ancestors. Anthony Good (1984) added further procedural refinements to ensure that no patrilineal bias affects the use of the genealogical method. The genealogical (kinship) method has a long tradition in ethnography. Developed in the early years of anthropological research to document the family systems of tribal groups, it is still used today to discover connections of kinship, descent, marriage, and the overall social system. Because kinship and genealogy are so important in many nonindustrial societies, the technique is used to collect data on important relationships that form the foundation of the society and to trace social relationships more broadly in communities.

When used by anthropologists, the genealogical method involves using symbols and diagrams to document relationships. Circles represent women and girls, triangles represent men and boys, and squares represent ambiguous or unknown gender. Equal signs between individuals represent their union or marriage and

vertical lines descending from a union represent parent-child relationships. The death of an individual and the termination of a marriage are denoted by diagonal lines drawn across the shapes and equal signs. Kinship charts are diagrammed from the perspective of one person who is called the Ego, and all of the relationships in the chart are based on how the others are related to the Ego. Individuals in a chart are sometimes identified by numbers or names, and an accompanying list provides more-detailed information.

4.10. Key Informants

Within any culture or subculture, there are always particular individuals who are more knowledgeable about the culture than others and who may have more-detailed or privileged knowledge. Anthropologists conducting ethnographic research in the field often seek out such cultural specialists to gain a greater understanding of certain issues and to answer questions they otherwise could not answer. When an anthropologist establishes a rapport with these individuals and begins to rely more on them for information than on others, the cultural specialists are referred to as key informants or key cultural consultants.

Key informants can be exceptional assets in the field, allowing the ethnographer to uncover the meanings of behaviors and practices the researcher cannot otherwise understand. Key informants can also help researchers by directly observing others and reporting those observations to the researchers, especially in situations in which the researcher is not allowed to be present or when the researcher's presence could alter the participants' behavior. In addition, ethnographers can check information they obtained from other informants, contextualize it, and review it for accuracy. Having a key informant in the field is like having a research ally. The relationship can grow and become enormously fruitful.

A famous example of the central role that key informants can play in an ethnographer's research is a man named Doc in William Foote Whyte's *Street Corner Society* (1943). In the late 1930s, Whyte studied social relations between street gangs and "corner boys" in a Boston urban slum inhabited by first- and second-generation Italian immigrants. A social worker introduced Whyte to Doc and the two hit it off. Doc proved instrumental to the success of Whyte's research. He introduced Whyte to his family and social group and vouched for him in the tight-knit community, providing access that Whyte could not have gained otherwise.

4.11. Emic and Etic Perspectives

When anthropologists conduct fieldwork, they gather data. An important tool for gathering anthropological data is ethnography, the in-depth study of everyday practices and lives of a people. Ethnography produces a detailed description of the studied group at a particular time and location, also known as a "thick description," a term coined by anthropologist Clifford Geertz in his 1973 book *The Interpretation of Cultures* to describe this type of research and writing. A thick description explains not only the behavior or cultural event in question but also the context in which it occurs and anthropological interpretations of it. Such descriptions help readers better understand the internal logic of why people in a culture behave as they do and why the behaviors are meaningful to them. This is important because understanding the attitudes, perspectives, and motivations of cultural insiders is at the heart of anthropology.

Ethnographers gather data from many different sources. One source is the anthropologist's own observations and thoughts. Ethnographers keep field notebooks that document their ideas and reflections as well as what they do and observe when participating in activities with the people they are studying, a

research technique known as participant observation. Other sources of data include informal conversations and more-formal interviews that are recorded and transcribed. They also collect documents such as letters, photographs, artifacts, public records, books, and reports.

Different types of data produce different kinds of ethnographic descriptions, which also vary in terms of perspective—from the perspective of the studied culture (**emic**) or from the perspective of the observer (**etic**). Emic perspectives refer to descriptions of behaviors and beliefs in terms that are meaningful to people who belong to a specific culture, e.g., how people perceive and categorize their culture and experiences, why people believe they do what they do, how they imagine and explain things. To uncover emic perspectives, ethnographers talk to people, observe what they do, and participate in their daily activities with them. Emic perspectives are essential for anthropologists' efforts to obtain a detailed understanding of a culture and to avoid interpreting others through their own cultural beliefs.

Etic perspectives refer to explanations for behavior made by an outside observer in ways that are meaningful to the observer. For an anthropologist, etic descriptions typically arise from conversations between the ethnographer and the anthropological community. These explanations tend to be based in science and are informed by historical, political, and economic studies and other types of research. The etic approach acknowledges that members of a culture are unlikely to view the things they do as noteworthy or unusual. They cannot easily stand back and view their own behavior objectively or from another perspective. For example, you may have never thought twice about the way you brush your teeth and the practice of going to the dentist or how you experienced your teenage years. For you, these parts of your culture are so normal and “natural” you probably would never consider questioning them. An emic lens gives us an alternative perspective that is essential when constructing a comprehensive view of a people.

Most often, ethnographers include both emic and etic perspectives in their research and writing. They first uncover a studied people's understanding of what they do and why and then develop additional explanations for the behavior based on anthropological theory and analysis. Both perspectives are important, and it can be challenging to move back and forth between the two. Nevertheless, that is exactly what good ethnographers must do.

4.12. Field Notes

Field notes are indispensable when conducting ethnographic research. Although making such notes is time-consuming, they form the primary record of one's observations. Generally speaking, ethnographers write two kinds of notes: field notes and personal reflections. Field notes are detailed descriptions of everything the ethnographer observes and experiences. They include specific details about what happened at the field site, the ethnographer's sensory impressions, and specific words and phrases used by the people observed. They also frequently include the content of conversations the ethnographer had and things the ethnographer overheard others say. Ethnographers also sometimes include their personal reflections on the experience of writing field notes. Often, brief notes are jotted down in a notebook while the anthropologist is observing and participating in activities. Later, they expand on those quick notes to make more formal field notes, which may be organized and typed into a report. It is common for ethnographers to spend several hours a day writing and organizing field notes.

Ethnographers often also keep a personal journal or diary that may include information about their emotions and personal experiences while conducting research. These personal reflections can be as important as the field notes. Ethnography is not an objective science. Everything researchers do and experience in the field is filtered through their personal life experiences. Two ethnographers

may experience a situation in the field in different ways and understand the experience differently. For this reason, it is important for researchers to be aware of their reactions to situations and be mindful of how their life experiences affect their perceptions. In fact, this sort of reflexive insight can turn out to be a useful data source and analytical tool that improves the researcher's understanding.

4.13. Interview Conversations and Interviews

Another primary technique for gathering ethnographic data is simply talking with people—from casual, unstructured conversations about ordinary topics to formal scheduled interviews about a particular topic. An important element for successful conversations and interviews is establishing rapport with informants. Sometimes, engaging in conversation is part of establishing that rapport. Ethnographers frequently use multiple forms of conversation and interviewing for a single research project based on their particular needs. They sometimes record the conversations and interviews with an audio recording device but more often they simply engage in the conversation and then later write down everything they recall about it. Conversations and interviews are an essential part of most ethnographic research designs because spoken communication is central to humans' experiences.

We often come across interviews with different personalities in media. Interview is universally used for the study of human behaviour. In social life, the Lawyer, physician, journalist, social worker, and salesman depend partly on interviews to carry out their professional demands.

Likewise, anthropological researchers often use key informants as valuable sources of information, by carrying out frequent conversations with them, what is commonly known as key informant interview. They are persons identified by the anthropologists, in the course of one's field research, as those possessing valuable information than others about the people, incidents and social processes under

study. In simple terms, *interview means 'conversation with a purpose'*. It is a procedure used for collecting data through a person to person contact between an interviewer and respondent(s). In interview, data collection is done mainly through the verbal interaction between the respondent(s) and the interviewer. The views and ideas of other persons can be elicited through interview. Interview can be defined as a system in which both the investigator as well as the informant discuss the problem under research, the former usually taking the initiative with the object of extracting maximum information from the latter.

According to Goode and Hatt (1952) *interviewing is fundamentally a process of social interaction*. From the above description the important characteristics of interview can be drawn.

4.13.1. Different Types of Interviews

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

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

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

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

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

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

One cannot directly or suddenly initiate the interview. The success of interview depends upon how scientifically interview is started, continued, and concluded. The different phases involved in interview process will be helpful for the successful conduct of interview.

4.14. Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is informed consent? Discuss its role of ethics in anthropology.
2. Discuss its role and process in anthropological research
3. How qualitative research is different from quantitative research? Discuss.
4. How can a researcher conduct observation in the field?
5. Is observation a method? Discuss
6. Distinguish between controlled and non-controlled observation.
7. Describe in detail what is ethnography?
8. Discuss the role of ethnography in anthropology.
9. Why ethnography is so important in anthropological research?
10. If you were to conduct anthropological fieldwork anywhere in the world, where would you go? What would you study? Why? Which ethnographic techniques would you use?
11. What is unique about ethnographic fieldwork and how did it emerge as a key strategy in anthropology?

12. Differentiate between structured and non-structured interviews? Quote your answer with examples.
13. Explain different types of interviews with examples.

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Unit 5

MARRIAGE, KINSHIP, AND FAMILIES

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Introduction

Marriage, Kinship, and making families are the basic facts of life. This unit deals with these three fundamental realities through anthropological perspectives. Further, studying of these basis fundamental leads to their conceptual clarity through definition, types, and function which they perform in every society.

Objectives

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

- define the concepts, types and pattern of marriage, kinship, and the family
- describe the relationship that exists between marriage and family relations

Learning Outcomes

After reading the unit, you will be able to.

- define and utilize key and other relevant concepts in kinship, marriage, and family
- discuss how marriage, kinship and family play a significant role in any society

5.1. Defining Marriage

Marriage is defined as basically a sexual union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are considered the legitimate offspring of both parents. The main purpose of marriage is to create new social relationships, rights and obligations between the spouses and their kin, and to establish the rights and status of children when they are born. In traditional, simple societies, marriage is often more of a relationship between groups than one between individuals. In industrial societies, it is more of individual matter. The idea of romantic love is less common in traditional (non-industrial) societies. Marriage, thus, is a group concern in such societies. Marriage in industrial societies joins individuals and relationship between individuals can be severed (broken) more easily than those between groups (Olson and De Frain, 1999). Edmund Leach argued that the institutions commonly classed as marriage are concerned with the allocation of a number of distinguishable classes of rights and hence may serve to do any or some or all of the following.

- To establish the legal father of a woman's children.
- To establish the legal mother of a man's children.
- To give a husband a monopoly of the wife's sexuality.
- To give the wife a monopoly of the husband's sexuality.
- To give the husband partial or monopolistic rights to the wife's domestic and other labor services.
- To give the wife partial or monopolistic rights to the husband's domestic and other labor services.
- To give the husband partial or total rights over property belonging or potentially accruing to the wife.
- To give the wife partial or total rights over property belonging or potentially accruing to the husband.

- To establish a joint fund of property – partnership for the benefit of the children of the marriage.
- To establish a socially significant relationship of affinity between the husband and his wife's brothers.

It is clear from different definitions that it is only through the establishment of culturally controlled and sanctioned marital relations that a family comes into being. The institutionalized form of these relations is called marriage. Marriage and family are two aspects of the same social reality that is recognized by the world. Anderson and Parker say that wedding is the recognition of the significance of marriage to society and to individuals through the public ceremony usually accompanying it. Such a ceremony indicates the society's control.

Anthropological studies of marriage have brought out complex marriage systems. In the Nuer ghost marriage, a woman marries a woman. In another form of marriage, a widow either remarries or takes lovers. The children born to her are considered as a legitimate offspring of her dead husband. In yet another form of marriage among the Nuer a woman marries another senior woman. Children born to the junior woman because of the links with a lover are considered to be the members of the husband's patrilineage. In the matrilineal Nair society in Kerala, young girls were married ceremoniously but did not reside with their husbands. The girls were permitted to take lovers with whom they bore children. Neither the husbands nor the lovers had right over the children who became the members of their mother's lineage.

5.1.1. Hypergamy and Hypogamy

The norm in Hypergamy is that a man should marry his daughter in a family of higher status than his own. In a hypergamous marriage a woman marries a superior or an equal; a man should not marry a woman of higher status than himself. Though

Hypergamy is prevalent in India it is not universal. In classical Hindu ideology the bride is considered as a gift or dan. In addition, gifts in terms of dowry and materials are also given. The hierarchical relationship between the wife -giver and wife-receiver may be expressed in commensal activities. Families by adopting hypergamous marriages may improve their rank. Hypergamous marriages when repeated by wife givers and wife receivers may lead to consolidation of affinal relationship. The norm in hypergamous system is that a man should marry a woman of higher status than his own. In such a case the wife giver has a higher status than the wife receiver.

5.2.1 Types of Marriage

Generally, marriage is classified into monogamy and polygamy. Monogamy is marriage which usually involves a man and a woman; is a one-to-one marriage. Monogamous marriage is very common in most societies of the world. Polygamy (also called plural marriage) is permitted in many cultures. The two kinds of polygamy are polygyny and polyandry. The former involves multiple wives (a man marrying more than one woman at a time) and the latter involves multiple husbands (i.e., one woman married to more than one man at a time). Polygyny and polyandry are found in various social and cultural contexts and occur for many reasons; polygyny is much more common than polyandry. The most common form of polyandrous marriage is termed as fraternal polyandry, which involve two or more brothers taking a single woman as their wife. Polyandrous marriage is very rare, and it occurs mainly in South Asian societies such as Tibet, Burma, Nepal, India, and so on (Angeloni, 1998). There are demographic, economic, ecological, and other reasons for plural marriages. In Ethiopia, plural marriages, particularly a man marrying more than one woman is common in most southern and southwestern parts and Muslim societies.

There are also some other forms of marriage arrangement identified by sociocultural anthropologists. One of these is called levirate marriage, which is a form of marriage whereby a man is entitled to inherit the wife of his deceased brother or close relative. This practice may also be called *wife inheritance*. This form of marriage is common in some parts of Ethiopia and elsewhere in traditional societies, despite it may be declining these days. The converse of levirate marriage is termed as sororate marriage, which entitles a man to take as wife a sister or close relative of his deceased wife. A more common form of marriage, which is classified among the so-called harmful traditional practices in Ethiopia, is called child marriage. This form of marriage takes place in manner whereby concerned parties agree to arrange the marriage of a young girl (as young as below ten years of age in some parts of Ethiopia) to usually an older person. However, child marriage may not always involve a young girl being married to an older man. The focus is on the physical, psychological immaturity of the girl and how these conditions may result in serious social, physical, psychological, and other consequences for the young girl.

5.2.3. Rules of Marriage

There are two types of rules of marriage: These are endogamy and exogamy. Endogamy is a marriage rule, which requires that people marry within their own social group (e.g., their own tribe, nationality, religion, race, community, social class, etc.). On the other hand, exogamy requires that people marry outside a group to which they belong. It bars marriage within smaller inner circle, i.e., one's own close relatives. One of the main concerns of exogamous marriage rule is prohibition of incest, i.e., marrying, or sexual contact between blood relatives.

5.2.4. Marriage Payments

Marriage is regarded as a contractual agreement between different parties (groups), examining rights and values transferred and the various economic and political

rights and interests. The terms of marriage may thus include bride service, which is the labor service provided for the parents of the bride (or the would-be wife) by the bridegroom (or the would-be husband); bride price, which is marriage payment made to the bride and/or her group, in terms of money and material gifts by the bride groom; and dowry, which refers to marriage gifts made to the bridegroom usually by the bride and her family (Scupin and DeCorse, 1995).

5.2.5. Incest and Exogamy

In nonindustrial societies, a person's social world includes two main categories, friends, and strangers. Strangers are potential or actual enemies. Marriage is one of the primary ways of converting strangers into friends, of creating and maintaining personal and political alliances, relationships of affinity.

Exogamy, the practice of seeking a mate outside one's own group, has adaptive value because it links people into a wider social network that nurtures, helps, and protects them in times of need.

Incest refers to sexual relations with a relative. All cultures have taboos against it. However, although the taboo is a cultural universal, cultures define their kin, and thus incest, differently. When unilineal descent is very strongly developed, the parent who belongs to a different descent group than your own isn't considered a relative.

Thus, with strict patrilineality, the mother is not a relative but a kind of in-law who has married a member of your own group, your father. With strict patrilineality, the father isn't a relative because he belongs to a different descent group. The Lakher of Southeast Asia are strictly patrilineal (Leach 1961). Using the male ego (the reference point, the person in question) in Figure 7.4, let's suppose that ego's father and mother get divorced. Each remarries and has a daughter by a second marriage. A Lakher always belongs to his or her father's group, all the members of which (one's *agnates*, or patrikin) are considered too closely related to marry because they

are members of the same patrilineal descent group. Therefore, ego can't marry his father's daughter by the second marriage, just as in contemporary North America it's illegal for half-siblings to marry.

5.2.6. Endogamy

The practice of exogamy pushes social organization outward, establishing and preserving alliances among groups. In contrast, rules of endogamy dictate mating or marriage within a group to which one belongs. Endogamic rules are less common but are still familiar to anthropologists. Indeed, most cultures *are* endogamous units, although they

usually do not need a formal rule requiring people to marry someone from their own society. In our own society, classes and ethnic groups are quasi-endogamous groups.

Members of an ethnic or religious group often want their children to marry within that group, although many of them do not do so. The out-marriage rate varies among such groups, with some more committed to endogamy than others.

5.2.7. Caste

An extreme example of endogamy is India's caste system, which was formally abolished in 1949, although its structure and effects linger. Castes are stratified groups in which membership is ascribed at birth and is lifelong. Indian castes are grouped into five major categories, or *varna*. Each is ranked relative to the other four, and these categories extend throughout India. Each varna includes a large number of castes (*jati*), each of which includes people within a region who may intermarry. All the *jati* in a single varna in a given region are ranked, just as the varna themselves are ranked.

Occupational specialization often sets off one caste from another. A community may include castes of agricultural workers, merchants, artisans, priests, and

sweepers. The untouchable varna, found throughout India, includes castes whose ancestry, ritual status, and occupations are considered so impure that higher-caste people consider even casual contact with untouchables to be defiling. The belief that intercaste sexual unions lead to ritual impurity for the higher caste partner has been important in maintaining endogamy. A man who has sex with a lower-caste woman can restore his purity with a bath and a prayer. However, a woman who has intercourse with a man of a lower caste has no such recourse. Her destruction cannot be undone. Because the women have the babies, these differences protect the purity of the caste line, ensuring the pure ancestry of high-caste children. Although Indian castes are endogamous groups, many of them are internally subdivided into exogamous lineages. Traditionally this meant that Indians had to marry a member of another descent group from the same caste. This shows that rules of exogamy and endogamy can coexist in the same society.

5.2.8. Marriage Across Cultures

Outside industrial societies, marriage often is more a relationship between groups than one between individuals. We think of marriage as an individual matter. Although the bride and groom usually seek their parents' approval, the final choice (to live together, to marry divorce) lies with the couple. The idea of romantic love symbolizes this individual relationship.

In nonindustrial societies, although there can be romantic love (Goleman 1992), marriage is a group concern. People don't just take a spouse; they assume obligations to a group of in-laws. When residence is patrilocal, for example, a woman must leave the community where she was born. She faces the prospect of spending the rest of her life in her husband's village, with his relatives. She may even have to transfer her major allegiance from her own group to her husband's.

5.2.9. Bride Wealth and Dowry

In societies with descent groups, people enter marriage not alone but with the help of the descent group. Descent-group members often contribute to the bridewealth, a customary gift before, at, or after the marriage from the husband and his kin to the wife and her kin. Another word for bridewealth is *bride price*, but this term is inaccurate because people with the custom don't usually think of marriage as a commercial relationship between a man and an object that to be bought and sold.

Bridewealth compensates the bride's group for the loss of her companionship and labor. More important, it makes the children born to the woman full members of her husband's descent group. For this reason, the institution also is called progeny price. Rather than the woman herself, it is her children who are permanently transferred to the husband's group. Whatever we call it, such a transfer of wealth at marriage is common in patrilineal groups. In matrilineal societies, children are members of the mother's group, and there is no reason to pay a progeny price. Dowry is a marital exchange in which the wife's group provides substantial gifts to the husband's family. Dowry, best known from India but also practiced in Europe, correlates with low female status. Women are perceived as burdens. When husbands and their families take a wife, they expect to be compensated for the added responsibility.

Bridewealth exists in many more cultures than dowry does, but the nature and quantity of transferred items differ. In many African societies, cattle constitute bridewealth, but the number of cattle given varies from society to society. As the value of bridewealth increases, marriages become more stable. Bridewealth is insurance against divorce. Imagine a patrilineal society in which a marriage requires the transfer of about 25 cattle from the groom's descent group to the bride's. Michael, a member of descent group A, marries Sarah from group B. His relatives help him assemble the bridewealth.

He gets the most help from his close agnates, his older brother, father, father's brother, and closest patrilineal cousins. The distribution of the cattle once they reach Sarah's group mirrors the manner in which they were assembled. Sarah's father, or her oldest brother if the father is dead, receives her bride wealth. He keeps most of the cattle to use as bride wealth for his sons' marriages. However, a share also goes to everyone who will be expected to help when Sarah's brothers marry. When Sarah's brother David gets married, many of the cattle go to a third group—C, which is David's wife's group. Thereafter, they may serve as bride wealth to still other groups. Men constantly use their sisters' bride wealth cattle to acquire their own wives. In a decade, the cattle given when Michael married Sarah will have been exchanged widely. In such societies marriage entails an agreement between descent groups. If Sarah and Michael try to make their marriage succeed but fail to do so, both groups may conclude that the marriage can't last. Here it becomes especially obvious that marriages are relationships between groups as well as between individuals. If Sarah has a younger sister or niece (her older brother's daughter, for example), the concerned parties may agree to Sarah's replacement by a kinswoman.

However, incompatibility isn't the main problem that threatens marriage in societies with bride wealth. Infertility is a more important concern. If Sarah has no children, she and her group have not fulfilled their part of the marriage agreement. If the relationship is to endure, Sarah's group must furnish another woman, perhaps her younger sister, who can have children. If this happens, Sarah may choose to stay in her husband's village. Perhaps she will someday have a child. If she does stay on, her husband will have established a plural marriage.

Most nonindustrial food-producing societies, unlike most industrial nations, allow plural marriages, or *polygamy*. There are two varieties; one is common and the other is very rare. The more common variant is polygyny, in which a man has more than one wife. The rare variant is polyandry, in which a woman has more than one

husband. If the infertile wife remains married to her husband after he has taken a substitute wife provided by her descent group, this is polygyny.

5.2.10 Divorce

In some societies marriages may seem to go on forever, but in our own they are fairly brittle. Ease of divorce varies across cultures. What factors work for and against divorce? As we've seen, marriages that are political alliances between groups are more difficult to dissolve than are marriages that are more individual affairs, of concern

mainly to the married couple and their children. Substantial bride wealth may decrease the divorce rate for individuals; replacement marriages (levirate and sororate) also work to preserve group alliances. Divorce tends to be more common in matrilineal than in patrilineal societies. When residence is matrilocal (in the wife's home village), the wife may simply send off a man with whom she's incompatible. Among the Hopi of the American Southwest, houses were owned by matrilineal clans, with matrilocal post marital residence. The household head was the senior woman of that household, which also included her daughters and their husbands and children.

A son-in-law had no important role there; he returned to his own mother's home for his clan's social and religious activities. In this matrilineal society, women were socially and economically secure and the divorce rate was high. Consider the Hopi of Oraibi (Orayvi) pueblo, northeastern Arizona (Levy 1992; Titiev 1992). In a study of the marital histories of 423 Oraibi women, Mischa Titiev found 35 percent to have been divorced at least once. Jerome Levy found that 31 percent of 147 adult women had been divorced and remarried at least once. For comparison, of all ever-married women in the United States, only 4 percent had been divorced in 1960, 10.7 percent in 1980, and 11.5 percent in 2004. Titiev characterizes Hopi marriages as unstable. Part of this brittleness was due to conflicting loyalties to matrikin

versus spouse. Most Hopi divorces appear to have been matters of personal choice. Levy generalizes that, cross culturally, high divorce rates are correlated with a secure female economic position. In Hopi society women were secure in their home and land ownership and in the custody of their children. In addition, there were no formal barriers to divorce.

Divorce is harder in a patrilineal society, especially when substantial bride wealth would have to be reassembled and repaid if the marriage failed. A woman residing patrilocally (in her husband's household and community) might be reluctant to leave him. Unlike the Hopi, where the kids stay with the mother, in patrilineal, patrilocal societies the children of divorce would be expected to remain with their father, as members of his patrilineage. From the women's perspective this is a strong impediment to divorce.

Among foragers, different factors favor or oppose divorce. What factors work against durable marriages? Since foragers tend to lack descent groups, the political alliance functions of marriage are less important to them than they are to food producers. Foragers also tend to have minimal material possessions. The process of dissolving a joint fund of property is less complicated when spouses do not hold substantial resources in common. What factors work in opposition to divorce among foragers? In societies in which the family is an important year-round unit with a gender-based division of labor, ties between spouses tend to be durable. Also, sparse populations mean few alternative spouses if a marriage doesn't work out.

In contemporary Western societies, we have the idea that romantic love is necessary for a good marriage (Ingraham, 2008). When romance fails, so may the marriage, economic ties, and obligations to children, along with other factors, such as concern about public opinion, or simple inertia, may keep marriages intact after sex, romance, or companionship fade.

5.3. The Concept of Kinship

The social relationships deriving from blood ties (real and supposed) and marriage are collectively referred to as kinship. Encyclopedia Britannica 'Kinship is the recognition of relationships between persons based on descent or marriage. If the relationship between one person and another is considered by them to involve descent, the two are consanguine ("blood") relatives. If the relationship has been established through marriage, it is affinal. Kinship is a system of social relationships that is expressed in biological idiom using terms like "mother", "son", and so on. It is best visualized as a mass of networks of related-ness, not two of which are identical, that radiate from each individual. Kinship is the basic organizing principle in small-scale societies like those of the Aborigines and provides a model for interpersonal behaviour.

Kinship is considered the lifeblood or the social building blocks of the people anthropologists study. In non-industrialized, non-literate cultures, kinship, marriage, and the family form the bases of social life, economic activity, and political organization. The behavior and activities of people in such societies are usually kinship oriented (Keesing, 1981). Thus, one of the main concerns of anthropologists in studying the ways of life in small-scale, non-industrial societies is to understand the principles of kinship, marriage, and the family. In contemporary, modern societies, most people's contacts outside the home are with non-relatives. However, people in non-industrial cultures spend their lives almost exclusively with relatives and associates. Everyone is related to, and spends most of his/her time with, everyone else, and rules of behavior attached to particular kin relationship are basic to everyday life (Kottak, 2002). Kinship is defined as the network in which people are related to one another through blood, marriage, and other ties. Kinship is a kind of social relationship that ties people. Kinship is universally found in all societies. Kinship can be created through three ways

1) *Through blood*: this is the principle of consanguinity. A consanguine is a person who is related to another person through blood. Consanguines include kin, not friends. Examples of consanguines are the following: a parent's (father/mother/grand-parent) relation to a child; relation between siblings (brothers and sisters); an individual's relation to his/ her uncle, aunt, niece, or nephew; etc.

(2) *Through marriage*: this is the principle of affinity. E.g., kinship ties between husband and wife; husband and his wife's group; wife and her husband's group, etc.

(3) *Through adoption, fostering, god-parenthood, etc.* This is called the principle of fictitious kinship. Fictitious kinship is, in other words, a kind of relationship in which two individuals create a kind of parent-child relationship without any blood or marriage ties. social relationships, rights and obligations between the spouses and their kin, and to establish the rights and status of children when they are born. In traditional, simple societies, marriage is often more of a relationship between groups than one between individuals. In industrial societies, it is more of individual matter. The idea of romantic love is less common in traditional (nonindustrial) societies. Marriage, thus, is a group concern in such societies. Marriage in industrial societies joins individuals and relationship between individuals can be severed (broken) more easily than those between groups (Olson and De Frain, 1999).

5.3.1. Degree of Kinship

Any relationship between two individuals is based on the degree of closeness or distance of that relationship. This closeness or distance of any relationship depends upon how individuals are related to each other. Kinship basically has three degrees, which can be explained in the following way.

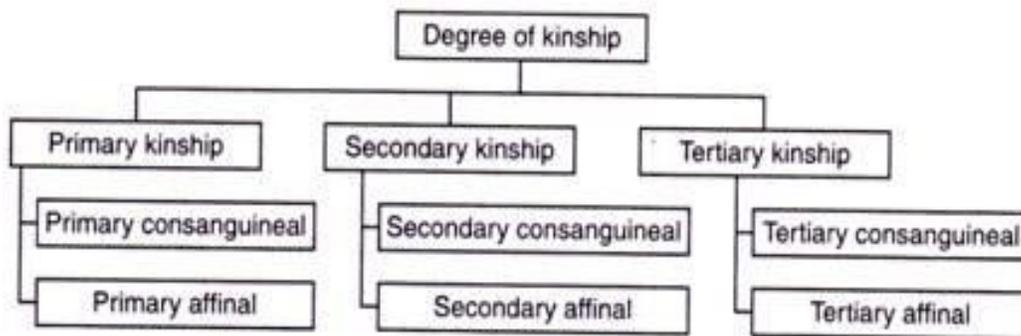


Figure 3

5.3.2. Primary Kinship

Primary kinship refers to direct relations. People who are directly related to each other are known as primary kin. There are basically eight primary kins—wife father son, father daughter mother son, wife; father son, father daughter, mother son, mother daughter; brother sister; and younger brother/sister older brother/sister.

Primary kinship is of two kinds

1.Primary Consanguineal Kinship

Primary consanguineal kin are those kin, who are directly related to each other by birth. The relationships between parents and children and between siblings form primary kinship. These are the only primary consanguineal kin found in societies all over the world.

1.Primary Affinal Kinship

Primary affinal kinship refers to the direct relationship formed as a result of marriage. The only direct affinal kinship is the relationship between husband and wife.

5.3.3. Secondary Kinship is also of Two Kinds

1.Secondary Consanguineal kinship

This type of kinship refers to the primary consanguineal kin's primary consanguineal kin. The most basic type of secondary consanguineal kinship is the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren. In the Figure 3, there is a direct consanguineal relationship between Ego and his parents. For Ego, his parents are his primary consanguineal kin. However, for Ego's parents, their parents are their primary consanguineal kin. Therefore, for Ego, his grandparents are his primary consanguineal kin's (his parents) primary kin. For him, they become secondary consanguineal kin.

Primary affinal kinship refers to the direct relationship formed as a result of marriage. The only direct affinal kinship is the relationship between husband and wife.

2.Secondary Affinal Kinship

Secondary affinal kinship refers to one's primary affinal kin's primary kin. This kinship includes the relationships between an individual and all his/her sisters-in-law, brothers-in-law, and parents-in-law. For an individual, his/her spouse is his/her primary affinal kin, and for the spouse, his/her parents and siblings are his/her primary kin. Therefore, for the individual, the parents of brother/sister-in-law will become his/her secondary affinal kin. Similarly, any sibling's spouse or sibling's parents-in-law will become secondary affinal kin for an individual.

5.3.4. Tertiary Kinship Tertiary kinship refers to the primary kin of primary kin's primary kin or secondary kin of primary kin primary kin of secondary kin. Roughly 151 tertiary kin have been identified. Like other two degrees of kinship, tertiary kinship also has two categories

1. Tertiary Consanguineal Kinship

Tertiary consanguineal kinship refers to an individual's primary consanguineal kin (parents), their primary kin (parents' parents), and their primary kin (parent's parent's parents). Thus, the relationship is between great grandchildren and great grandparents, and great grand aunts and uncles, and consequently the relationship between great grand uncles and aunts and great grand nieces and nephews.

In Figure 3, Ego's primary kin are his parents, their primary kin are his grandparents and his grandparent's primary kin (who are Ego's primary kin's primary kin's primary kin) are his great grandparents. Thus, tertiary kin are primary kin's primary kin's primary kin.

This relationship can be seen in different ways, ego's tertiary kin are his primary kin's (parents) secondary kin (father's grandparents), thus showing that tertiary kin are primary kin's secondary kin. Another way of looking at this same relationship is by showing that ego's tertiary kin are his secondary consanguineal kin's (his grandparents) primary kin (grandfather's parents), which proves that tertiary kin can be secondary kin's primary kin.

2. Tertiary Affinal Kinship:

Tertiary affinal kinship refers to primary affinal kin's primary kin's primary kin, or secondary affinal kin's primary kin, or primary affinal kin's secondary kin. These relationships are many, and some examples will suffice at this stage of tertiary affinal kin can be spouse's grandparents, or grand uncles and aunts, or they can be brother or sister-in-law's spouses or their children.

Self-assessment Questions (SAQs)

What is the significance of learning kinship terms? Use three lines for your answer.

5.4. Anthropological Approach: Descent and Alliance

5.4.1. Descent

Descent refers to the existence of socially recognized biological relationship between individuals in society. In general, every society recognizes the fact that all offspring or children descend from parents and that a biological relationship exists between parents and children. It refers to a person's offspring or his parentage. Thus, descent is also used to trace one's ancestry. Descent Approach Kinship in our society is used for establishing clear-cut corporate social units. Each one of us is a member of such a cooperating and closely bound group of people. One can depend upon the help and support given by such people. Such cooperating local groups are always larger than elementary families of spouses and their children. When these groups are recognized or defined on the basis of shared descent, anthropologists call them descent groups. Formally speaking there are six possible avenues for the transmission of descent group membership, from parents to children. These are

- i) Patrilineal — where descent is traced in the male line from father to son,
- ii) Matrilineal — where descent is traced in the female line from mother to daughter,
- iii) double (duolineal or bilineal) — where descent is traced in both the father's line as well as mother's line for different attributes such as movable property in one line and immovable in another,
- iv) cognatic (bilateral) — where attributes are transmitted equally through both parents. Here no unilineal groups can be formed but group structure can be cognatic, that is, the group of kinpersons on the father's and

mother's side. Membership can be acquired through either the father or the mother,

- v) v) parallel descent — a very rare form of descent where descent lines are sex specific. Men transmit to their sons while women to their daughters, and finally
- vi) vi) cross or alternative type descent — this is also very rare. Here men transmit to their daughters and women to their sons.

5.4.2. Alliance Approach Another concept that figured prominently in the study of kinship systems in India is that of alliance. Kinship includes the consideration of the patterns and rules of marriage. When a sociologist pays special attention to these aspects of kinship, we say that he/she is following the alliance approach to understand the patterns of kinship. Many studies of kinship in India have focused on marriage as an alliance between two groups and on kinship terminology, as a reflection of the nature of alliance. Because of their concentration on relationships arising out of marriage, we say that these studies follow the alliance approach. The main exponent of this approach is Dumont (1961). He has emphasized the role played by marriage in the field of kinship in South India. By showing the opposition between consanguines and affine as reflected in the Dravidian kinship terminology, Dumont (1961) has made an important contribution to our understanding of kinship system in India in general and of South India in particular. He has applied to South India a structural theory of kinship. It brings out the repetition of intermarriage through the course of generations. This pattern highlights the classification of kinsmen into two categories of parallel and cross relatives. The alliance approach to the study of kinship has helped sociologists to discuss and explain the distinction between bride-givers and bride-takers.

5.4.3. Lineage refers to the line through which descent is traced. This is done through the father's line or the mother's line or sometimes through both sides. Both descent and lineage go together as one cannot trace descent without lineage.

5.4.4. Importance of Kinship in Rural Society

It is important to study kinship, as it helps in sociological and anthropological theory building. Pierre Bourdieu, Levi Strauss, and Evans Pritchard are some of the theorists, who have constructed various theories on the basis of kinship relations. However, except a few, no substantial work has been done on villages. Kinship relations have been studied by the Indian sociologists or anthropologists. Most of them have concentrated on village, caste, family, and other social institutions in rural areas. Few sociologists and anthropologists, such as, Karve (1965), Rivers, and Madan (2001) have made certain notable contributions to the institution of kinship.

5.4.5. Kinship and its Relation to Rural Family, Property and Land:

The prime property of any rural family is land. So, land is related to all the kin members of the family. The sons, grandsons and other kins, who are related by blood and marriage, have their economic interests in land. Now-a-days, women are becoming aware that they are also entitled to get an equal share from the ancestral property.

The emancipation movement of women demands that women should not be deprived of the inheritance rights and should get all equal share of the property. In most of the village studies, property and kinship are discussed in relation to each other. The family members also gain status by the ownership of land. Even political status is determined by kinship relations in some cases. In the case of kin relations, related by blood and marriage, many economic and political concessions are given to the members of the kin. However, it does not mean that kinship relations are

important only in rural society as they are also there in urban society too. As the urban community is widespread, there is hardly any chance for kin members to participate and meet in the social gatherings of the family.

5.4.6. Kinship and Marriage

In every society, marriage has certain rules, such as endogamy, exogamy, incest taboos and other restrictions. These rules are applicable to all the kins of the family. Usually, the rural people are more serious and stricter in observing the rules related to marriage. Exogamy is commonly followed in most of the villages of India. The members of the villages do not prefer to marry within their own village. However, this rule can vary on the basis of the severity of rules of marriage. Karve (1965) and Mayer in their studies on kinship have reported on the village exogamy. Mayer, in his study of Kinship in Central India, informs that village exogamy is violated in some of the cases, but it brings disrepute to the parties involved. It must be observed here that the study conducted by Mayer is an important document on village ethnography. Mayer further informs that inter-caste marriages, in all cases, are looked down by the village people. (Doshi and Lain: 192).

5.4.7. Kinship and Rituals:

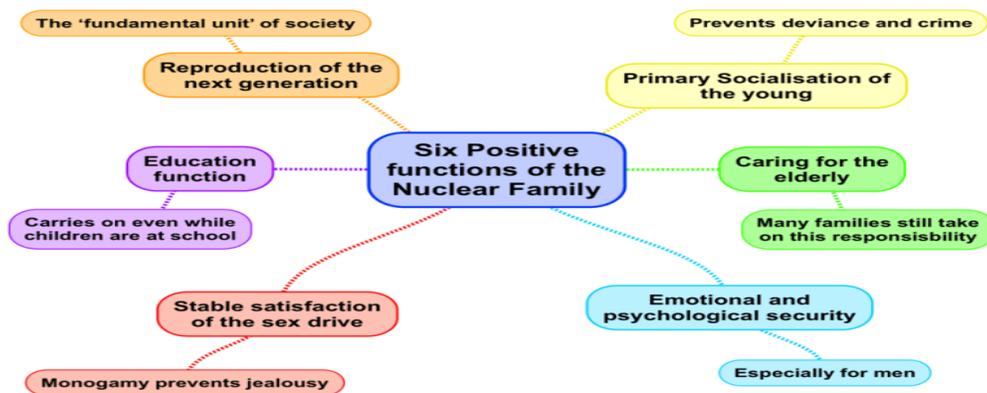
The role and importance of the kin members lies in the degree of close relationships among them. Their importance can be seen during the occasions, such as cradle ceremony, marriage, and death. During a naming ceremony, it is the father's sister, who has to give a name to the newborn. There are certain rites and rituals, which have to be performed by mother's brother during the marriages of daughters. The daughter's parents make the payment in cash or kind to the son-in-law's sister, who occupies an important place during a Hindu wedding, especially in South India. It is obligatory on part of the close kin relatives to offer gifts to the newly wed couples and in the same manner, these close relatives are equally rewarded from both sides

(parents of the couple). During the occasions of death also, it is obligatory for the kinsmen to observe mourning for about 11 to 14 days (this period varies from region to region).

5.5. Definition and Types of the Family

The family is the most important primary group in a society. It is the simplest and the most elementary form of society. The family as an institution is universal. It is the most permanent and the most pervasive of all social institutions. In case of the west family is defined as an economic and social unit. In case of Pakistan and most of other South Asian countries, family is a cultural religious unit.

One of the functions of marriage is that it leads to the creation of families, although families may come into being independently of marriage. However, marriage provides the family its legal and social validity. The family may be conventionally defined as “an intimate kin-based group that consists of at least a parent-child nucleus”; it is a minimal social unit that cooperated economically and assumes responsibilities for rearing children (Olson and DeFrain, 1999). A dominant form of family in today's modern society consists of a husband, wife and their dependent child or children. This is called *nuclear* family. However, this form of family is not the ideal one in societies where polygamous marriage form is dominant; it is rare among small-scale, agriculturalist societies in the Third World.



Thus, a more general definition of family considers the family as any social group of people who are united together by ties of marriage, ancestry, or adoption, having the responsibility for rearing children. A family in much small- scale, traditional societies may constitute a husband, his wife/wives, his wife's/ wives' children and/or the wives and children of his sons. This form of family is called *extended* family. Extended families may emerge out of polygamous and marriage forms.

5.5.1. Types of Family

On the basis of marriage family has been classified into three major types:

5.5.1.1. Matriarchal Family

The matriarchal family known as mother centered or mother dominated family. The mother or the woman is the head of the family. She exercises authority and manages the property. The descent is traced through the mother hence it is matrilineal in descent. Daughters inherit the property of the mother. The status of the children is decided by the status of the mother. Matriarchal family is matrilocal in residence. After the marriage the wife stays back in her mother's home. The husband pays occasional visits to the wife's home. In theory mother exercises authority and power in the matriarchal family. She is the head of the family, and her decisions are final. But in practice some relatives of the family, her brother exercises authority in the family. The maternal family brings together the kinsmen and welds them in a powerful group.

5.5.1.2. Patriarchal Family

The patriarchal family is also known as father centered or father dominated family. The father is the head of the family and exercises authority. He is the administrator of the family property. The descent, inheritance and succession are recognized

through the male line. Patriarchal families are patrilineal in character because the descent is traced through the male line. Only the male children inherit the property. Patriarchal family is patrilocal in residence. Sons continue to live with the father in his own house even after their marriages. Only the wives come and join them. Women have secondary position in these families. Children are brought up in their father's family.

The individual nuclear family is a universal social phenomenon. It can be defined as a small group composed of husband and wife and children that constitute a unit apart from the rest of the community. The nuclear family is a characteristic of all the modern industrial societies in which a high degree of structural and functional specialization exists. The nuclear family comprises a cohabiting man and woman who maintain a socially approved sexual relationship and have at least one child. The traditional nuclear family is a nuclear family in which the wife works in the home without pay while the husband works outside the home for money. This makes him the primary provider and ultimate authority according to Popenoe.

5.5.1.3. The Joint Family

The joint family is also known as undivided family or extended family. It normally consists of members belong to two-three generations: husband and wife, their married and unmarried children and their married or unmarried grandchildren. The joint family system constituted the basic social institution in many traditional societies particularly Asian societies like Indian. The joint family is considered as bedrock on which Hindu values and attitudes are built. The joint family is a mode of combining smaller families into larger family units through the extension of three or more generations. In joint family the members are related through blood and spread over several generations living together under a common space and work under common head. According to Karve (1965) the joint family may be defined

as a group of people who generally live under one roof, who eat food cooked at one hearth, who hold property in common and who participate in common family worship and are related to each other as some particular type of kindred. The Patriarchal joint family is father centered and the matriarchal joint family is mother dominated. The patriarchal joint families are found among the Nambudaris of Malabar, the Mundus of Chotanagpur and the Angami Nagas of Assam(India).

5.5.2. Functions of the Family

The family is the most basic unit of all social institutions; it is the building block of any society. It is so important to individuals and society because it responds to some of the fundamental human needs, both individual and collective. These needs include the needs for love and emotional security, the need to regulate sexual behavior, the need to reproduce generations, the need to protect the young and the disabled (the sick), and the need to socialize children.

The most important psychosocial function of the family is *socialization*. It is the process by which newborn children are trained in the society's values, norms, standards of behaviors action, etc. Socialization is essential to the personality, emotional, social, and intellectual development of children. Without proper socialization, children would end up being mere biological beings, or they would develop anti-societal attitudes and behaviors.

The other important psychosocial function of the family, particularly in traditional societies is providing social support, psychological comfort and physical care and protection for the young, the sick, the disabled and the aged. Such families exert powerful authority on the behaviors of children; this is particularly true regarding children's sexual behavior. One of the reasons for the widespread nature of sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS could be the weakening of the traditional authority systems of the family.

The family also plays the role of providing primary health needs and maintaining

health and wellbeing for its members. The family is the essential unit, particularly in the contexts of developing societies, in the kin-based communal networks, where para-medical services are freely made available to the kinfolk. The people take notice of illness, take care of and comfort the sick person, and make him or her feel that he or she has the support in his/ her suffering (Read, 1966).

5.6 Self-Assessment Questions

1. Define the term kinship?
2. How is kinship different from other forms of social relationships?
3. Distinguish between the principles of consanguinity and affinity.
4. What forms of marriage are practised in your area?
5. Describe the advantages and disadvantages of nuclear and extended family forms.
6. If men marry in your areas more than one woman, explain the reasons behind. Is such a practice declining or increasing? Why?
7. Discuss the psychosocial and effects of marriage breakdown and/ or divorce.
8. Discuss the aspects of family and marriage systems that have changed in your area. Which ones are positive and which ones are negative?

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UNIT 6

RELIGION

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Introduction

Humans have always been wondered about the meaning of the life, the nature of the universe and the forces that shape our lives, while it is impossible to know for sure how the people who lived thousands of years ago answered these kinds of questions, there are some clues. Fifty thousand years ago, human communities buried the dead with stone tools, shells, animal bones and other objects, a practice that suggests they were preparing the deceased for an afterlife, or a world beyond this one. Anthropologists of religion are not concerned with discovering the truth or falsehood of religion. They are more interested in how religious ideas express a people's cosmology, i.e., notions of how the universe is organized and the role of humans within the world. This unit looks at the various approaches and understanding of religion from anthropological perspective by exploring the role, importance and types of religion on which human being continue to believe from centuries

Objectives

The aim of this unit is to;

- Introduce the basic concepts related to religion from anthropological perspective
- Familiarize key concepts and terms, elements of religion and function of religion etc.
- Explain various concepts related to the study of religion that contribute to the religious practices in most of the religions in the world

Learning Outcomes

- Definition of religion from anthropological perspective and anthropology of religion
 - The anthropological approaches of religion
1. Identify the elements of religion (cosmology, belief in the supernatural, rules of behavior, and rituals) and explain how each element contributes to religious practices.
 2. Define various concepts related to study of religions such as rites of passage, rites of intensification, and rites of revitalization.

6.1 Definition of Religion

Religion is a pattern of beliefs, values, and actions that are acquired by members of a group. Religion constitutes an ordered system of meanings, beliefs, and values that define the place of human beings in the world. Religion is a complex set of beliefs that are part of culture. Cultural anthropology is the branch of science concerned with cultural beliefs. As such, cultural anthropologists are often interested in religion in a variety of places in the world.

There are various ways to define religion. One, the analytic definition stresses how religion manifests itself within a culture and identifies six dimensions of religion:

1. Institutional: this refers to the organizational and leadership structure of religions; this may be complex with a bureaucracy or simple with only one leader
2. Narrative: this refers to myths, e.g., creation stories
3. Ritual: all religions have rites of passage and other activities
4. Social: religions have social activities, perhaps beyond rituals, that helps to promote bonds between members
5. Ethical: religions establish a moral code and approved behaviors for its members and even society at large
6. Experiential: religious behavior is often focused on connection with a sacred reality beyond everyday experience

The functional definition highlights the role religion plays within a culture. This approach defines religion in terms of how it fulfills cognitive, emotional, and social needs for its adherents. Another definition looks at the essential nature of religion, hence its name, the essentialist definition. This approach defines religion as a system of beliefs and behaviors that characterizes the relationship between people

and the supernatural. It is an adaptive behavior that promotes a sense of togetherness, unity and belonging. It helps to define one of the groups to which we belong. Warms (2008) takes an essentialist approach when he defines religion as a system that is composed of stories, includes rituals, has specialists, believes in the supernatural, and uses symbols and symbolism as well as altered states of consciousness. Additionally, Warms (2008) states that a key factor in religion is that it changes over time.

Anthropological theories of religion are diverse and are based variously on ideas human social structures, emotions, or cognition. Most concentrate on one of these, but some combine them. A few look beyond human nature to that of other animals, for analogues or precursors to religion. A few theories are indigenous to anthropology, but many have been borrowed. Thus, any review must be similarly wide-ranging and include material that is not solely anthropological.



6.2 The Anthropological Study of Religion

The anthropology of religion is the comparative study of religions in their cultural, social, historical, and material contexts. The English term *religion* has no exact equivalent in most other languages. For example, burial practices are more likely to be called *customs* and not sharply differentiated from other ways of doing things. Early *Homo sapiens* (for example, the Neanderthals at Krapina [now in Croatia]) began burying their dead at least 130,000 years ago.

Paradoxically, anthropologists' documentation of the enormous diversity of human customs, past and present, puts into question the very existence of "religion" as a single coherent system of practices, values, or beliefs. Indeed, what constitutes "religion" may be hotly debated even among coreligionists¹⁰. The study of religion in anthropology requires consideration of all these matters, including anthropologists' own terms of analysis.

Scholars of religion throughout the world have long recognized what the American philosopher and psychologist William James (1902) called "the varieties of religious experience." Since the mid-19th century, one of the first and most important contributions of anthropologists has been to extend the study of those varieties beyond the formal doctrines and rituals of established religious institutions to include related customs, regardless of when, where, and by whom they are practiced and whether they are celebrated, suppressed, or taken for granted. The anthropology of religion is the study of, in the words of the English anthropologist Edward Evans-Pritchard (*Theories of Primitive Religion* [1965]), "how religious beliefs and practices affect in any society the minds, the feelings, the lives, and the interrelations of its members...religion is what religion does."

¹⁰ a person of the same religion.

Although Edward Burnett Tylor's classic *Primitive Culture* (1871) documented the wide-ranging doings of his fellow Europeans, most anthropologists in the 19th and early 20th centuries focused on so-called primitive peoples living outside Europe and North America, on the grounds that religion, increasingly defined by contrast to reason, was a historically primitive form of behaviour that was already giving way to science. Subsequent research has proved these assumptions to be wrong. As anthropology has grown to include the study of all humans on an equal footing and the field of anthropology is practiced throughout the world, anthropologists continue to confront their closed-minded biases.

So, what is religion from a comparative perspective? Tylor's famous "minimum definition of Religion, the belief in Spiritual Beings" betrays the origins of the anthropological study of religion in 19th-century debates over "religion" and "science" as alternative conceptions of reality. The very notion of "religion" as distinct from other human doings most likely originated in historical separations of church and state that far from being universal were specific to Europe and North America. Yet Tylor's definition prompted ongoing efforts by anthropologists to achieve a more neutral vocabulary, to move from such particular terms as *soul*, *spirit*, *belief*, *sin*, *god*, *priest*, and so on.

Contrary to their earlier expectations, anthropologists have documented the increasing role of religion in public life throughout the world. Rituals, socially prescribed acts once thought to be the hallmark of religious behaviour, are now recognized as shaping human relations in many social contexts. Thus, the work of scholars like Arnold van Gennep, Victor Turner, Caroline Humphrey, and James Laidlaw on rites of passage and ritualization may apply much more widely.

Anthropologists now characterize religion in more open-ended terms, stressing family resemblances rather than categorical identities. They often focus on worlds, powers, forces, agents, or beings that stretch or defy what is taken to be human, or humanly verifiable, and they emphasize imagination and speculation. Yet Tylor's

approach to religion as a mode of explanation and understanding persists to the present day, undoubtedly because the earlier questions about illusion and ultimate reality, and the ethical issues with which they are associated, remain open to debate. The basic analytical evidence of anthropological research on religion, articulated in the classic works on religion of 19th-century scholars like Karl Marx, Émile Durkheim, and Max Weber is that human modes of understanding, explaining, feeling, and relating are not simply derived from human anatomy or induced by patterns of external stimuli. They also originate in social forms, the division of labour, patterns of political hierarchy or equality, gender relations, and the like. Thus, whatever the ultimate reality of human suffering and death, anthropologists argue that moral insight and action derive from the efforts of human beings to understand their immediate reality in the shifting, ambiguous, contradictory, and conflictive patterns of the relationships in which they are involved and the larger order, or cosmos, in which these relations are set. The anthropology of religion thus entails a holistic approach, including attention to social-cultural, psychological, material, historical, and evolutionary dimensions of religious experience. Anthropologists' early and enduring emphasis on the social reality of religion may have grown historically out of long-standing concerns, particular to the heirs of the Abrahamic religions of the Bible and the Qur'ān, over incarnations of the divine in human (or humanly apprehensible) forms as modes of revelation. Yet, as refined through decades of cross-cultural research, anthropologists' studies of such phenomena as divinity, incarnation, immanence or embodiment, transcendence, sacrifice, prayer, preaching, prophecy, myth, prohibition or taboo, possession, divination, initiation, transgression, and inversion, missionization, conversion, and mystification have made major contributions to the comparative study of religion. At the turn of the 21st century, topics at the forefront of anthropological research on religion included moral imagination, cognition, subjectivity, secularization, the changing relations of church and state, religion, and

science, religious pluralism, migration and pilgrimage, religion and ecology, ethics, and social justice.

Anthropological studies of religion focus on lived practices rather than primarily on textual doctrines, and on the intersections between religion as practiced and other aspects of society, whether systems of economics, gender, politics, medicine and more. Religious beliefs and practices are infinitely varied from society to society and are developed and tailored with symbols, oral traditions, and rituals that complement and support the social systems in which they are imbedded. Now, anthropologists examine, amongst other issues, religion and gender systems, rituals, and oral traditions as representative especially of those marginalized by elite institutions, religion, politics, the interface of religious and medical systems, including religious and medical pluralism¹¹ in societies across the globe.

Since the early 1900s anthropologists have been conducting field research to retrieve, record, classify, and interpret religious beliefs and practices. Early anthropological study of religion was guided by social theory that was informed by evolutionary biology. Thus, anthropologists were concerned with the origins of religion and stages in the development of human thought. Social theorists believed that religious ideas preceded scientific thought and practice. In their conception religious beliefs and institutions would give way to the forces of modernization, rational thought, and secularization. However, at the close of the twentieth century anthropologists find that religious beliefs and practices throughout the globe in industrial and preindustrial societies. In many modern and modernizing social

¹¹ Medical pluralism describes the availability of different medical approaches, treatments, and institutions that people can use while pursuing health: for example, combining biomedicine with so-called traditional medicine or alternative medicine

contexts Increasingly, anthropologists find members of the groups they study investigating and interpreting their own religious life.

In the coordinating of anthropology as a discipline in the later 19th cent., the study was concerned with what were thought to be 'primitive' religions, i.e., those which were believed to be closer to an original state, cruder and simpler than developed, historical religions. Few anthropologists today think that the religions of non-westernized small-scale societies are different in kind from religions of the great traditions. Instead, they tend to be impressed by the fact that similar beliefs, rituals, myths, etc., can be found in both contexts. Religion is seen as a major part of the ways in which individuals and societies organize and sustain their lives. Anthropologists tend to focus on such issues as kinship organization, myth, ritual and symbols, magic, and witchcraft. During the first half-century, anthropologists of religion developed both structuralism and functionalism. But structure/function has ceased to dominate analysis, and in recent years there has been a return to the social and individual construction of meaning and significant space.

Anthropological approaches to religion have been influenced by Émile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Karl Marx. Durkheim and members of his school focused on small-scale societies. They analyzed cosmology embodied in religious ideas and systems. In religion they found the articulation of a coherent worldview that meaningfully ordered human life. They provided detailed analysis of concepts of time, space, and person in the universe embodied in religious thought. They also sought to understand the functions of religious precepts and tenets in structuring social institutions and everyday social transactions.

Weber conducted a comparative study of world religions. His work directed attention to symbols and the problem of meaning framed in religious cosmology

and practice. His discussion of religion embodies analytic constructs used by anthropologists to describe and interpret the actions of religious leaders and believers. Weber also provided models for analyzing religious authority and the making of religious institutions, and he emphasized the relationship between religious thought and practice and the development of economic systems. Weber's work on Protestantism and the emergence of capitalism in America articulates his argument on the importance of religious values in the development of material culture. His emphasis on the significance of religion in shaping industrial capitalism was contested by Marx.

For Karl Marx, religion constitutes a system of beliefs that orients individual to otherworldly concerns and masks the harsh realities of uneven economic development under capitalism. According to Marx, religion provides the basis for individual and group subordination and capitulation to power and authority. In his schema, religion provides the ideological justification for unjust economic distribution and the privileges of the wealthy. However, Marx's position on religion does not entirely accord with the empirical record. In several contexts with prevailing severe social, political, and economic injustice, religion provides the ideological foundation for challenging and resisting authority. One example is the black struggle on American soil for freedom and civil rights in which religious ideas and institutions provided the ideological and material foundations for collective action that challenged and reversed racial discrimination, legal segregation, and economic injustice. Contemporary analysts are inclined to look for the potential in religion to work as a conservative or revolutionary force; religion is one of many interrelated structural factors that influence social order and movements for social change.

Following Durkheim and Weber, social anthropologists conceive of religion as culture. Religion is a pattern of beliefs, values, and actions that are acquired by

members of a group. Religion constitutes an ordered system of meanings, beliefs, and values that define the place of human beings in the world. The human capacity to acquire and use symbolic thought in everyday transactions is an essential element of culture. Each social group embodies its own symbolic system that individual members learn. The human ability to create meaningful symbols underlies religious thought and expression. In ethnographic writing, anthropologists seek to describe cosmology and ritual action. Anthropologists are concerned with examining the relationship between religion and other social institutions.

The anthropological enterprise has added greatly to knowledge of variety and complexity of religious expression. The field today faces the challenges of globalization and rapid social change. Anthropologists no longer conduct field work in remote settings untouched by wider social and technological developments. Human solidarity has been greatly influenced by emergent computer technologies, the worldwide expansion of capitalism, and the massive movement of people seeking work in a global economy. Anthropologists working in the United States are refining their theories and research practices to interpret religious innovation created by an atmosphere of religious freedom and tolerance, plurality reflecting diverse religious bodies, interfaith dialogue, questions about the relationship between rational authority and faith statements, and the breakdown of gender and race discrimination that characterize the American religious landscape. Anthropologists seeking to interpret American religious life are using traditional analytical and practical tools established in their discipline as well as forging interdisciplinary study and collaborative work that includes local people in representing their own religion.

6.3 Basic Elements of Religion

Following are the 7 most basic elements of religion which are briefly discussed as under;

1. **Beliefs.** It is the sensation of brain we have beliefs in one God, Dooms Day, Angels, Sacred books, good and bad Luck, while Hindus believe in more than one God.
2. **Religious Organization.** Religion is an organization of beliefs, rituals, and emotions. No religion without organization can survive. Every religion has its own structure and function and every individual performing his role is that organization. For example, Thousands of people gather at Eid-ul-Fitr and Eid-ul-Azha and people perform the Hajj activities which show an organization structure of the religion Islam. The role of Prophets, Imams, Pirs, priests, Tableegh-e-Jamat is within that structure. Kalma, Zakat, Roza, Hajj and Namaz are organized and form a complete structure of religion Islam.
3. **Emotions.** Emotions of hope, fear, reverence, and humility are the products of religious rituals. The individual performs religious rituals and attaches with emotions. These emotions have close contact with rituals and an individual avoid sins and bows before Almighty Allah. Emotions are the feelings to show the reality of God.
4. **Ritual & Ceremonies.** All religions have their own ritual and ceremonies. These are the emotional and ceremonial practices. In Islam, prayers to God, Ablution, fasting, recitation of the Holy Quran are the religious rituals.
5. **Sacred Objects.** It has its own sacred objects. For Hindus idols, temples, Cow, river of Ganga and Jamna are sacred. For Christians the cross, Church,

and Bible are the sacred objects while for Muslims. The holy Quran, Mosque, Baithullah, Crescent are sacred objects.

6. **Symbols.** Symbols are the signs used for sacred objects or situation. Symbols give meaning to human behavior. For example, when Muslims hear “Azan”, they show a typical behavior and keep quiet. The Baithullah and Mosque are the symbols, of God while prayer is the symbol of humility before God.
7. **Sects.** There are small groups within a religion called sects. Sects have their own religious followers. In Christianity, there are Catholics, and protestants while in Islam these sects are Shias, Sunnis, Ahle Hadith, Wahabites etc. Among them everyone claims to be true but one of them is on the path of righteousness which is the true religion Islam.

6.4. Categories of Religion

Anthropologist Anthony F.C. Wallace proposed four categories of religion, each subsequent category subsuming the previous. These are, however, synthetic categories and do not necessarily encompass all religions.

1. **Individualistic:** most basic; simplest. Example: vision quest.
2. **Shamanistic:** part-time religious practitioner, uses religion to heal, to divine, usually on the behalf of a client. The Tillamook have four categories of shaman. Examples of shamans: spiritualists, faith healers, palm readers. Religious authority acquired through one’s own means.
3. **Communal:** elaborate set of beliefs and practices; group of people arranged in clans by lineage, age group, or some religious societies; people take on roles based on knowledge, and ancestral worship.

1. **Ecclesiastical:** dominant in agricultural societies and states; are centrally organized and hierarchical in structure, paralleling the organization of states. Typically deprecates competing individualistic and shamanistic cults.

6.5. Aspects of Religion

Religious systems have stories, or sacred narratives. Some stories may be more sacred than others, e.g., in Christianity the story of Christ's resurrection is sacred. Stories may be about many things, but there are some common themes: origins of earth and humans, what happens when we die, deeds of important people, and disasters. Anthropologists can study these stories, or myths, to learn more about the people. Myth in anthropology should not be interpreted as a falsehood. In anthropology, a myth is a truism for the people following that belief system. An important part of religion is the belief in the supernatural, which includes a variety of beings from angels and demons to ghosts and gods and souls. The supernatural is a realm separate from the physical world inhabited by humans, although the supernatural can influence the human realm either through direct action or by influencing humans. For some peoples the supernatural realm is disconnected from everyday life; for others it is an intricate part of it. The supernatural can also refer to an unseen power that infuses humans, nature and for some belief systems, inanimate objects. Some groups refer to this power as *mana*, a term that is sometimes used to represent this supernatural power. This belief in a supernatural power is called animatism, while the belief in supernatural beings is animism.

Animatism VS Animism

Comparison Chart

Characteristics	Animatism	Animism
Definition	belief that a common and impersonal power exists in all living and nonliving objects	belief that spirits are present in creatures, objects, places, and perhaps, even words
Coined by	In 1900 by Robert Marett	In 1871 by Sir Edward Tylor
Individuality	Not expressed	Expressed
Synonyms	Manaism and preanimism	None
Different Spirits	a common power	Various spirits of various characteristics
Success	More closely related	Less closely related
Psychological Impact	Positive thinking and placebo effect; use of amulets	Respecting other beings and objects; being one with nature

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Through rituals, people can influence or call upon the supernatural and supernatural power using symbolic action. Rituals are standardized patterns of behavior; e.g., prayer, congregation, etc. In the realm of religion, rituals are a sacred practice. In some religions, rituals are highly stereotyped and deviation from the ritual results in either no influence on the supernatural or negative consequences. Nature based religions, particularly those led by shamans are not as wedded to the ritual and employ a degree of creativity when trying to influence the supernatural.

Ritual promotes what Victor Turner called *communitas*, a sense of unity that transcends social distinctions like socioeconomic class. During the period of the ritual, rank and status are forgotten as members think of themselves as a community. This helps cement unity among community members. Ritual can also be a portrayal influence or a reenactment of myth, e.g., communion or baptism. Portrayal influence invokes magic to manipulate the supernatural and is about harnessing supernatural forces. If the magic does not seem to work, there is not a problem with the magic, but with the ritual, the practitioner did something wrong in their performance.

Magic uses a couple of principles: imitation (or similarity) and contagion. The principle of imitation (similarity) states that if one acts out what one wants to happen then the likelihood of that occurring increases. Baptism is a good example of this as is the Pueblo Indians ritual of whipping yucca juice into frothy suds, which symbolize rain clouds.

The principle of contagion states that things that been in contact with the supernatural remain connected to the supernatural. That connection can be used to transfer mana from the one thing to the other. Voodoo dolls are the classic example of the law of contagion, however, some cultures belief that names also have mana, so for anyone outside of the family to know their real name gives them the power to perform black magic against them.

Another form of magic is divination. Divination is the use of ritual to obtain answers to questions from supernatural sources, e.g., oracle bones, tea leaves, way a person falls, date of birth, etc. There are two main categories of divination: those results that can be influenced by diviner and those that cannot. Tarot cards, tea leaves, randomly selecting a Bible verse and interpreting an astrological sign are

examples of the former. Casting lots, flipping a coin, or checking to see whether something floats on water are examples of the latter.

Ritual is infused with symbolic expression. Emile Durkheim suggested that religious systems were a set of practices related to sacred things. The sacred is that which inspires awe, respect, and reverence because it is set apart from the secular world or is forbidden. People create symbols to represent aspects of society that inspire these feelings. For instance, the totems of Australian aborigine groups is spiritually related to members of the society. The human soul is a kindred spirit to the sacred plant or animal. Clifford Geertz discussed how symbols expressed feelings of society to maintain stability. This approach helped to broaden early definitions of religion beyond supernatural to incorporate actions of people and helped to account for the deep commitment and behavior of adherents.

6.6. The Function of Religion



There appears to be two primary explanations for the emergence of religious systems: for psychological reasons and social reasons.

Psychologically, religion helps people answer the big existential questions, why do we die and suffer, and help people cope with uncertainty. Religion provides a clear-cut way to deal with the unknown. The Trobriand Islanders are excellent mariners yet perform elaborate rituals before setting sail. On 9/11 and in the days following, tens of thousands of people went to church, temple, or mosque to pray and find comfort and answers to the devastation of the terrorist attack.

Socially, religion helps to mediate tension between social roles and relationships. It provides guidelines for how husbands and wives are supposed to act towards one another. It proscribes the relationship of children to parents, and individuals to their society at large. Religion is a way for adherents to achieve consensus. It provides guidelines for right living and identifies what values to hold. Religion gives groups a set of social rules that help to maintain order, invoking a supernatural punishment if its tenets are not followed.

6.7. Patterns of Belief

Patterns of belief focused on one or more god of extra human origin is called a theism. The pattern may reflect social organization, e.g., the more centralized and stratified the society, the fewer gods.

1. Monotheism: belief in one god (Judaism, Christianity, Islam)
2. Henotheism: worship of only one god, while acknowledging that other gods exist. Henotheists do not necessarily view other gods as legitimate objects of worship, even while acknowledging they exist (Hinduism)
3. Polytheism: belief in many gods (Aztec, ancient Greeks, Egyptians)

6.8. Elements of Religion

Despite the wide variety of supernatural beliefs found in cultures around the world, most belief systems do share some common elements. The first of this characteristic is cosmology, an explanation for the origin or history of the world. Religious cosmologies provide “big picture” explanations for how human life was created and provide a perspective on the forces or powers at work in the world. A second characteristic of religion is a belief in the supernatural, a realm beyond direct human experience. This belief could include a God or gods, but this is not a requirement. Quite a few religious beliefs, involve more abstract ideas about supernatural forces.

Most religions also share a third characteristic: rules governing behavior. These rules define proper conduct for individuals and for society as a whole and are oriented toward bringing individual actions into harmony with spiritual beliefs. A fourth element is ritual, practices or ceremonies that serve a religious purpose and are usually supervised by religious specialists. Rituals may be oriented toward the supernatural, such as rituals designed to please the gods, but at the same time they address the needs of individuals or the community as a whole. Funeral rituals, for instance, may be designed to ensure the passage of a deceased person to the afterlife, but also simultaneously provide emotional comfort to those who are grieving and provide an outlet for the community to express care and support.

6.9. Religious Cosmologies

Religious cosmologies are ways of explaining the origin of the universe and the principles or “order” that governs reality. In its simplest form, a cosmology can be an origin story, an explanation for the history, present state, and possible futures of the world and the origins of the people, spirits, divinities, and forces that populate it. The ancient Greeks had an origin story that began with an act of creation from Chaos, the first thing to exist. The deities Erebus, representing darkness, and Nyx,

representing night, were born from Chaos. Nyx gave birth to Aether (light) and Hemera (day). Hemera and Nyx took turns exiting the underworld, creating the phenomenon of day and night. Aether and Hemera next created Gaia (Earth), the mother of all life, who gave birth to the sky, the mountains, the sea, and eventually to a pantheon of gods. One of these gods, Prometheus, shaped humans out of mud and gave them the gift of fire. This origin story reflects many significant cultural ideas. One of these is the depiction of a world organized into a hierarchy with gods at the top and humans obligated to honor them.

Traditional Navajo¹² origin stories provide a different view of the organization of the universe. These stories suggested that the world is a set of fourteen stacked “plates” or “platters.” Creation began at the lowest levels and gradually spread to the top. The lower levels contained animals like insects as well as animal-people and bird-people who lived in their own fully-formed worlds with distinct cultures and societies. At the top level, First Man and First Woman eventually emerged and began preparing for other humans, creating a sweat lodge, hogan (traditional house), and preparing sacred medicine bundles. During a special ceremony, the first human men and women were formed, and they created those who followed (Gill, 1981). Like the Greek origin story, the Navajo cosmology explains human identity and emphasizes the debt humans owe to their supernatural ancestors.

Reading these cosmologies also raises the question of how they should be interpreted. Are these origin stories regarded as literal truth in the cultures in which they originated? Or are the stories metaphorical and symbolic? There is no simple answer to this question. Within any culture, individuals may disagree about the nature of their own religious traditions. Christians, for instance, differ in the extent

¹² The Navajo are a Native American people of the Southwestern United States. At more than 399,494 enrolled tribal members as of 2021, the Navajo Nation is the largest federally recognized tribe in the U.S

to which they view the contents of the Bible as fact. Cultural relativism requires that anthropologists avoid making judgments about whether any cultural idea, including religious beliefs, is “correct” or “true.” Instead, a more useful approach is to try to understand the multiple ways people interpret or make sense of their religious beliefs. In addition, it is important to consider the function a religious cosmology has in the wider society. As Bronislaw Malinowski observed, a myth or origin story is not an “idle tale, but a hard-worked active force. (Malinowski, 1984[1926]), 1997).

6.10. Belief in the Supernatural

Another characteristic shared by most religions is a concept of the supernatural, spirits, divinities, or forces not governed by natural laws. The supernatural can take many forms. Some supernatural entities are anthropomorphic, having human characteristics. Other supernatural forces are more generalized, seen in phenomena like the power of the wind. The amount of involvement that supernatural forces or entities have in the lives of humans varies cross-culturally. Because ideas about the supernatural are part of every human culture, understanding these beliefs is important to anthropologists. However, studying supernatural beliefs is challenging for several reasons. The first difficulty arises from the challenge of defining the topic itself.

The word “religion,” which is commonly used in the United States to refer to participation in a distinct form of faith such as Christianity, Islam, or Judaism, is not a universally recognized idea. Many cultures have no word for “religion” at all and many societies do not make a clear distinction between beliefs or practices that are “religious,” or “spiritual” and other habits that are an ordinary part of daily life. For instance, leaving an incense offering in a household shrine dedicated to the spirits of the ancestors may be viewed as a simple part of the daily routine rather than a “religious” practice.

There are societies that believe in supernatural beings, but do not call them “gods.” Some societies do not see a distinction between the natural and the supernatural observing, instead, that the spirits share the same physical world as humans. Concepts like “heaven,” “hell,” or even “prayer” do not exist in many societies. The divide between “religion” and related ideas like “spirituality” or even “magic” is also murky in some cultural contexts.



To study supernatural beliefs, anthropologists must cultivate a perspective of cultural relativism and strive to understand beliefs from an emic or insider’s perspective. Imposing the definitions or assumptions from one culture on another is likely to lead to misunderstandings. One example of this problem can be found in the early anthropological research of Sir James Frazer who attempted to compose the first comprehensive study of the world’s major magical and religious belief systems.

Frazer was part of early generation of anthropologists whose work was based on reading and questionnaires mailed to missionaries and colonial officials rather than travel and participant-observation. As a result, he had only minimal information about the beliefs he wrote about, and he was quick to apply his own opinions. In *the Golden Bough* (1890) he dismissed many of the spiritual beliefs he documented.

His contemporary, Sir E.B. Tylor, was less dismissive of unfamiliar belief systems, but he defined religion minimally and, for some, in overly narrow terms as “the belief in supernatural beings.” This definition excludes much of what people around the world actually believe. As researchers gained more information about other cultures, their ideas about religion became more complex.

The sociologist Emile Durkheim recognized that religion was not simply a belief in “supernatural beings,” but a set of practices and social institutions that brought members of a community together. Religion, he said, was “a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set aside and forbidden beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them.

Durkheim’s analysis of religion emphasized the significance of spiritual beliefs for relationships between people. Subsequent anthropological research in communities around the world has confirmed those rituals associated with beliefs in the supernatural play a significant role in structuring community life, providing rules or guidelines for behavior, and bonding members of a community to one another. Interestingly, religious “beings,” such as gods or spirits, also demonstrate social qualities.

6.10.1. Spirits



The line between the natural and the supernatural can be blurry. Many people believe that humans have a supernatural or spiritual element that coexists within their natural bodies. In Christianity, this element is called the soul. In Hinduism, it is the *atman*. The Tausūg, a group who live in the Philippines, believe that the soul has four parts: a transcendent soul that stays in the spiritual realm even when a person is alive; a life-soul that is attached to the body, but can move through dreams; the breath, which is always attached to the body, and the spirit-soul, which is like a person's shadow (Kiefer, 1972).

Many people believe that the spirit survives after an individual dies, sometimes remaining on Earth and sometimes departing for a supernatural realm. Spirits, or "ghosts," who remain on Earth may continue to play an active role in the lives of their families and communities. Some will be well-intentioned and others will be malevolent. Almost universally, spirits of the deceased are assumed to be needy and to make demands on the living. For this reason, many cultures have traditions for the veneration of the dead, rituals intended to honor the deceased, or to win their favor or cooperation. When treated properly, ancestor spirits can be messengers to gods, and can act on behalf of the living after receiving prayers or requests. If they are displeased, ancestor spirits can become aggravated and wreak havoc on the living through illness and suffering. To avoid these problems, offerings in the form of favorite foods, drinks, and gifts are made to appease the spirits. In China, as well as in many other countries, filial piety requires that the living continue to care for the ancestors (Ikels, 2004). In Madagascar, where bad luck and misfortune can be attributed to spirits of the dead who believe they have been neglected, a body may be repeatedly exhumed and shown respect by cleaning the bones.¹³

¹³ (Madagascar's Dance with The Dead," *BBC*,
[Http://News.Bbc.Co.Uk/2/Hi/Programmes/From Our Own Correspondent/7562898.Stm](http://News.Bbc.Co.Uk/2/Hi/Programmes/From_Our_Own_Correspondent/7562898.Stm).)

If humans contain a supernatural spirit, essence, or soul, it is logical to think that non-human entities may have their own sparks of the divine. Religions based on the idea that plants, animals, inanimate objects, and even natural phenomena like weather have a spiritual or supernatural element are called animism. The first anthropological description of animism came from Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, who believed it was the earliest type of religious practice to develop in human societies (Tylor, 1892). Tylor suggested that ordinary parts of the human experience, such as dreaming, formed the basis for spiritual beliefs. When people dream, they may perceive that they have traveled to another place or may be able to communicate with deceased members of their families. This sense of altered consciousness gives rise to ideas that the world is more than it seems. Tylor suggested that these experiences, combined with a pressing need to answer questions about the meaning of life, were the basis for all religious systems. (Tylor, 1892). He also assumed that animist religions evolved into what he viewed as more sophisticated religious systems involving a God or gods. Today, Tylor's views about the evolution of religion are considered misguided. No belief system is inherently more sophisticated than another. Several animist religions exist today and have millions of adherents. One of the most well-known is Shintoism, the traditional religion of Japan. Shintoism recognizes spirits known as *kami* that exist in plants, animals, rocks, places and sometimes people. Certain locations have particularly strong connections to the *kami*, including mountains, forests, waterfalls, and shrines. Shinto shrines in Japan are marked by *torii* gates that mark the separation between ordinary reality and sacred space.

6.10.2. Gods

The most powerful non-human spirits are gods, though in practice there is no universal definition of a "god" that would be recognized by all people. In general, gods are extremely powerful and not part of nature not human, or animal. Despite

their unnaturalness, many gods have personalities or qualities that are recognizable and relatable to humans. They are often anthropomorphic, imagined in human form, or zoomorphic, imagined in animal form. In some religions, gods interact directly with humans while in others they are more remote.

Anthropologists categorize belief systems organized around a God or gods using the terms monotheism and polytheism. Monotheistic religions recognize a single supreme God. The largest monotheistic religions in the world today are Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. Together these religions have more than 3.8 billion adherents worldwide¹⁴ Polytheistic religions include several gods. Hinduism, one of the world's largest polytheistic religions with more than 1 billion practitioners, has a pantheon of deities each with different capabilities and concerns.

6.11. Rituals and Religious Practitioners

The most easily observed elements of any religious belief system are rituals. Victor Turner (1972) defined ritual as “a stereotyped sequence of activities ... performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors’ goals and interests Rituals have a concrete purpose or goal, such as a wedding ritual that results in a religiously sanctioned union between people, but rituals are also symbolic. The objects and activities involved in rituals “stand in for” or mean more than what they actually are. In a wedding ceremony in the United States, the white color of the wedding dress is a traditional symbol of purity.

A large amount of anthropological research has focused on identifying and interpreting religious rituals in a wide variety of communities. Although the details

¹⁴ Pew Research Center, “The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050,” April 2, 2015, [http:// www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projections-2010-2050/](http://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projections-2010-2050/)

of these practices differ in various cultural settings, it is possible to categorize them into types based on their goals. One type of ritual is a rite of passage, a ceremony designed to transition individuals between life stages (Gennep,1960).

A second type of ritual is a rite of intensification, actions designed to bring a community together, often following a period of crisis. (Dismore at el ,1953). Revitalization rituals, which also often follow periods of crisis in a community, are ambitious attempts to resolve serious problems, such as war, famine, or poverty through a spiritual or supernatural intervention (Wallace,1956).

6.11.1 Rites of Passage

In his original description of rites of passage, Arnold Van Gennep (1909) noted that these rituals were carried out in three distinct stages: separation, liminality, and incorporation. During the first stage, individuals are removed from their current social identity and begin preparations to enter the next stage of life. The liminal period that follows is a time in which individuals often undergo tests, trials, or activities designed to prepare them for their new social roles. In the final stage of incorporation, individuals return to the community with a new socially recognized status. (Turner, 1960.)

Rites of passage that transition children into a new status as adults are common around the world. In Xhosa communities in South Africa, teenage boys were traditionally transitioned to manhood using a series of acts that moved them through each of the three ritual stages. In the separation stage, the boys leave their homes and are circumcised; they cannot express distress or signs of pain during the procedure. Following the circumcision, they live in isolation while their wounds heal, a liminal phase during which they do not talk to anyone other than boys who are also undergoing the rite of passage. This stressful time helps to build bonds between the boys that will follow them through their lives as adult men. Before their journey home, the isolated living quarters are burned to the ground,

symbolizing the loss of childhood. When the participants return to their community, the incorporation phase, they are recognized as men and allowed to learn the secret stories of the community (Golomski, 2012).

6.12 Religious Practitioners

Since rituals can be extremely complicated and the outcome is of vital importance to the community, specialist practitioners are often charged with responsibility for supervising the details. In many settings, religious specialists have a high social status and are treated with great respect. Some may become relatively wealthy by charging for their services while others may be impoverished, sometimes deliberately as a rejection of the material world. There is no universal terminology for religious practitioners, but there are three important categories: priests, prophets, and shamans.

- 1. Priests**, who may be of any gender, are full-time religious practitioners. The position of priest emerges only in societies with substantial occupational specialization. Priests are the intermediaries between God (or the gods) and humans. Religious traditions vary in terms of the qualifications required for individuals entering the priesthood. In Christian traditions, it is common for priests to complete a program of formal higher education. Hindu priests, known as *pujari*, must learn the sacred language Sanskrit and spend many years becoming proficient in Hindu ceremonies. They must also follow strict lifestyle restrictions such as a vegetarian diet. Traditionally, only men from the Brahmin caste were eligible to become *pujari*, but this is changing. As intermediaries, priests have substantial authority to set the rules associated with worship practice and to control access to religious rites.
- 2.** The term shaman has been used for hundreds of years to refer to a part time religious practitioner. Shamans carry out religious rituals when needed, but also participate in the normal work of the community. A shaman's religious

practice depends on an ability to engage in direct communication with the spirits, gods, or supernatural realm. An important quality of a shaman is the ability to transcend normal reality in order to communicate with and perhaps even manipulate supernatural forces in an alternate world. This ability can be inherited or learned. Transcending from the ordinary to the spiritual realm gives shamans the ability to do many things such as locate lost people or animals or heal the sick by identifying the spiritual cause of illness.

3. A **prophet** is a person who claims to have direct communication with the supernatural realm and who can communicate divine messages to others. Many religious communities originated with prophecies, including Islam which is based on teachings revealed to the prophet Muhammad by God. In Christianity and Judaism, Moses is an example of a prophet who received direct revelations from God. The major distinction between a priest and the prophet is the source of their authority. A priest gets his or her authority from the scripture and occupational position in a formally organized religious institution. A prophet derives authority from his or her direct connection to the divine and ability to convince others of his or her legitimacy through charisma. The kind of insight and guidance prophets offer can be extremely compelling, particularly in times of social upheaval or suffering.

4. **6.13. Self-Assessment Questions**

1. What role do religion play in bringing people together?
2. What are the rules concerning how these objects or ideas should be treated? What are the penalties for people who do not follow these rules?
3. Define religion. Discuss anthropology of religion in detail.
4. Discuss the basic elements of religion with examples.
5. How animism is different from animatism? Discuss.
6. What are the basic functions of religion? Discuss in detail with examples.
7. Discuss elements of religion in detail with examples.

8. Belief in supernatural makes an important part of most of the prevalent religions. How Emile Durkheim explains it?
9. Durkheim argued that a distinction between the sacred and the profane was a key characteristic of religion. Thinking about your own culture, what are some examples of ideas or objects that are considered “sacred”?
10. What is rites of passage? What important role it plays in people life? Discuss.
11. Rites of passage and rites of intensification are an important part of many religious traditions. Discuss them.
12. Who are religious Practitioners? Discuss their role in religion.

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UNIT 7

GENDER

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Introduction

The focus on sexual lives and gendered relationship among people of varying cultural groups have long been incorporated in the scientific study of what it means to be human, more commonly known as anthropology. The Anthropology of Gender focuses on the cultural and social construction of gender and gender ideologies, the fluidity of gender categories and the performative aspects of gender. For example, girls and women are generally being expected to dress in typically feminine ways and be polite, accommodating and nurturing. Men are generally being expected to be strong, aggressive and bold. Every society, ethnic group, and culture has gender role expectations, but they can be very different from group to group. This unit highlights gender and woman as a concept from anthropological perspective by initiating debates how gender is perceived in anthropology.

Objectives

This unit aims at:

- introduce explanations of gender and sex through anthropological perspective
- examine different aspects that relates gender and women from anthropological standpoints
- shed light on its debates on anthropology, women and gender

Learning Outcomes

After reading the unit you will be able to.

- define and utilize relevant concepts of gender and sex according to anthropological stand points
- discuss how anthropological studies define women and their roles in different cultures
- understand different debates on women and gender from the discipline of anthropology

7.1 The Study of Gender and Sex

Gender has always been a topic of anthropological investigation, but the 1970s brought about a critical rethinking of assumptions about gender, spurred in part by the women's movement and in part by the entrance of large numbers of women into academic careers. During the next half century, this rethinking opened up new conceptual pathways for considering not only the relationships between sex and gender, kinship and procreation, men's work and women's work and public and private spheres, but also the significance of gender to language, primatology, archaeology, religion and cosmology. At first many studies of gender focused primarily on women since they had been underrepresented in the anthropological record, but the result was that *gender* came to stand for *women*.

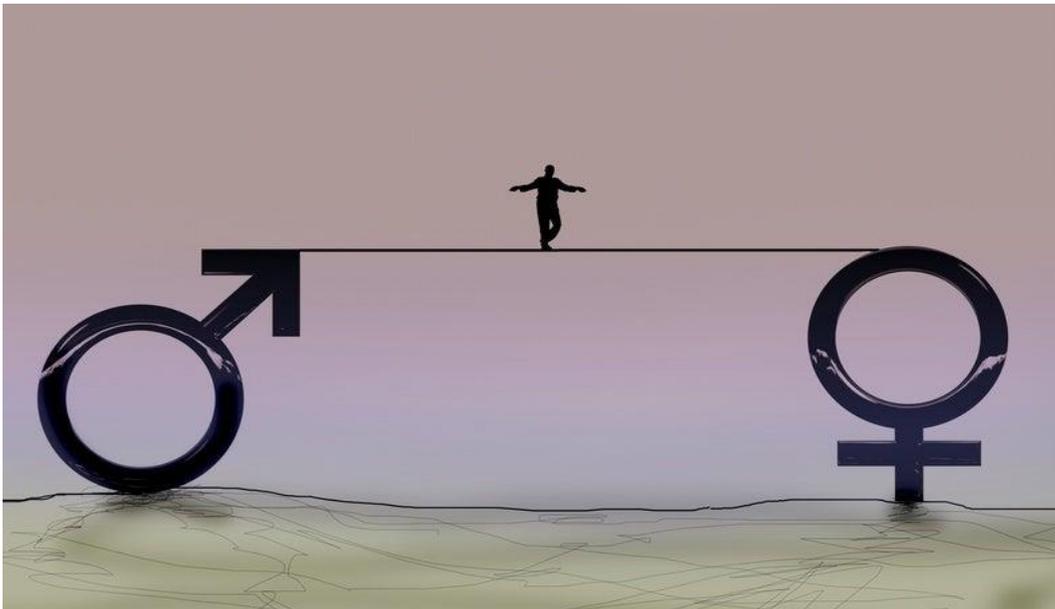
A primary question in these early studies was how and why women were subordinated in patriarchal social systems. Soon, however, the awareness that men, too, have gender sparked a much deeper analysis of the ways in which definitions of gender were mutually constructed. Rather than assuming that gender is a natural given, therefore universal, based on an extension of animal mating behaviour, new studies demonstrated that, just as different societies produce a variety of religious, kinship, and economic systems, they also vary in terms of gender systems. While it was often assumed that sex was the natural given and gender the cultural definition built upon that natural base, some studies have raised questions about the relation between sex and sexual orientation and, thus, whether there might be more than two genders and whether sex itself may, to a large extent, be culturally constructed. Studies of primates, long thought to hold the key to human behaviour, have shown that results depend to a significant extent on the theoretical lens through which scientists view their behaviour as well as on which primates are the object of study; this discovery has destabilized the ground on which many assumptions about gender were based. When the critical gender lens has been focused on the archaeological record, old biases, and assumptions, for example, about "man the

hunter, woman the gatherer” have been overturned or significantly modified, new approaches to the study of the past and material culture have emerged, and origin stories have been changed.

Another area creatively affected by the focus on gender is that of linguistic anthropology: these researchers now note not just the gendered aspects of linguistic structure pronouns, for example, but also the different ways in which women and men use language, asking to what extent gender is culturally constituted through linguistic practice over the life cycle. Other researchers have studied the way in which language lends connotations of gender to conceptual fields, for example, “soft” versus “hard” sciences, and how these labels may affect the women and men working in those fields. Still others have raised questions about gender in topics that seem to have little connection to gender, such as colonialism and “Orientalism,” and in much broader systems including worldviews, theology, and cosmology; these researchers ask, for example, about the consequences for men and women when the deity is symbolically male, and the earth is symbolically female. And some have even asked about the notions of gender implicit in the idea of the anthropologist and the anthropological endeavor itself. In short, the proliferation of anthropological studies of gender during the last quarter of the 20th century opened up new paths to yet unexplored areas in the 21st.

Anthropologists are fond of pointing out that much of what we take for granted as “natural” in our lives is actually cultural, it is not grounded in the natural world or in biology but invented by humans. Because culture is invented, it takes different forms in different places and changes over time in those places. Living in the twenty-first century, we have witnessed how rapidly and dramatically culture can change, from ways of communicating to the emergence of same-sex marriage. Similarly, many of us live in culturally diverse settings and experience how varied human cultural inventions can be. We readily accept that clothing, language, and

music are cultural inventions, created, and alterable, but often find it difficult to accept that gender and sexuality are not natural but deeply embedded in and shaped by culture. We struggle with the idea that the division of humans into two and only two categories, “male” and “female,” is not universal, that “male” and “female” are cultural concepts that take different forms and have different meanings cross-culturally. Similarly, human sexuality, rather than being simply natural is one of the most culturally significant, shaped, regulated, and symbolic of all human capacities. The concept of humans as either “heterosexual” or “homosexual” is a culturally and historically specific invention that is increasingly being challenged in the United States and elsewhere.



Part of the problem is that gender has a biological component, unlike other types of cultural inventions such as a sewing machine, cell phone, or poem. We do have bodies and there are some male-female differences, including in reproductive

capacities and roles, albeit far fewer than we have been taught. Similarly, sexuality, sexual desires and responses, are partially rooted in human natural capacities. However, in many ways, sexuality and gender are like food. We have a biologically rooted need to eat to survive and we have the capacity to enjoy eating. What constitutes “food,” what is “delicious” or “repulsive,” the contexts and meanings that surround food and human eating, those are cultural. Many potentially edible items are not “food” (rats, bumblebees, and cats in the United States, for example), and the concept of “food” itself is embedded in elaborate conventions about eating: how, when, with whom, where “utensils,” for what purposes? A “romantic dinner” at a “gourmet restaurant” is a complex cultural invention.

In short, gender and sexuality, like eating, have biological components. But cultures, over time, have erected complex and elaborate edifices around them, creating systems of meaning that often barely resemble what is natural and innate. We experience gender and sexuality largely through the prism of the culture or cultures to which we have been exposed and in which we have been raised.

One powerful aspect of culture, and a reason cultural norms feel so natural, is that we learn culture the way we learn our native language: without formal instruction, in social contexts, picking it up from others around us, without thinking. Soon, it becomes deeply embedded in our brains. We no longer think consciously about what the sounds we hear when someone says “hello” mean unless we do not speak English. Nor is it difficult to “tell the time” on a “clock” even though “time” and “clocks” are complex cultural inventions.

The same principles apply to gender and sexuality. We learn very early (by at least age three) about the categories of gender in our culture, that individuals are either “male” or “female” and that elaborate beliefs, behaviors, and meanings are associated with each gender. We can think of this complex set of ideas as a gender ideology or a cultural model of gender. All societies have gender ideologies, just as

they have belief systems about other significant areas of life, such as health and disease, the natural world, and social relationships, including family.

Words can reveal cultural beliefs. A good example is the term “sex.” In the past, sex referred both to sexuality and to someone’s biologic sex: male or female. Today, although sex still refers to sexuality, “gender” now means the categories male, female, or increasingly, other gender possibilities. Why has this occurred?

The change in terminology reflects profound alterations in gender ideology. In the past, influenced by Judeo-Christian religion and nineteenth and twentieth century scientific beliefs, biology (and reproductive capacity) was literally considered to be destiny. Males and females, at least “normal” males, and females, were thought to be born with different intellectual, physical, and moral capacities, preferences, tastes, personalities, and predispositions for violence and suffering.

Ironically, many cultures, including European Christianity in the Middle Ages, viewed women as having a strong, often “insatiable” sexual “drive” and capacity. But by the nineteenth century, women and their sexuality were largely defined in reproductive terms, as in their capacity to “carry a man’s child.” Even late-twentieth-century human sexuality texts often referred only to “reproductive systems,” to genitals as “reproductive” organs, and excluded the “clitoris” and other female organs. For women, the primary, if not sole, legitimate purpose of sexuality was reproduction.

In short, the gender and sexual ideologies were based on biological determinism. According to this theory, males and females were supposedly born fundamentally different reproductively and in other major capacities and preferences and were “naturally” (biologically) sexually attracted to each other, although women’s sexual

“drive” was not very well developed relative to men’s and was reproductively oriented.

7.2. Rejecting Biological Determinism

Decades of research on gender and sexuality, including by feminist anthropologists, has challenged these old theories, particularly biological determinism. We now understand that cultures, not nature, create the gender ideologies that go along with being born male or female and the ideologies vary widely, cross-culturally. What is considered “man’s work” in some societies, such as carrying heavy loads, or farming, can be “woman’s work” in others. What is “masculine” and “feminine” varies: pink and blue, for example, are culturally invented gender-color linkages, and skirts and “make-up” can be worn by men, indeed by “warriors.” Hindu deities, male and female, are highly decorated and difficult to distinguish, at least by others who are unfamiliar of Hindu culture. Women can be thought of as stronger (“tougher,” more “rational”) than men. Phyllis Kaberry, an anthropologist who studied the Nsaw of Cameroon in the 1940s, said males in that culture argued that land preparation for the rizga crop¹⁵ was “a woman’s job, which is too strenuous for the men” and that “women could carry heavy loads because they had stronger foreheads.” (Kaberry, 1952). Among the Aka who live in the present-day Central African Republic, fathers have close, intimate, relationships with infants and play major roles in all aspects of infant-care.

7.3. Gender: A Cultural Invention and A Social Role

One’s biologic sex is a different phenomenon than one’s gender, which is socially and historically constructed (Butler,1990). Gender is a set of culturally invented

¹⁵ It’s a kind of potato and also known as the kaffir potato or Livingstone potato. It is indigenous to Africa, where it is grown for its eating.

expectations and therefore constitutes a role one assumes, learns, and performs, more or less consciously. It is an “identity” one can in theory choose, at least in some societies, although there is tremendous pressure in many societies to conform to the gender role and identity linked to your biologic sex.

7.3.1 The Gender Binary and Beyond

Anthropologists, as noted earlier, like to shake up notions of what is “natural” and “normal.” One common assumption is that all cultures divide human beings into two and only two genders, binary or dualistic model of gender. However, in some cultures gender is more fluid and flexible, allowing individuals born as one biologic sex to assume another gender or creating more than two genders from which individuals can select. Examples of non-binary cultures come from pre-contact Native America. Anthropologists such as Ruth Benedict long ago identified a fairly widespread phenomenon of so-called “two-spirit” people, individuals who did not comfortably conform to the gender roles and gender ideology normally associated with their biologic sex. Among the pre-contact Zuni Pueblo in New Mexico, which was a relatively gender-egalitarian horticultural society, for example, individuals could choose an alternative role of “not-men” or “not-women.” A two-spirited Zuni man would do the work and wear clothing normally associated with females, having shown a preference for female-identified activities and symbols at an early age. In some, but not all cases, he would eventually marry a man. Early European ethnocentric reports often described it as a form of homosexuality. Anthropologists suggested more-complex motivations, including dreams of selection by spirits, individual psychologies, biological characteristics, and negative aspects of male roles (e.g., warfare). Most significantly, these alternative gender roles were acceptable, publicly recognized, and sometimes venerated (Ward and Edelstein, 2013).

Less is known about additional gender roles available to biological women, although stories of “manly hearted women” suggest a parallel among some Native American groups. For example, a Kutenai woman known to have lived in 1811 was originally married to a French-Canadian man but then returned to the Kutenai and assumed a male gender role, changing her name to Kauxuma nupika (Gone-to-the-Spirits), becoming a spiritual prophet, and eventually marrying a woman (Ward and Edelstein, 2013).

A well-known example of a non-binary gender system is found among the Hijra in Pakistan and India. Often called a third gender, these individuals are usually biologically male but adopt female clothing, gestures, and names; eschew sexual desire and sexual activity; and go through religious rituals that give them certain divine powers, including blessing or cursing couples’ fertility and performing at weddings and births (Nanda,1999).

Research has shown that individuals with ambiguous genitals, sometimes called “intersex,” are surprisingly common. Martha Ward and Monica Edelstein estimate that such intersex individuals constitute five percent of human births ((Ward and Edelstein, 2013). So, what are cultures to do when faced with an infant or child who cannot easily be “sexed?” Some cultures, used to force children into one of the two binary categories, even if it required surgery or hormone therapy. But in other places, such as India and among the Isthmus Zapotec in southern Oaxaca, Mexico, they have instead created a third gender category that has an institutional identity and role to perform in society.

These cross-cultural examples demonstrate that the traditional rigid binary gender model is neither universal nor necessary. While all cultures recognize at least two biological sexes, usually based on genitals visible at birth, and have created at least two gender roles, many cultures go beyond the binary model, offering a third or fourth gender category. Other cultures allow individuals to adopt, without sanctions, a gender role that is not corresponding with their biological sex. In short,

biology need not be destiny when it comes to gender roles, as we are increasingly discovering globally.

7.3.2. Gender Relations: Separate and Unequal

Of course, gender-differentiation is not unique to small-scale societies like the Sambia. Virtually all major world religions have traditionally segregated males and females spatially and “marked” them in other ways. Look at eighteenth- and nineteenth- century churches, which had gender-specific seating; at contemporary Saudi Arabia, Iranian, and conservative Malaysian mosques; and at Orthodox Jewish temples today in Israel and the United States.

Ambivalence and even fear of female sexuality, or negative associations with female body such as menstrual blood, are widespread in the world’s major religions. Orthodox Jewish women are not supposed to sleep in the same bed as their husbands when menstruating. In Kypseli, Greece, people believe that menstruating women can cause wine to go bad in some Catholic Portuguese villages, menstruating women are restricted from preparing fresh sausages and from being in the room where the sausages are made as their presence is believed to cause to spoil. Contact with these women also supposedly wilts plants and causes inexplicable movements of objects. Orthodox forms of Hinduism prohibit menstruating women from activities such as cooking and attending temple.



7.4 Emergence of Public (Male) Vs. Domestic (Female) Spheres

In large stratified and centralized societies, that is, the powerful empires (so-called “civilizations”) that have dominated much of the world for the past several thousand years, a “public” vs. “private” or “domestic” distinction appears. The public, extra-family sphere of life is a relatively recent development in human history even though most of us have grown up in or around cities and towns with their obvious public spaces, physical manifestations of the political, economic, and other extra-family institutions that characterize large-scale societies. In such settings, it is easy to identify the domestic or private spaces families occupy, but a similar public-domestic distinction exists in villages. The public sphere is associated with, and often dominated by, males. The domestic sphere, in contrast, is primarily associated with women though it, too, can be divided into male and female spheres. In Pakistan and India, for example, where households frequently consist of multi-generational groups of male siblings and their families, there often are “lounging” spaces where men congregate, smoke pipes, chat, and meet visitors. Women’s spaces typically focus on the kitchen or cooking hearth (if outside) or at other sites of women’s activities ¹⁶. In some cases, an inner court is the women’s area while the outer porch and roads that connect the houses are male spaces. In some Middle Eastern villages, women create over-the-roof paths for visiting each other without going “outside” into male spaces (Nelson,1974).

The gender division between public and private/domestic, however, is as symbolic as it is spatial, often emphasizing a gender ideology of social separation between males and females (except young children), social regulation of sexuality and marriage, and male rights and control over females (wives, daughters, sisters, and

¹⁶ the film by Michael Camerini and Rina Gill, *Dadi’s Family* (Watertown, MA: DER, 1981)

mothers). It manifests as separate spaces in mosques, sex-segregated schools, and separate “ladies compartments” on trains, as in Pakistan. Of course, it is impossible to separate the genders completely. Rural women pass through the more-public spaces of a village to fetch water and firewood and to work in agricultural fields. Women shop in public markets, though that can be a “man’s job.” As girls more often attend school, as in India, they take public transportation and thus travel through public “male” spaces even if they travel to all-girl schools. At college, they can be immersed in and even live on campuses where men predominate, especially if they are studying engineering, computer science, or other technical subjects.

7.4.1. Sanctions, Sexuality, Honor and Shame

Penalties for deviating from the rules of social separation vary across and within cultures. In small communities, neighbors and extended family kin can simply report inappropriate behavior, especially between unmarried young adults, to other family members. More severe and sometimes violent responses by family members can occur, especially if the family’s “honor” is involved, especially girls, engage in activities that would “shame” or dishonor the family. Honor and shame are complex concepts that are often linked to sexuality, especially female sexuality, and to behavior by family members that involves or hints at sexual impropriety. The Turkish film *Mustang*, nominated for the 2016 best foreign film Academy Award, offers a good illustration of how concepts of sexualized honor and shame operate.

7.5 Gender and Sexuality

We hear in the news of “honor killings” carried out by conservative Muslims in countries such as Pakistan and powerfully portrayed in documentaries such as *A Girl in the River: The Price of Forgiveness* (2015). But it is not just Islam. Some orthodox sectors of major religions, including Christianity, Judaism, and Hinduism, may hold similar views about “honor” and “shame” and impose sometimes violent sanctions against those who violate sexuality-related codes. The brutal 2012 gang

rape-murder of a young woman on a bus in Delhi, though perpetrated by strangers, was rationalized by the men who committed the crime (and their defense attorney) as a legitimate response to the woman's "shameful" behavior traveling on a bus at night with a male friend, implying sexual impropriety (Du, 1999).

Social separation, sex-segregated schools, and penalties for inappropriate sexual behavior have also existed in the United States and Europe, especially among upper-strata women for whom female "purity" was traditionally emphasized. Chastity belts in Europe, whether or not actually used, symbolized the idea that a woman's sexuality belonged solely to her husband, thus precluding her from engaging in premarital and extra-marital sex (Huashan, et al 2009).

Stoning women to death for sexually inappropriate behavior, especially adultery, and other violent sanctions may have occurred in some European Christian and Jewish communities. Rape, so frequent in warfare past and present, also can bring shame to the victim and her family, particularly in sexually conservative societies. During the partition of India into India and Pakistan in 1947, some Sikh families reportedly forced daughters to jump into wells to drown rather than risk being raped by strangers.

All cultures have "creation" stories. Many have elaborate gender-related creation stories that describe the origins of males and females, their gender-specific traits, their relationships and sexual attraction and, sometimes, how one gender came to "dominate" the other. Our culture is no different. The Judeo-Christian Bible, and other religious texts, addresses origins and gender (think of Adam and Eve), and traditional folk tales, songs, dances, and epic stories, such as the Ramayana in Hinduism and Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, treat similar themes.

Science, too, has sought to understand gender differences. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a number of scientists, immersed in Darwinian theories, began to explore the evolutionary roots of what they assumed to be universal: male

dominance. Of course, scientists, view the world partially through their own cultural lenses and through a gendered version. Prior to the 1970s, women and gender relations were largely invisible in the research literature and most researchers were male, so it is not surprising that 1960s theories reflected prevailing male-oriented folk beliefs about gender (Katz, 2013).

7.5.1 The Hunting Way of Life “Molds Man” (and Woman)

The most popular and persistent theories argued that male dominance is universal, rooted in species-wide gendered biological traits that we acquired, first as part of primate ancestry and further developed as we evolved from apes into humans. Emergence of “the hunting way of life” plays a major role in this story. Crucial components include: a diet consisting primarily of meat, obtained through planned, cooperative hunts, by all-male groups, that lasted several days and covered a wide territory. Such hunts would require persistence, skill, and physical stamina; tool kits to kill, butcher, transport, preserve, and share the meat; and a social organization consisting of a stable home base and a monogamous nuclear family. Several biological changes were attributed to adopting this way of life: a larger and more complex brain, human language, an upright posture (and humans’ unique foot and stride), loss of body hair and a long period of infant dependency,

Hunting was also linked to a “world view” in which the flight of animals from humans seemed natural and (male) aggression became normal, frequent, easy to learn rewarded, and enjoyable. War, some have suggested, might psychologically be simply a form of hunting and pleasurable for male participants (Tiger and Fox, 1997). The Hunting Way of Life, in short, “molded man,” giving our species its distinctive characteristics. And as a result, we contemporary humans cannot erase the effects of our hunting past even though we live in cities, stalk nothing but a parking place, and can omit meat from our diets.

The biology, psychology, and customs that separate us from the apes—all these we owe to the hunters of time past. And, although the record is incomplete and speculation looms larger than fact, for those who would understand the origin and nature of human behavior there is no choice but to try to understand “Man the Hunter.” (Washburn and Lancaster (1974:49)

Gender roles and male dominance were supposed to be part of our evolutionary heritage. Males evolved to be food-providers, stronger, more aggressive, more effective leaders with cooperative and bonding capacities, planning skills, and technological inventiveness (tool-making). In this creation story, females never acquired those capacities because they were burdened by their reproductive roles, pregnancy, giving birth, lactation, and childcare, and thus became dependent on males for food and protection. The gender gap widened over time. As males initiated, explored, invented, women stayed at home, nurtured, immersed themselves in domestic life. The result: men are active, women are passive; men are leaders, women are followers; men are dominant, women are subordinate.

Many of us have heard pieces of this Hunting Way of Life story. Some of the men Mukhopadhy (2004) interviewed in Los Angeles in the late 1970s invoked “our hunting past” to explain why they and men generally operated barbeques rather than their wives. Women’s qualifications to be president were questioned on biological grounds such as “stamina” and “toughness.” Her women informants, all hospital nurses, doubted their navigational abilities, courage, and strength despite working in intensive care and regularly lifting heavy male patients.

Similar stories are invoked today for everything from some men’s love of hunting to why men dominate “technical” fields, accumulate tools, have extra-marital affairs, or commit the vast majority of homicides. Strength and toughness remain defining characteristics of masculinity globally and these themes often permeate

international political debates (DeVore,1965). For example, in USA, one element in the complex debate over gun control is the male-masculine strength-through-guns and man-the-hunter association, and it is still difficult for some males in the United States to feel comfortable with their soft, nurturant, emotional, and artistic sides (DeVore,1965).

What is most striking about man-the-hunter scenarios is how closely they resemble 1950s U.S. models of family and gender, which were rooted in the late nineteenth century “cult of domesticity” and “true womanhood.” Father is “head” of the family and the final authority, whether in household decisions or in disciplining children. As “provider,” Father goes “outside” into the cold, cruel world, hunting for work. Mother, as “chief mom,” remains “inside” at the home base, creating a domestic refuge against the “survival of the fittest” “jungle.” American anthropologists seemed to have subconsciously projected their own folk models onto our early human ancestors.

7.6. New Directions in The Anthropology of Gender

More-recent research has been focused on improving the ethnographic and archaeological record and re-examining old material. Some have turned from cause-effect relations to better understanding how gender systems work and focusing on a single culture or cultural region. Others have explored a single topic, such as cultural concepts of masculinity and infertility across cultures.

Many previously unexplored areas such as the discourse around reproduction, representations of women in medical professions, images in popular culture, and international development policies (which had virtually ignored gender) came under critical scrutiny ((Nanda, 1999). Others worked on identifying complex local factors and processes that produce particular configurations of gender and gender relations, such as the patrifocal (male-focused) cultural model of family in many parts of India. Sexuality studies expanded, challenging existing binary paradigms

and other traditionally marginalized sexualities and identities. The past virtual invisibility of women in archaeology disappeared as a host of new studies was published, often by feminist anthropologists, including a pioneering volume by Joan Gero and Margaret Conkey, *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*. That book gave rise to a multi-volume series specifically on gender and archaeology edited by Sarah Nelson. Everything from divisions of labor to power relations to sexuality could be scrutinized in the archaeological record.

Some anthropologists argued that there are recurring patterns despite the complexity and variability of human gender systems. One is the impact of women's economic contributions on their power, prestige, and autonomy. Women's work, alone, does not necessarily give them control or ownership of what they produce. It is not always valued and does not necessarily lead to political power. Women in many cultures engage in agricultural labor, but the fields are often owned and controlled by their husbands' families or by a landlord, as in many parts of India and Iran (Nanda, 1999) The women have little authority, prestige, or autonomy. Many foraging and some horticultural societies, on the other hand, recognize women's economic and reproductive contributions, and that recognition may reflect relative equality in other spheres as well, including sexuality. Gender relations seem more egalitarian, overall, in small-scale societies such as the San, Trobriander, and Na, in part because they are kinship-based, often with relatively few valuable resources that can be accumulated; those that exist are communally owned, usually by kinship groups in which both women and men have rights (Nanda, 1999). Another factor in gender equality is the social environment. Positive social relations, an absence of constant hostility or warfare with neighbors seems to be correlated with relatively egalitarian gender relations. In contrast, militarized societies, whether small-scale horticultural groups like the Sambia who perceive their neighbors as potential enemies or large-scale stratified societies with formal

military organizations and vast empires seem to benefit men more than women overall ((Nanda, 1999) Warrior societies culturally value men's roles, and warfare gives men access to economic and political resources.

As to old stereotypes about why men are warriors, there may be another explanation. From a reproductive standpoint, men are far more expendable than women, especially women of reproductive age. While this theme has not yet been taken up by many anthropologists, male roles in warfare could be more about expendability than supposed greater male strength, aggressiveness, or courage (Nanda, 1999).

7.7. Women in Anthropology

The female anthropologists have always played a key role in anthropology. In sex-segregated societies, they have had unique access to women's worlds. Recently, they have analyzed how gender might affect styles of authorship and authority in ethnographies. Social characteristics, including gender, race, class, sexuality, and religion, also influence how an anthropologist engages in fieldwork and how she and her colleagues relate to one another (Nanda, 1999). Sometimes the identity of an anthropologist creates new opportunities for deeper understanding and connection, but at other times one's personal identity can create professional challenges.

In fieldwork. women face particular challenges when conducting fieldwork regardless of the culture but particularly in sex-segregated and patriarchal societies. Sometimes women are perceived as more vulnerable than men to sexual harassment, and their romantic choices in fieldwork situations are subject to greater scrutiny than choices made by men in similar situations((DeVore,1965). Women may be more likely to juggle family responsibilities and professional projects and bring children with them for fieldwork. At first glance, this practice may raise

eyebrows because of the risks it brings to accompanying children and because of potential negative impacts on the anthropologist's planned work, but many female anthropologists have found fieldwork undertaken with their families to be a transformative experience both professionally and personally. Whereas appearing as a decontextualized single fieldworker can arouse suspicion, arriving at a field site with the recognizable identities of parent, daughter, or spouse can help people conceptualize the anthropologist as someone with a role beyond camera-toting interviewer and observer. At the same time, arriving as a multi-person group also complicates what Jocelyn Linnekin called "impression management." (Ward and Edelstein,2013). One's child is often less aware of delicate matters and less sensitive in communicating preferences to hosts, causing potentially embarrassing situations but also creating levity that might otherwise be slow to develop. Fieldwork as a family unit also allows for a different rhythm to the elusive work-life balance; many families have reported cherishing time spent together during fieldwork since they rarely had so much time together in their activity-filled home settings ((Ward and Edelstein,2013).

More anthropologists now conduct fieldwork in their home communities. Some wish to explore theoretical and empirical questions best examined in local field sites. Others are reluctant or unable to relocate their families or partners temporarily. Conducting fieldwork close to home can also be a less expensive option than going abroad! But the boundaries of field and home can become quite porous. In their writings, women anthropologists reveal how the realms of public and private and political and personal are connected in the field/home. Innovative, activist, and self-reflective studies address intersections that other scholars treat separately((DeVore,1965).

7.8. Masculinity Studies

Students in gender studies and anthropology courses on gender are often surprised to find that they will be learning about men as well as women. Early women's studies initially employed what has been called an "add women and stir" approach, which led to examinations of gender as a social construct and of women's issues in contemporary society. In the 1990s, women's studies expanded to become gender studies, incorporating the study of other genders, sexuality, and issues of gender and social justice (Brown et al,2017).

Gender was recognized as being fundamentally relational: femaleness is linked to maleness, femininity to masculinity. One outgrowth of that work is the field of "masculinity studies." (Brown et al,2017).

Masculinity studies goes beyond men and their roles to explore the relational aspects of gender. One focus is the enculturation processes through which boys learn about and learn to perform "manhood." Many U.S. studies (and several excellent videos, such as *Tough Guise* by Jackson Katz), have examined the role of popular culture in teaching boys our culture's key concepts of masculinity, such as being "tough" and "strong," and shown how this "tough guise" stance affects men's relationships with women, with other men, and with societal institutions, reinforcing a culture of violent masculinity. Sociologist Michael Kimmel has further suggested that boys are taught that they live in a "perilous world" he terms "Guyland" (Brown et al,2017).

Anthropologists began exploring concepts of masculinity cross-culturally as early as the 1970s, resulting in several key publications in 1981, including Herdt's first book on the Sambia of New Guinea and Ortner and Whitehead's volume, *Sexual Meanings*. In 1990, Gilmore analyzed cross-cultural ethnographic data in his *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts in Masculinity* (Brown et al,2017).

Other work followed, including a provocative video on the Sambia, *Guardians of the Flutes*. But the growth of studies of men and masculinity in the United States also stimulated new research approaches, such as “performative” aspects of masculinity and how gender functions in wealthier, post-industrial societies and communities with access to new technologies and mass media.165

Anthropologists sometimes turn to unconventional information sources as they explore gendered culture, including popular television commercials. Interestingly, the 2015 Super Bowl commercials produced for the Always feminine product brand also focused on gender themes in its #Likeagirl campaign, which probed the damaging connotations of the phrases “throw like a girl” and “run like a girl” by first asking boys and girls to act out running and throwing, and then asking them to act out a *girl* running and throwing. A companion clip further explored the negative impacts of anti-girl messages, provoking dialogue among Super Bowl viewers and in social media spaces (though, ironically, that dialogue was intended to promote consumption of feminine products). As the clips remind us, while boys and men play major roles in perceptions related to gender, so do the women who raise them, often reinforcing gendered expectations for play and aspiration. Of course, women, like men, are enculturated into their culture’s gender ideology ((Brown et al,2017). Both girls and boys and adults are profoundly influenced by popular culture.

Though scholars from many disciplines publish important work on masculinity, anthropologists, with their cross-cultural research and perspectives, have significantly deepened and enriched interdisciplinary understandings. Anthropologists have made strong contributions not only by providing distinct portrayals (of, for example, men in prison, heroin users, migrant laborers, and college students.

Not all societies expect men to be “tough guys/guise,” and those that do go about it in different ways and result in different impacts on men and women ((Ward and

Edelstein,2013). For example, in Sichuan Province in China, young Nuosu men must prove their maturity through risky behavior such as theft. In recent years, theft has been supplanted for many by heroin use, particularly as young men have left their home communities for urban areas (where they are often feared by city residents and attract suspicion) (Ward and Edelstein,2013). Meanwhile, in the Middle East, technologies such as assisted reproduction are challenging and reshaping ideas about masculinity among some Arab men, particularly men who acknowledge and struggle with infertility. There and elsewhere, conceptions of fatherhood are considered crucial components of masculinity. In Japan, for example, a man who has not fathered a child is not considered to be fully adult (Ward and Edelstein,2013). Anthropologists are also applying approaches taken in American studies to other cultures. They are engaging in more-intimate discussions of males' self-perceptions, dilemmas, and challenges and have not hesitated to intercede, carefully, in the communities in which they work. Visual anthropologist Harjant Gill, conducting research in the Punjab region of India, began asking men about pressures they faced and found that the conversations prompted unexpected reflection. Gill titled his film *Mardistan (Macholand)* and shepherded the film through television broadcasts and smaller-scale viewings to encourage wide discussion in India of the issues he explored ((Ward and Edelstein,2013).

7.9 Self-Assessment Questions

1. How are sex and gender discussed in anthropology? Discuss in detail.
2. What is meant by gender binary? Explain.
3. Distinguish between the private and public sphere in anthropological perspective.
4. How is gender and sexuality defined from anthropological point of view?
5. How would you discuss women through anthropological lens? Explain.
6. What is the importance of masculinities studies? Discuss.
7. Reflect on the various ways you have “learned” about gender and sexuality throughout your life. Which influences do you think had the biggest impact?

8. In what ways have your school settings been shaped by and around gender norms?

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UNIT 8

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION

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Introduction

A language affects culture by actually influencing how its speakers think. Linguistic anthropologists study the nature of language and how humans use it in their everyday life. As social scientists, they study data, analyze previously collected data, read historical documents and make interpretations. Linguistic anthropologists study language, and how language is used in order to understand culture. ... Increasingly, linguistic anthropologists are in the forefront of these fields providing essential information for program development, policy formation and practical solutions to everyday language and cultural issues. Anthropological linguistics is largely interpretative, striving to determine the significance behind the use of language through its forms, registers and styles. Sociolinguistics instead examines how language relates to various social groups and identities like race, gender, class and age. This unit highlights the role of language, its origin, and its relevance to contemporary world. It also studies how the language would be changed by globalization and digitalization in the current scenario.

Objectives

This unit aims at:

- introduce concepts related to language and communication history of origin
- examine structure of language and its link with culture
- highlight connection to language, thought in primitive and contemporary cultures

Learning Outcomes

After reading the unit you will be able to.

- define and various concepts and terms related to language and communication
- discuss how language, thought and communication evolves through centuries
- understand how globalization and digitalization impacted language in contemporary world

8.1. Language

Language is a set of arbitrary symbols shared among a group. These symbols may be verbal, signed, or written. It is one of the primary ways that we communicate or send and receive messages. Non-verbal forms of communication include body language, body modification, and appearance (what we wear and our hairstyle).

All cultures have language. Most individuals within that culture are fully competent users of the language without being formally taught it. One can learn a language simply by being exposed to it, which is why foreign language teachers adopt engagement as the best way to learn. In fact, human language can be considered a culture's most important feature since complex human culture could not exist without language and language could not exist without culture. They are inseparable because language encodes culture and provides the means through which culture is shared and passed from one generation to the next. Humans think in language and do all cultural activities using language. It surrounds our every waking and sleeping moments, although we do not usually think about its importance. For that matter, humans do not think about their immersion in culture either, much as fish, if they were endowed with intelligence, would not think much about the water that surrounds them. Without language and culture, humans would be just another great ape. Anthropologists must have skills in linguistics so they can learn the languages and cultures of the people they study.

All human languages are symbolic systems that make use of symbols to convey meaning. A symbol is anything that serves to refer to something else but has a meaning that cannot be guessed because there is no obvious connection between the symbol and its referent. This feature of human language is called **arbitrariness**. For example, many cultures assign meanings to certain colors, but the meaning for a particular color may be completely different from one culture to another. Western

cultures like the United States use the color black to represent death, but in China it is the color white that symbolizes death. White in the United States symbolizes purity and is used for brides' dresses, but no Chinese woman would ever wear white to her wedding. Instead, she usually wears red, the color of good luck. Words in languages are symbolic in the same way. The word *key* in English is pronounced exactly the same as the word *qui* in French, meaning "who," and *ki* in Japanese, meaning "tree." One must learn the language in order to know what any word means. Language is one of the most important parts of any culture. It is the way by which people communicate with one another, build relationships, and create a sense of community. As language began to develop, different cultural communities put together collective understandings through sounds.

8.2 Language in Anthropology

Linguistic anthropology illustrates anthropology's characteristic interests in diversity, comparison, and change, but here the focus is on language. Language, spoken (*speech*) and written (*writing*, which has existed for about 6,000 years), is our primary means of communication. Like culture in general, of which language is a part, language is transmitted through learning. Language is based on arbitrary, learned associations between words and the things they stand for. Unlike the communication systems of other animals, language allows us to discuss the past and future, share our experiences with others, and benefit from their experiences.

Anthropologists study language in its social and cultural context (Salzmann, 2007). Some linguistic anthropologists reconstruct ancient languages by comparing their contemporary descendants and in doing so make discoveries about history. Others study linguistic differences to discover the varied worldviews and patterns of thought in a multitude of cultures. Sociolinguists examine dialects and styles in a

single language to show how speech reflects social differences, as in the above discussion of regional speech contrasts. Linguistic anthropologists also explore the role of language in colonization and globalization (Thomas, 1999).

8.3 The Biological Basis of Language

The human anatomy that allowed the development of language emerged six to seven million years ago when the first human ancestors became bipedal¹⁷, habitually walking on two feet. Most other mammals are quadrupedal¹⁸ they move about on four feet. This evolutionary development freed up the forelimbs of human ancestors for other activities, such as carrying items and doing more and more complex things with their hands. It also started a chain of anatomical adaptations. One adaptation was a change in the way the skull was placed on the spine. The skull of quadrupedal animals is attached to the spine at the back of the skull because the head is thrust forward. With the new upright bipedal position of pre-humans, the attachment to the spine moved toward the center of the base of the skull. This skeletal change in turn brought about changes in the shape and position of the mouth and throat anatomy. Humans have all the same organs in the mouth and throat that the other great apes have, but the larynx, or voice box (you may know it as the Adam's apple), is in a lower position in the throat in humans. This creates a longer pharynx, or throat cavity, which functions as a resonating and amplifying chamber for the speech sounds emitted by the larynx. The rounding of the shape of the tongue and palate, or the roof of the mouth, enables humans to make a greater variety of sounds than any great ape is capable of making.

¹⁷Two-footed

¹⁸Four-footed

Speech is produced by exhaling air from the lungs, which passes through the larynx. The voice is created by the vibration of the vocal folds in the larynx when they are pulled tightly together, leaving a narrow slit for the air to pass through under pressure. The narrower the slit, the higher the pitch of the sound produced. The sound waves in the exhaled air pass through the pharynx then out through the mouth and/or the nose. The different positions and movements of the articulators¹⁹, the tongue, the lips, the jaw, produce the different speech sounds. Along with the changes in mouth and throat anatomy that made speech possible came a gradual enlargement and compartmentalization of the brain of human ancestors over millions of years. The modern human brain is among the largest, in proportion to body size, of all animals. This development was crucial to language ability because a tremendous amount of brain power is required to process, store, produce, and comprehend the complex system of any human language and its associated culture. In addition, two areas in the left brain are specifically dedicated to the processing of language; no other species has them. They are Broca's area in the left frontal lobe near the temple, and Wernicke's area, in the temporal lobe just behind the left ear.

8.4 The Gesture Call System and Non-Verbal Human Communication

All animals communicate and many animals make meaningful sounds. Others use visual signs, such as facial expressions, color changes, body postures and movements, light (fireflies), or electricity (some eels). Many use the sense of smell

¹⁹Speaking involves controlling parts of the mouth and nose to shape the air that comes from the lungs. Articulators transform the sound into intelligible speech. They can be either active or passive. They include the pharynx, the teeth, the alveolar ridge behind them, the hard palate.

and the sense of touch. Most animals use a combination of two or more of these systems in their communication, but their systems are closed systems in that they cannot create new meanings or messages. Human communication is an open system that can easily create new meanings and messages. Most animal communication systems are basically innate; they do not have to learn them, but some species' systems entail a certain amount of learning. For example, songbirds have the innate ability to produce the typical songs of their species, but most of them must be taught how to do it by older birds.

Great apes and other primates have relatively complex systems of communication that use varying combinations of sound, body language, scent, facial expression, and touch. Their systems have therefore been referred to as a gesture-call system. Humans share a number of forms of this gesture-call, or non-verbal system with the great apes. Spoken language undoubtedly evolved embedded within it. All human cultures have not only verbal languages, but also non-verbal systems that are consistent with their verbal languages and cultures and vary from one culture to another. We will discuss the three most important human non-verbal communication systems.

8.4.1. Kinesics

Cultures also have non-verbal forms of communication, but there are still rules and symbols involved. Kinesics is the term used to designate all forms of human body language, including gestures, body position and movement, facial expressions, and eye contact. Although all humans can potentially perform these in the same way, different cultures may have different rules about how to use them. For example, eye contact for Americans is highly valued as a way to show we are paying attention and as a means of showing respect. But for the Japanese, eye contact is usually inappropriate, especially between two people of different social statuses. The lower

status person must look down and avoid eye contact to show respect for the higher status person. Moreover, Kinesics is the study of communication through body language, including gestures, facial expressions, body movement, and stances. Hand gestures add emphasis; a facial expression may contradict verbal communication. Voice level and tone add to our communication. Even silence can be an effective form of communication.

Facial expressions can convey a host of messages, usually related to the person's attitude or emotional state. Hand gestures may convey unconscious messages or constitute deliberate messages that can replace or emphasize verbal ones. Body language is culture specific. The same body postures and gestures can have different meanings in different cultures. For instance, holding your hand out, fingers together, and palm facing outward is a symbol for stop in North America. In Greece, the same gesture is highly insulting. Crossing your fingers for luck in North America is an obscene gesture in Vietnam where the crossed fingers are thought to resemble female genitalia. A thumbs-up in North America might mean approval, but in Thailand it is a sign of condemnation usually used by children similar to how children in the United States stick out their tongue. The A-OK symbol gesture of index finger placed on the thumb might mean everything is OK in the United Kingdom and United States, but in some Mediterranean countries, Germany, and Brazil it is the equivalent of calling someone an ass.

Bowing in Japan communicates many things depending on how it is done. *Ojigi*, or Japanese bowing, is used as a greeting, a way to apologize, and a way to show respect. The degree of the bow indicates the amount of respect. Fifteen degrees is the common greeting bow for those you already know or are on an equal social level. A thirty-degree bow is used for people who have a higher social rank, such as a boss, but not someone to whom you are related. The highest respect bow is

forty-five degrees and used when you apologize. Other forms of non-verbal communication include clothing, hairstyles, eye contact, even how close we stand to one another.

Proxemics is the study of cultural aspects of the use of space. This can be both in an individual's personal and physical territory. The use of color in one's physical space is an example of proxemics of physical territory. A health spa is more likely to use soothing, cool greens and blues rather than reds and oranges to create a relaxing atmosphere. Personal territory refers to the space we keep between others and ourselves. This varies depending on the other person and the situation, for instance, in the United States public space is defined as somewhere between twelve to twenty-five feet and is generally adhered to in public speaking situations. Social space, used between business associates and social space such as bus stops, varies between four and ten feet. Personal space is reserved for friends and family, and queues, and ranges between two and four feet. Intimate space is less than a foot and usually involves a high probability of touching. We generally feel uncomfortable or violated if any of these spaces are "invaded" without an invitation.

8.5. The Structure of Language

The scientific study of a spoken language (descriptive linguistics) involves several interrelated areas of analysis: phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax. Phonology, the study of speech sounds, considers which sounds are present and significant in a given language. Morphology studies the forms in which sounds combine to form *morphemes*, words, and their meaningful parts. Thus, the word *cats* would be analyzed as containing two morphemes, *cat*, the name for a kind of animal, and *-s*, a morpheme indicating plurality. A language's lexicon is a dictionary containing all its morphemes and their meanings. Syntax refers to the arrangement and order of words

8.6 Human Language Compared with Other Species

Human language is qualitatively and quantitatively different from the communication systems of all other species of animals. Linguists have long tried to create a working definition that distinguishes it from non-human communication systems. Linguist Charles Hockett's (1960) solution was to create a hierarchical list of what he called design features, or descriptive characteristics, of the communication systems of all species, including that of humans. Those features of human language not shared with any other species illustrate exactly how it differs from all other species. A number of great apes, including gorillas, chimpanzees, bonobos and orangutans, have been taught human sign languages with all of the human design features. In each case, the apes have been able to communicate as humans do to an extent, but their linguistic abilities are reduced by the limited cognitive abilities that accompany their smaller brain.

8.6.1. Hockett's Design Features

The communication systems of all species share the following features:

1. A mode of communication by which messages are transmitted through a system of signs, using one or more sensory systems to transmit and interpret, such as vocal-auditory, visual, tactile, or kinesics
2. Semanticity: the signs carry meaning for the users, and
3. Pragmatic function: all signs serve a useful purpose in the life of the users, from survival functions to influencing others' behavior.

Some communication systems (including humans) also exhibit the following features:

4. Interchangeability: the ability of individuals within a species to both send and receive messages. One species that lacks this feature is the honeybee. Only a female "worker bee" can perform the dance that conveys to her hive-mates the location of

a newly discovered food source. Another example is the mockingbird whose songs are performed only by the males to attract a mate and mark his territory.

5. Cultural transmission: the need for some aspects of the system to be learned through interaction with others, rather than being 100 percent innate or genetically programmed. The mockingbird learns its songs from other birds, or even from other sounds in its environment that appeal to it.

6. Arbitrariness: the form of a sign is not inherently or logically related to its meaning; signs are symbols. It could be said that the movements in the honeybees' dance are arbitrary since anyone who is not a honeybee could not interpret their meaning.

Only true human language also has the following characteristics:

7. Discreteness: every human language is made up of a small number of meaningless discrete sounds. That is, the sounds can be isolated from each other, for purposes of study by linguists, or to be represented in a writing system.

8. Duality of patterning (two levels of combination): at the first level of patterning, these meaningless discrete sounds, called phonemes, are combined to form words and parts of words that carry meaning, or morphemes. In the second level of patterning, morphemes are recombined to form an infinite possible number of longer messages such as phrases and sentences according to a set of rules called syntax. It is this level of combination that is entirely lacking in the communication abilities of all other animals and makes human language an open system while all other animal systems are closed.

9. Displacement: the ability to communicate about things that are outside of the here and now made possible by the features of discreteness and duality of patterning. While other species are limited to communicating about their immediate

time and place, we can talk about any time in the future or past, about any place in the universe, or even fictional places.

10. Productivity/creativity: the ability to produce and understand messages that have never been expressed before or to express new ideas. People do not speak according to prepared scripts, as if they were in a movie or a play; they create their utterances spontaneously, according to the rules of their language. It also makes possible the creation of new words and even the ability to lie.

8.7. Universals of Language

Languages we do not speak or understand may sound like meaningless babble to us, but all the human languages that have ever been studied by linguists are amazingly similar. They all share a number of characteristics; which linguists call language universals. These language universals can be considered properties of the Universal Grammar that Chomsky proposed. Here is a list of some of the major ones.

1. All human cultures have a human language and use it to communicate.
2. All human languages change over time, a reflection of the fact that all cultures are also constantly changing.
3. All languages are systematic, rule driven, and equally complex overall, and equally capable of expressing any idea that the speaker wishes to convey. There are no primitive languages.
4. All languages are symbolic systems.
5. All languages have a basic word order of elements, like subject, verb, and object, with variations.
6. All languages have similar basic grammatical categories such as nouns and verbs.

7. Every spoken language is made up of discrete sounds that can be categorized as vowels or consonants.
8. The underlying structure of all languages is characterized by the feature duality of patterning, which permits any speaker to utter any message they need or wish to convey, and any speaker of the same language to understand the message.

8.8 Language, Thought and Culture

The well-known linguist Noam Chomsky (1957) has argued that the human brain contains a limited set of rules for organizing language, so that all languages have a common structural basis. (Chomsky calls this set of rules *universal grammar*.) That people can learn foreign languages and that words and ideas translate from one language to another supports Chomsky's position that all humans have similar linguistic abilities and thought processes. Another line of support comes from creole languages.

Such languages develop from pidgins, languages that form in situations of acculturation, when different societies come into contact and must devise a system of communication. Pidgins based on English and native languages developed through trade and colonialism in many world areas, including China, Papua New Guinea, and West Africa.

Eventually, after generations of being spoken, pidgins may develop into *creole languages*. These are more mature languages, with developed grammatical rules and native speakers (people who learn the language as their primary one during enculturation). Creoles are spoken in several Caribbean societies. Gullah, which is spoken by African Americans on coastal islands in South Carolina and Georgia, is a creole language. Supporting the idea that creoles are based on universal grammar is the fact that such languages all share certain features. Syntactically, all use particles (e.g., will, was) to form future and past tenses and multiple negation to

deny or negate (e.g., he doesn't get none). Also, all form questions by changing inflection rather than by changing word order. For example, "You're going home for the holidays?" (with a rising tone at the end) rather than "Are you going home for the holidays?"

8.8.1 Models of Language and Culture

There are two models used in anthropology to study language and culture. In the early twentieth century, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf proposed that language influences the way we think. This idea, known as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, is the foundation of the theory of linguistic determinism, which states that it is impossible to fully learn or understand a second language because the primary language is so fully ingrained within an individual. Consequently, it is impossible to fully understand other cultures. The Saami concepts of snow listed above serves as an example of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. Someone from the desert or the tropics who has never experienced snow cannot *think* about snow. Try to imagine how you would explain snow to someone who had never experienced snow. It would be necessary to start with a common frame of reference and try to move on from there, but it would be difficult if not impossible to explain snow.

The second model is sociolinguistics. This is the study of how language is shaped within its cultural context; it is basically how people use language. This approach has been instrumental in demonstrating how language is used in different social, economic, and political situations. Sociolinguists contend that language reflects social status, gender, ethnicity, and other forms of social diversity. Languages often blend when two cultures that do not speak the same language come into contact

creating a pidgin language²⁰. Many pidgin languages emerged through the process of European colonialism. Bislama (Vanuatu) and Nigerian Pidgin are two examples. Creole languages²¹ evolve from pidgin languages. They have a larger vocabulary and more developed grammar. It becomes the mother tongue of a people. Tok Pisin was a pidgin language in Papua New Guinea but is now an officially recognized language in that country. Other examples of creole languages include Gullah, Jamaican Creole, and Louisiana Creole. Some confusion can arise with the terms pidgin and creole. In linguistic anthropology they are technical terms as defined above. How culture groups and individuals use the term can be different. Jamaicans do not refer to their language as creole, but as *patwa*. People speaking Hawai'i Creole English call their language pidgin.

8.8.2. Linguistic Relativity: The Whorf Hypothesis

In the 1920s, Benjamin Whorf was a graduate student studying with linguist Edward Sapir at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. Sapir, considered the father of American linguistic anthropology, was responsible for documenting and recording the languages and cultures of many Native American tribes, which were disappearing at an alarming rate. This was due primarily to the deliberate efforts of the United States government to force Native Americans to assimilate into the Euro-American culture. Sapir and his predecessors were well aware of the close

²⁰A pidgin language arises when two or more communities which do not share a common language adopt a simplified method of communicating. A pidgin language typically features a mix of simplified languages or on the other hand a simplified primary language consisting of other languages' elements. A pidgin language is adopted as a secondary tongue by the groups involved to enable them to engage with each other.

²¹ Creole language is a language that forms from two parent language merging together into a new language. An example of how Haitian Creole developed.

relationship between culture and language because each culture is reflected in and influences its language. Anthropologists need to learn the language of the culture they are studying in order to understand the world view of its speakers. Whorf believed that the reverse is also true, that a language affects culture as well, by actually influencing how its speakers think. His hypothesis proposes that the words and the structures of a language influence how its speakers think about the world, how they behave, and ultimately the culture itself. Simply stated, Whorf believed that human beings see the world the way they do because the specific languages they speak influence them to do so. He developed this idea through both his work with Sapir and his work as a chemical engineer for the Hartford Insurance Company investigating the causes of fires.

One of his cases while working for the insurance company was a fire at a business where there were a number of gasoline drums. Those that contained gasoline were surrounded by signs warning employees to be cautious around them and to avoid smoking near them. The workers were always careful around those drums. On the other hand, empty gasoline drums were stored in another area, but employees were more careless there. Someone tossed a cigarette or lighted match into one of the “empty” drums, it went up in flames, and started a fire that burned the business to the ground. Whorf theorized that the meaning of the word *empty* implied to the worker that “nothing” was there to be cautious about so the worker behaved accordingly. Unfortunately, an “empty” gasoline drum may still contain fumes, which are more flammable than the liquid itself.

Whorf’s studies at Yale involved working with Native American languages, including Hopi. The Hopi language is quite different from English, in many ways. For example, let’s look at how the Hopi language deals with time. Western languages (and cultures) view time as a flowing river in which we are being carried

continuously away from a past, through the present, and into a future. Our verb systems reflect that concept with specific tenses for past, present, and future. We think of this concept of time as universal, that all humans see it the same way. A Hopi speaker has very different ideas and the structure of their language both reflects and shapes the way they think about time. The Hopi language has no present, past, or future tense. Instead, it divides the world into what Whorf called the manifested and unmanifest domains. The manifested domain deals with the physical universe, including the present, the immediate past and future; the verb system uses the same basic structure for all of them. The unmanifest domain involves the remote past and the future, as well as the world of desires, thought, and life forces. The set of verb forms dealing with this domain are consistent for all of these areas and are different from the manifested ones. Also, there are no words for hours, minutes, or days of the week.

Native Hopi speakers often had great difficulty adapting to life in the English-speaking world when it came to being “on time” for work or other events. It is simply not how they had been conditioned to behave with respect to time in their Hopi world, which followed the phases of the moon and the movements of the sun. In a book about the Abenaki who lived in Vermont in the mid-1800s, Trudy Ann Parker described their concept of time, which very much resembled that of the Hopi and many of the other Native American tribes. “They called one full day a sleep, and a year was called a winter. Each month was referred to as a moon and always began with a new moon. An Indian day wasn’t divided into minutes or hours. It had four time periods, sunrise, noon, sunset, and midnight. Each season was determined by the budding or leafing of plants, the spawning of fish or the rutting time for animals. Most Indians thought the white race had been running around like scared rabbits ever since the invention of the clock.”

The lexicon, or vocabulary, of a language is an inventory of the items a culture talks about and has categorized in order to make sense of the world and deal with it effectively. For example, modern life is dictated for many by the need to travel by some kind of vehicle, cars, trucks, SUVs, trains, buses, etc. We therefore have thousands of words to talk about them, including types of vehicles, models, brands, or parts.

The most important aspects of each culture are similarly reflected in the lexicon of its language. Among the societies living in the islands of Oceania in the Pacific, fish have great economic and cultural importance. This is reflected in the rich vocabulary that describes all aspects of the fish and the environments that islanders depend on for survival. For example, in Palau there are about 1,000 fish species and Palauan fishermen knew, long before biologists existed, details about the anatomy, behavior, growth patterns and habitat of most of them in many cases far more than modern biologists know even today. Much of fish behavior is related to the tides and the phases of the moon. Throughout Oceania, the names given to certain days of the lunar months reflect the likelihood of successful fishing. For example, in the Caroline Islands, the name for the night before the new moon is *otolol*, which means “to swarm.” The name indicates that the best fishing days cluster around the new moon. In Hawai`i and Tahiti two sets of days have names containing the particle `ole or `ore; one occurs in the first quarter of the moon and the other in the third quarter. The same name is given to the prevailing wind during those phases. The words mean “nothing,” because those days were considered bad for fishing as well as planting.

Parts of Whorf’s hypothesis, known as linguistic relativity, were controversial from the beginning, and still are among some linguists. Yet Whorf’s ideas now form the basis for an entire sub-field of cultural anthropology: cognitive or psychological anthropology. A number of studies have been done that support Whorf’s ideas.

Linguist George Lakoff's work looks at the pervasive existence of metaphors in everyday speech that can be said to predispose a speaker's world view and attitudes on a variety of human experiences. A metaphor is an expression in which one kind of thing is understood and experienced in terms of another entirely unrelated thing; the metaphors in a language can reveal aspects of the culture of its speakers.

To illustrate that this concept of argument is not universal, Lakoff suggests imagining a culture where an argument is not something to be won or lost, with no strategies for attacking or defending, but rather as a dance where the dancers' goal is to perform in an artful, pleasing way.

8.9 Sociolinguistics

No language is a uniform system in which everyone talks just like everyone else. The field of sociolinguistics investigates relationships between social and linguistic variation (Trudgill, 2000). How do different speakers use a given language? How do linguistic features correlate with social diversity and stratification, including class, ethnic, and gender differences (Tannen, 1993)? How is language used to express, reinforce, or resist power (Lakoff, 2004). Sociolinguists focus on features that vary systematically with social position and situation. To study variation, sociolinguists must observe, define, and measure variable use of language in real-world situations. To show that linguistic features correlate with social, economic, and political differences, the social attributes of speakers also must be measured and related to speech (Labov 1972). Variation within a language at a given time is historical change in progress. The same forces that, working gradually, have produced large-scale linguistic change over the centuries are still at work today. Linguistic change doesn't occur in a vacuum but in society. When new ways of

speaking are associated with social factors, they are imitated, and they spread. In this way, a language changes.

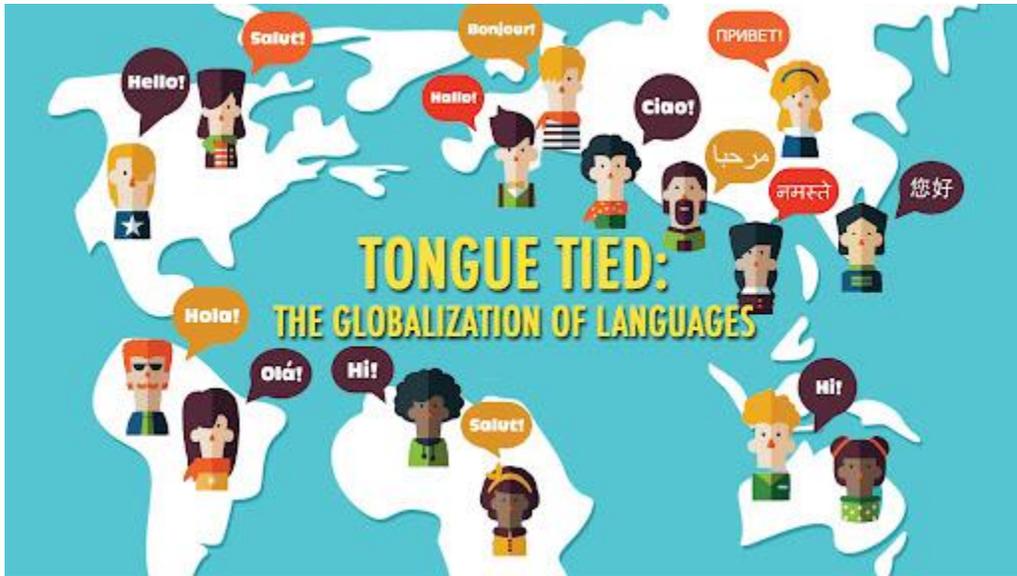
8.10 Gender Speech Contrasts

Comparing men and women, there are differences in phonology, grammar, and vocabulary, and in the body stances and movements that accompany speech (McConnell-Ginet 2008; Lakoff, 2000). In phonology, American women tend to pronounce their vowels more peripherally (“rant,” “rint” when saying the word “rent”), whereas men tend to pronounce theirs more centrally (“runt”). In public contexts, Japanese women tend to adopt an artificially high voice, for the sake of politeness, according to their traditional culture. Women tend to be more careful about uneducated speech. This trend shows up in both the United States and England.

Men may adopt working-class speech because they associate it with masculinity. Perhaps women pay more attention to the media, in which standard dialects are employed. According to Robin Lakoff (2004), the use of certain types of words and expressions has been associated with women’s traditional lesser power in American society (Tannen,1993). For example, *Oh dear*, *Oh fudge*, and *Goodness!* are less forceful than *Hell* and *Damn*. Women, by contrast, are more likely to use such adjectives as *adorable*, *charming*, *sweet*, *cute*, *lovely*, and *divine* than men are.

Differences in the linguistic strategies and behavior of men and women are examined in several books by the well-known sociolinguist Deborah Tannen (1993). Tannen uses the terms “rapport” and “report” to contrast women’s and men’s overall linguistic styles. Women, says Tannen, typically use language and the body movements that accompany it to build rapport, social connections with others. Men, on the other hand, tend to make reports, reciting information that serves to establish a place for themselves in a hierarchy, as they also attempt to determine the relative ranks of their conversation mates

8.11. Globalization and Language



Globalization is the spread of people, their cultures and languages, products, money, ideas, and information around the world. Globalization is nothing new; it has been happening throughout the existence of humans, but for the last 500 years it has been increasing in its scope and pace, primarily due to improvements in transportation and communication. Beginning in the fifteenth-century, English explorers started spreading their language to colonies in all parts of the world. English is now one of the three or four most widely spoken languages. It has official status in at least 60 countries, and it is widely spoken in many others. Other colonizers also spread their languages, especially Spanish, French, Portuguese, Arabic, and Russian. Like English, each has its regional variants. One effect of colonization has often been the suppression of local languages in favor of the language of the more powerful colonizers.

In the past half century, globalization has been dominated by the spread of North American popular culture and language to other countries. Today it is difficult to

find a country that does not have American music, movies and television programs, or Coca Cola and McDonald's, or many other artifacts of life in the United States, and the English terms that go with them. In addition, people are moving from rural areas to cities in their own countries, or they are migrating to other countries in unprecedented numbers. Many have moved because they are refugees fleeing violence, or they found it increasingly difficult to survive economically in their own countries. This mass movement of people has led to the on-going extinction of large numbers of the world's languages as people abandon their home regions and language in order to assimilate into their new homes.

8.12 How is the Digital Age Changing Communication?

The invention of the printing press in the fifteenth-century was just the beginning of technological transformations that made the spread of information in European languages and ideas possible across time and space using the printed word. Recent advances in travel and digital technology are rapidly transforming communication; now we can be in contact with almost anyone, anywhere, in seconds. However, it could be said that the new age of instantaneous access to everything and everyone is actually continuing a social divide that started with the printing press.

In the fifteenth-century, few people could read and write, so only the tiny, educated minority were in a position to benefit from printing. Today, only those who have computers and the skills to use them, the educated and relatively wealthy, have access to this brave new world of communication. Some schools have adopted computers and tablets for their students, but these schools are more often found in wealthier neighborhoods. Thus, technology is continuing to contribute to the growing gap between the economic haves and the have-nots.

There is also a digital generation gap between the young, who have grown up with computers, and the older generations, who have had to learn to use computers as adults. These two generations have been referred to as digital natives and digital immigrants. The difference between the two groups can be compared to that of children versus adults learning a new language; learning is accomplished much more easily by the young.

Computers, and especially social media, have made it possible for millions of people to connect with each other for purposes of political activism, including “Occupy Wall Street” in the United States and the “Arab Spring” in the Middle East. Some anthropologists have introduced computers and cell phones to the people they studied in remote areas, and in this way, they were able to stay in contact after finishing their ethnographic work. Those people, in turn, were now able to have greater access to the outside world.

Facebook and Twitter are becoming key elements in the survival of a number of endangered indigenous languages. Facebook is now available in over 70 languages, and Twitter in about 40 languages. For example, a website has been created that seeks to preserve *Anishinaabemowin*, an endangered²² Native American language from Michigan (Emmanouilidou, 2019). The language has 8,000-10,000 speakers, but most of the native speakers are over 70 years old, which means the language is threatened with extinction. Modern social media are an ideal medium to help encourage young people to communicate in their language to keep it alive. Clearly, language and communication through modern technology are in the forefront of a rapidly changing world, for better or for worse. It’s anybody’s guess what will happen next.

²² Disappearing

8.13. Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is language and how is it discussed in anthropology?
2. What is meant by Call system, Kinesics and Nonverbal communication? Discuss.
3. Discuss the main features of Hockett Design of language.
4. What is meant by universals of language? Discuss.
5. Discuss in detail the linguistic relatively with examples.
6. Explain in detail what is Wharf Hypothesis.
7. Do you agree that gender makes a difference in speaking language?
8. Discuss with examples in detail and how globalization has impacted language in contemporary world?
9. How language is changed in digitalization age?

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UNIT 9

POLITICS AND ECONOMY

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Introduction

This unit discusses two very significant aspects of anthropology covering politics and economic perspective within the discipline. The first part includes the political debates which makes the core of political anthropology starting from its origin till the making of states and countries. The other part of the unit explains the economic sides of anthropology that include modes of exchanges and distribution and debates related these fundamental concepts.

Objectives

This unit aims at:

- introduce core concepts in political and economic anthropology
- examine different debates that are prevalent in origin of political and economic anthropology
- different terms being used within the discipline.

Learning Outcomes

After reading the unit you will be able to.

- define relevant concepts of political and economic anthropology
- discuss the debates within the field from the origin
- understand different concept being used in political and economic anthropology

9.1 Political Anthropology

The field of political anthropology encompasses the analysis of power, leadership, and influence in all their social, cultural, symbolic, ritual, and policy dimensions. Political anthropologists have been most concerned with the contextual specificity of political processes, the mechanisms through which localities are incorporated into larger scales of social, economic, and political life, and the sentiments and meanings that people bring to their political practices. Our faculty engages with a variety of political phenomena such as state formation and governance, the meanings and practices of liberalism and neoliberalism, the political economic dimensions of social and cultural change, the politics of social and biological reproduction, social movements, and the changing contours of citizenship.

Generally, we are used to the idea of government within the framework of the state and through the medium of specialized political and legal institutions that include parliament, police, law and courts. Such forms are now found world-wide, but this has not always been so, and even today many peoples living within modern states rely to a great extent on other mechanisms for the maintenance of law and order. In societies where people live in closely-knit communities, and rely heavily on each other for economic assistance, the local maintenance of good social relations can be a matter of life or death. Many ways of dealing with offences and of settling disputes may be used. For example, in some societies community tensions are released through the use of ritualized insults. In others, divination is employed to discover the sources of conflict and aggression between people.

Political anthropology examines and compares these diverse systems of social control. It also explores the power structures of societies, including the extent of consensus and the patterns of equality or inequality within them. It examines the ways in which leaders establish or bolster their authority through tradition, force,

persuasion, and religion. It asks whether a society can have a legal system even without formal courts and written laws. It is also interested in the ways people resist excessive domination, both passively and through Robin Hood-style banditry and other means. One key area of study for political anthropology has been the effect of colonialism on subject peoples, and the ways in which western legal systems have been adopted and also adapted to their needs by non-western peoples. Another area of interest has been the role of ceremonial and ritual, for instance in the installation ceremonies of rulers, as a way of giving government an aura of legitimacy.

As with other areas of anthropology, the study of diverse institutions can also lead us to a broader-based understanding of our own and other western social systems. Political anthropology has had interesting insights to offer us on such issues as national identity, ethnic conflict, the meaning of monarchy, and why people sometimes take the law into their own hands. The field of political anthropology encompasses the analysis of power, leadership, and influence in all their social, cultural, symbolic, ritual, and policy dimensions. It includes the examination-in both state and stateless societies-of forms of authority and domination, the dynamics of political identity, social and political violence, nationalism, ethnicity, colonialism, war and peace, and modes of political reconciliation and peace-building.

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The study of political anthropology provides a rich empirical and theoretical grounding for students planning careers in academia; international development; humanitarian work; international, state, and local governance; international diplomacy; and transnational advocacy, among others. The study of political anthropology provides a rich empirical and theoretical grounding for students planning careers in academia; international development; humanitarian work; international, state, and local governance; international diplomacy; and transnational advocacy, among others.

9.2 Models of Social Power

In the mid-1900s, anthropologists Elman R. Service (1962) and Morton H. Fried (1967) created two different, yet complementary discussions of how societies organized themselves, represented by varying degrees of community organization and patterns of redistribution. Both scholars created a description of different aspects of human communities using four different categories while there are four in each system which are discussed below;

Fried's Societal Categories	Service's Economic Categories
Egalitarian Societies	Band Organization
Ranked Societies	Tribe Organization
Segmented Societies	Chiefdom Organization
State Societies	State Organization

9.2.1 Fried's Classification of Society

Fried's (1967) classification is primarily based on social relationships attached to concepts of prestige and social hierarchy and the association of kin groups and non-

kin groups; there is also an indirect form of social evolution from egalitarian societies through state-level societies based on concepts of social stratification. Human beings tend to differentiate among each other by assigning greater or lesser prestige to them according to selected attributes. The nature of these attributes and the manner in which these attributes preserve and conveyed to later descendants that separate one form of society from another.

9.2.1.1 Egalitarian Societies

We humans are not equal in all things. The status of women is low relative to the status of men in many, if not most, societies as we will see. There is also the matter of age. In some societies, the aged enjoy greater prestige than the young; in others, the aged are subjected to discrimination in employment and other areas. Even in Japan, which has traditionally been known for its respect for elders, the prestige of the aged is in decline. And we vary in terms of our abilities.

In a complex society, it may seem that social classes, differences in wealth and status, are, like death and taxes, inevitable: that one is born into wealth, poverty, or somewhere in between and has no say in the matter, at least at the start of life, and that social class is an involuntary position in society. However, is social class universal? As they say, let's look at the record, in this case ethnographies. We find that among foragers, there is no advantage to hoarding food; in most climates, it will decay before one's eyes. Nor is there much personal property, and leadership, where it exists, is informal. In forager societies, the basic ingredients for social class do not exist. Foragers such as the! Kung, Inuit, and aboriginal Australians are egalitarian societies in which there are few differences between members in wealth, status, and power. Highly skilled and less skilled hunters do not belong to different strata in the way that the captains of industry do from you and me. The less skilled hunters in egalitarian societies receive a share of the meat and have the right to be

heard on important decisions. Egalitarian societies also lack a government or centralized leadership. Their leaders, known as headmen or big men, emerge by consensus of the group. Foraging societies are always egalitarian, but so are many societies that practice horticulture or pastoralism. In terms of political organization, egalitarian societies can be either bands or tribes.

9.2.1.2. Ranked Societies

Ranked is a relative measure as no true egalitarian societies exist. The primary difference between egalitarian and ranked societies is the way in which differential prestige is handled. A ranked society places limitation on access to valued statuses and these limitations are only indirectly related to sex, age, or personal attributes. Because of these limitations, ranked societies have fewer positions of valued status than the number of people capable of filling them. Various techniques are employed for limiting status to certain persons, the simplest is dependent on birth order as in, the first born is given the highest status. The hierarchy of status can be represented by a triangle, and this has definite economic advantages. Fried suggested that ranking is caused by economic and other external factors (that is, ranking is not inherent in human behavior).

The transition to a ranked society often occurs with the emergence of a network of redistribution that does not have the family unit as the basis. Thus, in an egalitarian society, reciprocity (exchange of equal value goods or services) rules; while in a ranked society redistribution of goods and services is done by a central collector (of high status!). This society operates on the principle of differential status for members with similar abilities. However, these statuses are without privileged economic or political power. These societies are probably those that exhibited the first villages and sedentism in different regions around the world.

9.2.1.3. Segmented Societies

A stratified society has institutionalized differential relationships among its members. Usually this is in terms related to the means of subsistence, or how people get access to their food. Some members have direct access to critical resources, while access to these same resources is denied or restricted for other members. The emergence of stratification requires a more formal means of communication and regulation as this society requires formal statements of legal principles to adjudicate and enforce the rules.

Therefore, the prime authority in society is no longer focused on kinship or family but based on territorial groups. Stratification facilitates the increasingly complex divisions of labor that are required in later pre-urban or urban societies where large numbers of people begin to congregate.

9.2.1.4. State Societies

State-level societies are the most complex in terms of social, economic, and political organization, and have a formal government and social classes. States control or influence many areas of its members lives. From regulation of social relations like marriage to outlining the rights and obligations of its citizens, there is little in daily life that is not impacted. States have large populations and share the following characteristics:

States have power over their domain. They define citizenship and its rights and responsibilities. Inequality is the norm, with clear social classes defined. States monopolize the use of force and maintenance of law and order through laws, courts, and police. States maintain standing armies and police forces. They keep track of citizens in terms of number, age, gender, location, and wealth through census systems. They have the power to extract resources from citizens through taxes, which can be through cash such as the U. S. tax system or through labor such as the

Incan *mita* system where people paid with their labor. States also have the ability to manipulate information.

States control population in numerous ways. They regulate marriage and adoption. They create administrative divisions, e.g., provinces, districts, counties, townships, that help to create loyalties and help to administer social services and organize law enforcement. They may foster geographic mobility and resettlement that breaks down the power of kin relationships and create divided loyalty, e.g., resettlement of Native Americans on reservations.

States often uses religious beliefs and symbols to maintain power. State leaders may claim to be a deity may conscript popular ideology for political purposes. Regalia may be used to create a sense of pageantry and authority.

9.2.2. Service's Classification of Society

Mobility and resettlement that breaks down the power of kin relationships and create divided loyalty, e.g., Resettlement of Native Americans on reservations.

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9.2.2.1. Bands

Service's simplest form of organization are termed bands, which are small, territorial hunter-gathered groups that range in size from 30 to 100 members. These bands tend to be related kin groups with spouses usually selected from outside the band (exolocal). The primary forms of status differentiation are based on age and gender. Political and economic specialization are normally absent, except as they relate to age, sex, and family. Bands would be comparable and incorporate Fried's egalitarian system of economic differentiation.

9.2.2.3. Tribes

Service's second level of organization is the tribe. The primary difference between tribes and bands is the development of social techniques to integrate local groups into a larger society. These mechanisms take the form of various sodalities (relationships) that cross-cut local groups and can include same-age groups, secret societies, as well as warrior and religious societies. Most tribes remain egalitarian in terms of Fried's terminology. Tribes usually have agricultural economies, although hunter-gatherers who are sedentary for much of the year may develop the necessary integrative institutions to be considered tribes. This is illustrated in terms of the secret societies within the Pacific Northwest Coast Native Americans (sedentary hunter-gatherers in elaborate semi-permanent villages). Within tribes, there are usually no well-developed specialized craft groups nor is there highly organized trade between tribal groups. If a tribe occupies several settlements, there is no hierarchy of importance in the settlements or great differences in their sizes. There is no real warfare; instead skirmishes and ambushes are common. The concept of the tribe is and continues to be controversial (many scholars believe that ethnographic tribes are not an indigenous development, but instead came about from contact with militaristic, neighboring states).

9.2.2.4. Chiefdoms

Service's third level of community organizations is the chiefdom. A chiefdom comprises several groups organized into hierarchical social systems. Variation in rank, with the associated privileges and obligations, is the primary technique of social integration. This system centers on a single status position, that of the chief. Descent (relationship) is usually the primary determinant of the relative positions of different individuals and kin groups. A chiefdom can be considered a well-developed form of Fried's ranked society. Chiefdoms do not usually have social classes in the modern sense, but some members attain social positions that carry with them enhanced power and

privilege. Craft and food production specialization usually is present. Because these specializations are present, there is usually a mechanism of redistribution of good in which the chief plays an important role. However, the chief usually lacks true differential access to and the control of strategic resources that would constitute social stratification in Fried's terminology. The chief lacks formal delineation of power and coercive techniques of political control (a police force or military). The chief's authority is based on the existence of sumptuary rules providing for elaborate ritual isolation (from the rest of the population) by dress, ornamentation, food, or mobility.

9.2.2.5. Fried and Service on States

Both evolutionary schemes have defined a state-level society, but given the different foci of these schemes, they are remarkably similar and will be group together in this discussion. States are variously defined, and it may be difficult to understand for students as it is something that were living in! Some recent researchers are using terminology that represent the complexity of a state, particularly with prehistoric states (prior to the development of writing when we have no written records and have to use different sources of archaeological evidence to understand the development of the state or complex society). We could also use the term "civilization" as a short-hand for urbanized, state-level societies.

It must be emphasized that there is lots of variation among preindustrial civilizations, but characteristics of many of them include:

- Most societies are based on cities with large, complex social organizations;
- Economies are based on the centralized accumulation of capital and social status through tribute and taxation;

- There are advances towards formal record keeping, science, mathematics, and some form of writing script (in the broadest senses);
- For most of these societies, there are impressive public buildings or monumental architecture; and,
- There exists some form of all-embracing state religion in which the ruler or ruling body plays a leading role.

Thus, this is the most hierarchical form of social organization (so far!) in human culture/history. A state usually has a permanent bureaucracy and has some form of social stratification. Finally, the monopoly of power (political, economic, ideological, etc.) lies in the hands of a very few individuals.

Finally, how are we looking at concepts of a city or urbanism? A city is a large and relatively dense settlement with a population that usually numbers in at least the thousands. Cities are often characterized by specialization and interdependence with a relationship between the city itself and the surrounding hinterlands that supply labor and resources. Interdependence in the city's population and its hinterland also includes specialist craftspeople and other groups within and outside the city. The city is usually a central place in its region and provides services for the villages in the surrounding area, but as indicated above, it is dependent on those villages for essential resources, such as food and material goods. Cities have a degree of organizational complexity well beyond that of the surrounding village-based communities. There are centralized institutions that regulate international affairs and ensure security; often these institutions are tied into the symbolism represented by monumental architecture.

9.2.2.6 City States

City states appeared to be a common form of rule related to the importance of large urban centers and their hinterlands. The classical definition of a city state is a self-

governing entity that encompasses the boundaries of the city, but may also include villages, small hamlets, and agricultural lands surrounding it. City states were considered the most numerous in the ancient and relatively recent past, but only a few, such as Vatican City, Monaco, and Singapore, are recognized in the modern era as well as the Renaissance-era Italian city-states such as Florence, Milan, and Venice.

The most common ones that students may recognize are those of ancient Greece, including the city states of Athens and Sparta (home of the 300 and the original citizens of the Battle of Thermopylae). Deviations may be represented by large cities within a loose empire, such as Rome as a central authority and Carthage as a semi-independent city state that provided tribute to the main authority.

City states were represented by a group of individuals called citizens (occupants of the city) that had cultural and political allegiance to a large urban center. It appears that the city state was the most common form of governance until the recent appearance of modern empires and nation states. This was the primary form of governance that we see in prehistoric settlements with the emergence of the city in the ancient regions of the Indus Valley Civilization (northwestern South Asia), the early Mesopotamian cities (modern Iraq), and the Mayan cities (nation states of the modern Yucatan Peninsula in Mesoamerica). The latter two civilizations have writing systems that have been deciphered and the political histories of warfare and rebellion between the city states is fairly-well known.

While the Indus Valley Civilization has a writing system, it remains undeciphered. Thus, we can look at various indicators of cultural complexity and rule based on settlement pattern analysis and artifact style and distribution. It appears there are about five major urban centers (Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Chanhu-daro, Ganeriwala, Dholavira, and Rakhigera) in the Indus Valley Civilization that

encompassed over 1 million square kilometers in extent. Each large urban center seemed to have distinct versions of Indus Valley ceramic motifs and other artifacts and there seems to be a robust trade with specific resources or routes controlled by the urban centers.

9.3. Concepts of Power

One comprehensive understanding of power has been offered up by the late Norman Coffee believes that the interplay between three primary domains of power led to the development new society-wide institutions that we now recognize as the state and that the origins of the state can be examined through the use of power in three domains: economic power; social and ideological power; and political power. The combination of economic productivity, control over sources and distribution of food and wealth, the development and maintenance of the stratified social system and its ideology, and the ability to maintain control by force were vital aspects of early city states. Each of these forms of power can be examined archaeologically as well as in current situations. States often exhibit these three different forms of power (or control) monopolized by a very few individuals in the society.

9.3.1. Political Power

Political power rests in a ruler's ability to impose authority throughout a society by both administrative and military means. Those in positions of authority within either the bureaucracy or the army did not come from within the kin system, but usually are recruited from outside. Political power often lies in foreign relations and in defense and conquest. Political power can be at the highest levels dealing with other states or a great deal can be seen at lower levels in the hands of smaller communities and kin leaders handling legal matters revolving around family law or land ownership.

9.3.2. Economic Power

Economic power depends on the ability to organize more specialized production in food and the diverse tasks of food storage and food distribution. Stored food is a form of stored wealth, and that wealth can create relationships of dependency between those who produce or acquire the wealth and those who control and distribute it. Wealth and economic power are also linked with trade and long-distance exchange networks. These networks provide access to commodities that were not available locally.

9.3.3. Social and Ideological Power

Social and ideological power comes from the creation or modification of certain symbols of cultural and political commonality. Such common ideology is usually expressed in public and private ceremonies, art, architecture, and literature. This ideology serves to link individuals and communities with common ties that transcend kin groups. Those who create and perpetuate these ideologies are held in high esteem and usually enjoy considerable prestige.

9.4. Economic Anthropology

At the most basic, economic anthropology is the description and analysis of economic life, using an anthropological perspective. It is therefore important to understand what an anthropological perspective in economic life of people mean. The anthropological perspective approaches and locates aspects of people's individual and collective lives, which is to say their lives and societies, in terms of how these aspects relate to one another in an interconnected, though not necessarily bounded or very orderly, whole. Economic anthropologists study how humans use the material world to maintain and express themselves in social groups. Researchers examine both the material practices in which humans engage and the ideas they hold about them. As a field, economic anthropology developed in the

twentieth century, but it encompasses studies of the past and draws on theories from earlier eras. A single opposition informs much of the subject: either humans live by what they produce, or they produce to exchange with others from whom they secure their livelihood. All economies represent combinations of the two practices, but the patterns vary, and their interpretation occasions controversy.

Economic anthropology focuses on two aspects of economics:

(1) provisioning, which is the production and distribution of necessary and optional goods and services

(2) the strategy of economizing often put in terms of the formalist-substantivist debate. Earlier anthropologists devoted almost all their time to the study of provisioning, but in the last half-century economizing has received substantially more attention

Economic anthropologists study processes of production, circulation, and consumption of different sorts of objects in social settings. 'Objects' includes material things, as well as what people do for each other (such as provide labour and services) and less visible objects (such as names, ideas and so forth). The settings range from small and intimate social units like households through intermediate ones, like firms, villages, or local markets, to very large entities like regional systems of ceremonial exchange or global systems of advertising and consumption.

While the settings and processes that are studied vary tremendously, most economic anthropologists approach them in two main ways. One approach is concerned with social context: what sorts of people make, give, take, or consume which sorts of things, and in what sorts of situations do they do so? In a sub-Saharan African village, who is it who tends food crops - men or women, old or young, married, or

single, and so forth? In England, which sorts of households are likely to have computers, and which household members are likely to use them?

Another approach is concerned with cultural context: how do different sorts of people understand their economic activities, the objects involved and the people with whom they carry out those activities? When an artisan sells something to a buyer, how does each party think about their relationship and the objects that they exchange

Thus, while economic anthropologists study economic processes, their approach is different from that of economists. Economists usually restrict themselves to monetary transactions and try to develop formal, abstract models of economic systems. Economic anthropologists, on the other hand, usually are concerned with all forms of production, circulation, and consumption, monetary or not. Further, they are concerned less with developing formal models and more with trying to describe and understand economic actions in their social and cultural context.²³

9.4.1 Modes of Production

A key concept in anthropological studies of economic life is the mode of production, or the social relations through which human labor is used to transform energy from nature using tools, skills, organization, and knowledge. This concept originated with anthropologist Eric Wolf, who was strongly influenced by the social theorist Karl Marx. Marx argued that human consciousness is not determined by our cosmologies or beliefs but instead by our most basic human activity: work. Wolf identified three distinct modes of production in human history: domestic (kin-ordered), tributary, and capitalist (Wolf, 1982). Domestic or kin-ordered

²³ Extracts taken from Dr. James G carrier paper

production organizes work on the basis of family relations and does not necessarily involve formal social domination, or the control of and power over other people. However, power and authority may be exerted over specific groups based on age and gender. In the tributary mode of production, the primary producer pays tribute in the form of material goods or labor to another individual or group of individuals who controls production through political, religious, or military force. The third mode, capitalism, is the one most familiar to us. The capitalist mode of production has three central features: (1) private property is owned by members of the capitalist class; (2) workers sell their labor power to the capitalists in order to survive; and (3) surpluses of wealth are produced, and these surpluses are either kept as profit or reinvested in production in order to generate further surplus (Lee, 2013). Now the rest of the section will throw light on some modes of production that discuss economic anthropological perspective.

9.4.1.2. Domestic Production²⁴

The domestic, or kin-ordered, mode of production characterizes the lives of foragers and small-scale subsistence farmers with social structures that are more egalitarian than those characterizing the other modes of production (though these structures are still shaped by age- and gender-based forms of inequality). In the domestic mode of production, labor is organized on the basis of kinship relations (which is why this form of production is also known as kin-ordered) (Lee,2013).

²⁴Excerpts taken from Lyon, Sarah. *Coffee and Community: Maya Farmers and Fair-Trade Markets*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2011.

In southern Mexico and parts of Central America, many indigenous people primarily make their living through small-scale subsistence maize farming. Subsistence farmers produce food for their family's own consumption (rather than to sell). In this family production system, the men generally clear the fields and the whole family works together to plant the seeds. Until the plants sprout, the children spend their days in the fields protecting the newly planted crops (Lee, 2013). The men then weed the crops and harvest the corn cobs, and, finally, the women work to dry the corn and remove the kernels from the cobs for storage. Over the course of the year mothers and daughters typically grind the corn by hand using a metate, or grinding stone (or, if they are lucky, they might have access to a mechanical grinder). Ultimately, the corn is used to make the daily tortillas the family consumes at each meal (Lee, 2013). This example demonstrates how the domestic mode of production organizes labor and daily activities within families according to age and gender.

9.4.1.3. Tributary Production

The tributary mode of production is found in social systems divided into classes of rulers and subjects. Subjects, typically farmers and/or herders, produce for themselves and their families, but they also give a proportion of their goods or labor to their rulers as tribute. The tributary mode of production characterizes a variety of precapitalist, state-level societies found in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas.

These societies share several common features: (1) the dominant units of production are communities organized around kinship relations; (2) the state's society depends on the local communities, and the tribute collected is used by the ruling class rather than exchanged or reinvested; (3) relationships between producers and rulers are often conflictual; and (4) production is controlled politically rather than through the direct control of the means of production. Some

historic tributary systems, such as those found in feudal Europe and medieval Japan, were loosely organized, whereas others, such as the pre-contact Inca Empire and imperial China, were tightly managed) (Lee, 2013).

In the Chinese imperial system, rulers not only demanded tribute in the form of material goods but also organized large-scale production and state-organized projects such as irrigation, roads, and flood control. In addition to accumulating agricultural surpluses, imperial officials also controlled large industrial and commercial enterprises, acquiring necessary products, such as salt, porcelain, or bricks, through nonmarket mechanisms (Gates, 1996). The rulers of most tributary systems were determined through descent and/or military and political service. However, the 1,000-year imperial Chinese system (CE 960–1911) was unique in that new members were accepted based on their performance in examinations that any male could take, even males of low status (Gates, 1996). Despite this exception, the Chinese imperial system exhibits many hallmarks of the tributary mode of production, including the political control of production and the collection of tribute to support state projects and the ruling classes.

9.3.1.4. Capitalist Production

The capitalist mode of production is the most recent. While many of us may find it difficult to conceive of an alternative to capitalism, it has in fact only existed for a mere fraction of human history, first originating with the North American and western European industrial revolution during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Capitalism is distinguished from the other two modes of production as an economic system based on private property owned by a capitalist class. In the domestic and tributary modes of production, workers typically own their means of production (for example, the land they farm). However, in the capitalist mode of production, workers typically do not own the factories they work in or the

businesses they work for, and so they sell their labor power to other people, the capitalists, in order to survive. By keeping wages low, capitalists are able to sell the products of the workers' labor for more than it costs to produce the products. This enables capitalists, or those who own the means of production, to generate a surplus that is either kept as profit or reinvested in production with the goal of generating additional surplus. Therefore, an important distinguishing feature of the capitalist mode of production is that workers are separated from the means of production (for example, from the factories they work in or the businesses they work for), whereas in the domestic and tributary modes workers are not separated from the means of production (they own their own land, or they have free access to hunting and foraging grounds). In the domestic and tributary modes of production, workers also retain control over the goods they produce (or a portion of them), and they control their own labor, deciding when and when not to work (Patternson,2012). However, this is not true within capitalism. A factory worker does not own the widget that she helps build in a factory, and she cannot decide when she would like to show up at work each day. Economic anthropologists stress that people and communities are differentially integrated into the capitalist mode of production. For example, some subsistence farmers may also produce a small crop of agricultural commodities in order to earn cash income to pay for necessities, such as machetes or farm tools, that they cannot make themselves. Many of us have had "informal" jobs tending a neighbor's children or mowing someone's lawn. Informal work such as this, where one does not work on a full-time, contracted basis, is especially important in developing countries around the world where informal employment comprises one-half to three-quarters of nonagricultural employment (Chen, 2012).

Even in our own capitalist society, many of us regularly produce and exchange goods and services outside of the so-called formal marketplace: baking zucchini bread for a cousin who shares her vegetable garden's produce, for example, or

buying fair-trade chocolate from a cooperative grocery store. We might spend Sundays volunteering in a church's nursery, or perhaps moonlighting as a server for a friend's catering business, working "under the table" for cash. Each of these examples highlights how even in advanced capitalist societies, we engage in diverse economic practices every day. If, as some suggest, economic anthropology is at its heart a search for alternatives to capitalism, it is useful to explore the many diverse economies that are thriving alongside capitalist modes of production and exchange (Hart,2012).

9.4. Modes of Exchange

There are three distinct ways to integrate economic and social relations and distribute material goods. Contemporary economics only studies the first, market exchange. Most economic models are unable to explain the second two, reciprocity and redistribution, because they have different underlying logics. Economic anthropology, on the other hand, provides rich and nuanced perspective into how diverse modes of exchange shape, and are shaped by, everyday life across space and time. Anthropologists understand market exchange to be a form of trade that today most commonly involves general purpose money, bargaining, and supply and demand price mechanisms. In contrast, reciprocity involves the exchange of goods and services and is rooted in a mutual sense of obligation and identity. Anthropologists have identified three distinct types of reciprocity, which we will explore shortly: generalized, balanced, and negative (Sahlins, 1972).

9.4.1. Reciprocity

Reciprocity is the state of mutually addressing the same attitudes or feelings as another. It indicates an equal exchange. This implies intersubjectivity and interaction not only between individuals, but also between groups. It may,

therefore, be applied to many fields of social activity and has acquired special importance in psychology, education, ethics, politics, and law. Although the quality of the reciprocal attitudes or feelings is neutral (there may be a positive or a negative mutual exchange), the term is most commonly used for sharing something considered to be positive. Reciprocity is one of the first elements that contributes to a child's psychological, physical, and social development by the spontaneous imitation of the parents' attitudes, expressions, and movements. The feeling of reciprocal love between parent and child is one of the most important factors for the creation of an equilibrated individual personality. Besides the emotional flourishing it creates, it establishes a psychic environment of security and confidence, which is vital for young human beings and of crucial weight for their future evolution. On this basis of reciprocal confidence and goodwill is founded any other successful educative relationship in the following years of the human life.

While early economic anthropology often seemed focused on detailed investigations of seemingly exotic economic practices, anthropologists such as Bronislaw Malinowski and Marcel Mauss used ethnographic research and findings to critique Western, capitalist economic systems. Mauss, a French anthropologist, was one of the first scholars to provide an in-depth exploration of reciprocity and the role that gifts play in cultural systems around the world (Mauss, 1990, {1925}). Mauss asked why humans feel obliged to reciprocate when they receive a gift. His answer was that giving and reciprocating gifts, whether these are material objects or our time, creates links between the people involved (Wilk and Cliggett, 2007).

Over the past century, anthropologists have devoted considerable attention to the topic of reciprocity. It is an attractive one because of the seemingly moral nature of gifts: many of us hope that humans are not solely self-interested, antisocial

economic actors. Gifts are about social relations, not just about the gifts themselves but giving a gift that contains a bit of oneself builds a social relationship with the person who receives it (Wilk and Cliggett,2007). Studying reciprocity gives anthropologists unique insights into the moral economy, or the processes through which customs, cultural values, beliefs, and social coercion influence our economic behavior. The economy can be understood as a symbolic reflection of the cultural order and the sense of right and wrong that people adhere to within that cultural order (Wilk and Cliggett,2007). This means that economic behavior is a unique cultural practice, one that varies across time and space.

9.4.2. Generalized Reciprocity

Consider a young child. Friends and family members probably purchase numerous gifts for the child, small and large. People give freely of their time: changing diapers, cooking meals, driving the child to soccer practice, and tucking the child in at night. These myriad gifts of toys and time are not written down; we do not keep a running tally of everything we give our children. However, as children grow older, they begin to reciprocate these gifts: mowing an elderly grandmother's yard, cooking dinner for a parent who has to work late or buying an expensive gift for an older sibling. When we gift without reckoning the exact value of the gift or expecting a specific thing in return, we are practicing generalized reciprocity. This form of reciprocity occurs within the closest social relationships where exchange happens so frequently that monitoring the value of each item or service given and received would be impossible, and to do so would lead to tension and quite possibly the eventual dissolution of the relationship (Sarah, 2011).

9.4.3. Balanced Reciprocity

Unlike generalized reciprocity, balanced reciprocity is more of a direct exchange in which something is traded or given with the expectation that something of equal value will be returned within a specific time period. This form of reciprocity

involves three distinct stages: the gift must be given, it has to be received, and a reciprocal gift has to be returned. A key aspect of balanced reciprocity is that without reciprocation within an appropriate time frame, the exchange system will stop, and the social relationship might end. Balanced reciprocity generally occurs at a social level more distant than the family, but it usually occurs among people who know each other. In other words, complete strangers would be unlikely to engage in balanced reciprocity because they would not be able to trust the person to reciprocate within an acceptable period of time (Malinowski, 1961, 1922).

The Kula ring system of exchange found in the Trobriand Islands in the South Pacific is one example of balanced reciprocity. A Kula ring involves the ceremonial exchange of shell and bead necklaces (soulava) for shell arm bands (mwali) between trading partners living on different islands. The arm bands and necklaces constantly circulate and only have symbolic value, meaning they bring the temporary owner honor and prestige but cannot be bought or sold for money. Malinowski was the first anthropologist to study the Kula ring, and he found that although participants did not profit materially from the exchange, it served several important functions in Trobriand society (Malinowski, 1961, 1922). Because participants formed relationships with trading participants on other islands, the Kula ring helped solidify alliances among tribes, and overseas partners became allies in a land of danger and insecurity (Malinowski, 1961, 1922).

Along with arm bands and necklaces, Kula participants were also engaging in more mundane forms of trade, bartering from one island to another. Additionally, songs, customs, and cultural influences also traveled along the Kula route. Finally, although ownership of the arm bands and necklaces was always temporary (for eventually participants are expected to gift the items to other partners in the ring), Kula participants took great pride and pleasure in the items they received. The Kula

ring exhibits all the hallmarks of balanced reciprocity: necklaces are traded for armbands with the expectation that objects of equal value will be returned within a specific time period (Malinowski, 1961, 1922).

9.4.4. Negative Reciprocity

Unlike balanced and generalized reciprocity, negative reciprocity is an attempt to get something for nothing. It is the most impersonal of the three forms of reciprocity and it commonly exists among people who do not know each other well because close relationships are incompatible with attempts to take advantage of other people. Gambling is a good example of negative reciprocity, and some would argue that market exchange, in which one participant aims to buy low while the other aims to sell high, can also be a form of negative reciprocity.

9.5. Redistribution

Redistribution is the accumulation of goods or labor by a particular person or institution for the purpose of dispersal at a later date. Redistribution is found in all societies. For example, within households we pool our labor and resources, yet we rarely distribute this outside of our family. For redistribution to become a central economic process, a society must have a centralized political apparatus to coordinate and enforce the practice. Sometimes economic practices that appear to be merely reciprocal gift exchanges are revealed to be forms of redistribution after closer inspection. The potlatch system of the Native American groups living in the United States and Canadian northwestern coastal area was long understood as an example of functional gift giving. Traditionally, two groups of clans would perform highly ritualized exchanges of food, blankets, and ritual objects. The system produced status and prestige among participants: by giving away more goods than another person, a chief could build his reputation and gain new respect within the

community. After contact with settlers, the excessive gift giving during potlatches escalated to the point that early anthropologists described it as a “war of property (Wilk and Cliggett,2007).

Later anthropological studies of the potlatch revealed that rather than wasting, burning, or giving away their property to display their wealth, the groups were actually giving away goods that other groups could use and then waiting for a later potlatch when they would receive things not available in their own region. This was important because the availability of food hunted, fished, and foraged by native communities could be highly variable. The anthropologist Stuart Piddocke (1965) found that the potlatch primarily served a livelihood function by ensuring the redistribution of goods between groups with surpluses and those with deficits (Piddocke,1965).

9.6. Markets

The societies distribute goods and services is through market exchange. Markets are social institutions with prices or exchange equivalencies. Markets do not necessarily have to be localized in a geographic place (e.g., a marketplace), but they cannot exist without institutions to govern the exchanges. Market and reciprocal exchange appear to share similar features: one person gives something and the other receives something. A key distinction between the two is that market exchanges are regulated by supply and demand mechanisms. The forces of supply and demand can create risk for people living in societies that largely distribute goods through market exchange.

Market exchanges are based on transactions, or changes in the status of a good or service between people, such as a sale. While market exchange is generally less personal than reciprocal exchange, personalized transactions between people who have a relationship that endures beyond a single exchange do exist. Atomized

transactions are impersonal ones between people who have no relationship with each other beyond the short term of the exchange. These are generally short-run, closed-ended transactions with few implications for the future. In contrast, personalized transactions occur between people who have a relationship that endures past the exchange and might include both social and economic elements. The transactors are embedded in networks of social relations and might even have knowledge of the other's personality, family, or personal circumstances that helps them trust that the exchange will be satisfactory. Economic exchanges within families, for example when a child begins to work for a family business, are extreme examples of personalized market exchange.

9.7. Money

While general purpose money is not a prerequisite for market exchanges, most commercial transactions today do involve the exchange of money. In our own society, and in most parts of the world, general purpose money can be exchanged for all manner of goods and services. General purpose money serves as a medium of exchange, a tool for accumulation of wealth, and as a way to assign interchangeable values. It reflects our ideas about the generalized interchangeability of all things, it makes products and services from all over the world commensurable in terms of a single metric. In so doing, it increases opportunities for unequal exchange (Hornborg,2007).

9.8. Economizing: The Formalist-Substantivist Debate

9.8.1. The Substantivists: Polanyi

Karl Polanyi (1886–1964) was a Hungarian lawyer turned journalist and economic historian whose reading of anthropology, especially the work of Bronislaw Malinowski and Richard Thurnwald, led him to produce work that made major

contributions to economic anthropology, classical Greek studies, and post-Soviet eastern European social policy (Polanyi, 1936, 1944). Polanyi attempts to explain the causes of great depression and the fascism of the 1930s and 1940s. His larger aim was to lay the groundwork for a general theory of comparative economics that would accommodate all economies, past and present (Polanyi, 1957). In anthropology, his influence was great during the 1960s and 1970s; subsequently, his work became strongly identified with the ‘substantivist’ side of the strident and irresolvable ‘formalist and substantivist’ debate, and his prominence faded when the formalists largely won the day.

Polanyi’s master work was “*The great transformation*” (1944), in which he analyzed the emergence and (in his view, disastrous) consequences of a new type of economy, market capitalism, first in England during the early nineteenth century and then in the rest of the industrializing world and its global extensions. This new economy was unique in being disconnected from the social matrix; in ideal form, at least, it commercialized and commoditized all goods and services in terms of a single standard, money, and set their prices through the self-adjusting mechanism of supply and demand. At all previous times, in contrast, ‘man’s economy ... [was] submerged in his social relationships’ (Polanyi 1944: 46), and the factors of production were neither monetized nor commoditized. Instead, access to land and labour was gained through ties of kinship (birth, adoption, marriage) and community. Many pre-capitalist economies had marketplaces, but they did not have self-regulating, supply-and-demand market economies. Similarly, many employed money, but only in transactions involving a limited range of goods and services. By commoditizing not only goods but also labour (‘another name for a human activity which goes with life itself’) and land (‘another name for nature’), the disconnected (market) economy of nineteenth-century England threatened to remove ‘the protective covering of cultural institutions’, leaving the common people to ‘perish

from the effects of social exposure' (Polanyi 1944: 72–3). Accordingly, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw a 'double movement': first, the dis-embedding of the economy under the self-regulating market, then the emergence of countermeasures 'designed to check the action of the market relative to labor, land, and money' (1944: 76). These countermeasures accomplished their purpose politically, by partially re embedding the economy, typically culminating in state socialism or the welfare state.

9.8.2. Formalist – Substantivist Debate

Formalist-Substantivist debate is the dispute in economic anthropology between those scholars who argue that formal rules of neoclassical economic theory derived from the study of capitalist market societies can be used to explain the dynamics of premodern economies ("formalists") and those who argue that goods and services in the substantive economy are produced and distributed through specific cultural contexts ("substantivists"). Formalists contend that because all economies involve the rational pursuit of, access to, and use of, scarce resources by self-interested, maximizing social actors, formal economic rules can be used to explain them (Schneider,1974). The subject of economics, according to the formalists, is a kind of behavior "economizing" that is universally applicable to situations where only limited means are available for achieving a range of ends. Herskovits endorsed this position in the 1952 reissue of his 1940 text *The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples*. Scarcity, he maintained, is universal, as is maximizing behavior on the part of the individual. It is only the cultural matrix within which these occur that varies. The same means are everywhere applied to achieve different ends.

The opposing view was championed by Polanyi and a group of his students from Columbia University. Polanyi analyzed the identity of the economy in contemporary capitalist society and argued that the extent of its autonomy was an

absolutely novel historic development. Therefore, not only could other societies not be assumed to have assigned the same independence to economic processes, but the science premised on that independence was, *ipso facto*, only appropriate to our own society. The difference between the industrial capitalist economy of the West and both contemporary and historic premarket economies was one of substance, hence “substantivist”, and different forms of economy were not susceptible to analysis by a uniform method. It contends that different forms of exchange have different sets of rules and expectations (Dalton ,1961). Following Karl Polanyi, the substantivists argue that there are three major forms of exchange: reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange Polanyi et al. 1957). By this view, the rational, maximizing strategizing that lies at the heart of neoclassical economics and formalist economic anthropology is characteristic only of market economies.

9.9. Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is political anthropology? Discuss.
2. Discuss Fried’s model of social power in detail.
3. Explain service’s classification of society in detail.
4. Discuss concept of power in detail.
5. Discuss mode of production in anthropology with examples.
6. Define reciprocity in detail with its types.
7. Discuss formalist and Substantivist debate in detail.

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