SIGNIFICANT LEARNING OUTCOMES

After completing this unit the learner will be able to:

- Develop scientific outlook, approach and attitude to understand social aspects, events and issues.
- Identify and distinguish the different stages of scientific method and uphold objectivity in anthropological research.
- Distinguish research method and methodology, approach and perspectives to employ judiciously in anthropological research.
- Use various methods and techniques of data collection in field research.
- Design suitable research tools for anthropological research.
- Describe classical anthropological fieldworks conducted by the famous anthropologists in India and abroad.
- Plan the entire process involved in conducting a research study and create a research proposal.
Sir Isaac Newton asked the question:
‘Why do apples regularly fall to the ground instead of floating off into space?’

Charles Darwin asked the question:
‘How did the humans evolve from the pre-human forms?’

EB Tylor asked the question:
‘What makes all human beings to develop similar institutions and culture throughout, in spite of the several differences across space and time?’

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


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

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

A researcher should have the skill and ability to choose appropriate and specific tools and techniques. It is also important to follow a set of procedural rules, while conducting
research. *These structural procedures and rules are known as methodology.* It is the methodology that differentiates a scientific research from a non-scientific investigation.

If so, what is a scientific research?

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

**Scientific Research in Anthropology**

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

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

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

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

Let us examine how science and scientific methods are related.
Science and Scientific Method

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

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

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

From the above understanding, it is clear that

- ‘Science is the method of obtaining objective knowledge about the world through systematic observation’
- Science is the study of facts and a method of investigation. Its aim is to discover truths.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Can you find out examples of studies through scientific method?

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

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

**Characteristics of Scientific Method**

- *It is empirical* – Scientific method gives importance to direct observation and collection of data through field interaction.
- *It is systematic* – It relies on carefully planned studies rather than on random observation.
- *It is replicable* – Scientific experiments or studies are replicable as the repetition of experiments in similar conditions produce similar results everywhere.
- *It searches for causes* – It is based on the assumption that there exists cause and effect relationship of factors in every phenomenon.
- *Result is provisional* – Results of scientific method are open to question and debate and are subject to modification with new knowledge.
- *It is objective* – scientific method yields unbiased facts rather than subjective beliefs and speculations.
In order to ensure the attainment of characteristics scientific method has to follow certain steps. Let us familiarise ourselves with these steps.

**Steps of Scientific Method**

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

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

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

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

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

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

Did your classmates prepare it properly?

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

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

**Subjectivity and Objectivity**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Method and Methodology Approaches and Perspectives

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

Research Methods, Techniques and Tools

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

A tool merely refers to the specific devices or instruments that are required to use a particular technique in a particular context. For instance, if one has to carry out an interview,
it is not possible without a set of wellplanned interview guide or interview schedule which are merely the devices for carrying out the interview.

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

**Approaches of Anthropological Research**

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

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

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

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

Could you state similar topics using comparative method?

- ................

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**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.*
Comparative study of American and African cultures can be considered as an example. Could you state similar topics using cross-cultural comparative method?

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

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

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

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

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

Suggest similar topics:

- ................................
- ................................

The major sources of historical method are given below:

- Folklore, monuments, inscriptions, autobiographies, coins, materials kept in archives, travelogues and museum specimens.
These are helpful in collecting historical data and studying the origin and evolution of societies and cultures through historical method.

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

**Ethnographic Method**

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

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

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

**How to take field notes**

Remember the following points while taking field notes.

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

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

**Anthropological Data**

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

Can you prepare a comprehensive definition of data?

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

- Definitely the findings of the research are bound to be misleading.
- Result will become speculative.
There will be chances of becoming subjective.

The whole research will become unscientific.

How can a researcher overcome such difficulties?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let us now examine the methods and techniques in Anthropology.

**Methods and Techniques in Anthropology**

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

**Observation as a Method**

In the contemporary western world, the people are under constant observation wherever they go, as they come under the close circute television. The non-western world is also fast catching up with it. Observing and being observed are two important features of modern society. It is said that ours is becoming an observation society (Silverman; 25, 2012). In social research, one of the most important and extensively used methods is
observation. All observations are not scientific. An observation becomes scientific only if it is planned and executed systematically. It may take place in real life setting or in a laboratory. An anthropologist as an ethnographer observes individual and collective behaviour in real-life settings. Hence, Herskovits, the American Anthropologist terms the field as the 'ethnographer’s laboratory'.

How can a researcher conduct observation in the field?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. **Uncontrolled Observation**

Uncontrolled observation is a form of observation which is made in the natural environment without being influenced by outside control or external factors. Most of the knowledge about the social phenomena is generally derived through uncontrolled observation. There are two types of uncontrolled observations, participant observation and non-participant observation.

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

The features of participant observation are detailed below:

The observer -

- Takes part in the social events which she or he is observing.
- Assumes a role or undertakes a job that is acceptable in the given social context.
- Ensures that the observer’s presence in the group does not disturb the normal life of the group.
Generally lives, shares and participates in the everyday life of the group.

Associates with the group not as a researcher but as a full-fledged member of the group.

Observe the behaviour of the members of the community.

Discerns the inter-action and relationship between them.

Engages in conversation with them to find out their responses, meanings and explanations of the events that occur.

Studies the life of a community or social unit as a whole (holistic study).

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Be highly sensitive to the situations and social contexts of the research
- Behave in a responsible manner; otherwise the task becomes more complicated.
Claim no superiority over the group.
Seek no special status, lest it destroys the very purpose of the study.
Maintain objectivity, irrespective of developing a high level of proximity through a successful rapport establishment with the group in the course of one’s research.

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

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

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

However, participant observation also has certain inherent limitations.

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

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

You have learned what participant observation is and what its merits and demerits are. Now, you can conduct a participant observation in a group, minimising its demerits, and present your observation report.
b) **Non-participant observation:** You have conducted an observation earlier, without actively participating in the activities of the group. How do you feel about that observation? Let us discuss the following points in groups:

- Did you get involved in their activities?
- Did the group members know your identity?
- How do the lack of rapport and the presence of the outsider in the group affect the behaviour of the group members?
- How reliable do you think the data is?

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

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

**Merits of Non-participant observation:**

- Objectivity and neutrality could be maintained because of detachment with the activities of the group.
By keeping a distance from the group, it would be easier for the observer to learn the weakness as well as strength of the group.

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

**Demerits of Non-participant observation:**

- The dangers of subjectivity are more pronounced.
- As the group might feel uncomfortable in the presence of a third person, it might lead to an artificial alteration of the group’s behaviour.
- Nobody would like to open their true feelings, actions, attitude and opinion before a stranger, with whom they hardly have any kind of rapport.
- Due to conscious effort to keep a detachment, the non-participant observer may even be looked with suspicion, which is again a serious limitation. Thus, the non-participant observer may not gain real insight into the phenomena.

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

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

**2. Controlled Observation**

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

The devices used for making control over the observer are given below. Could you complete the list?

- Detailed observation plan
- Use of schedules and check-lists
Use of socio-metric scales
Use of hypothesis
Mechanical instruments like………
………………………….
………………………….

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

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

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

Case Study method

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

Essential characteristics of Case Study are:

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

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

It is like a case history of a patient. As a patient goes to the doctor with some serious disease, the doctor records the case history. Analysis of case history helps in the diagnosis of the patient’s illness. Anthropologists study the case history of a group. Case history may
be obtained, using a combination of different methods and techniques such as interview, participant observation etc. However, questionnaire and schedule are highly ineffective in the Case Study.

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

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

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

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

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

- Case history records could be open to errors due to faulty selection of case and inaccurate observation.
- It is very difficult to draw generalisations on the basis of a few cases.
- No uniform and standardised system has been developed for recording case history.
- The investigator's bias might distort the quality of the Case Study.
- Case Study is time-consuming and costly in certain cases
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Select a case from your own surroundings and study it intensively following the steps noted below. Your teacher will guide you to follow the steps of Case Study method.

1. **Select a case/problem for investigation** - consider the time constraint while selecting a case.
2. **Determine the status of the unit/phenomena under study**.
3. **Formulate a hypothesis** on the individual case.
4. **Collect data using appropriate methods and techniques** such as observation, interview etc.
5. **Analyse the data** by comparing, and reviewing the same with past experiences.
6. **Arrive at conclusions**

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

**Genealogical Method**

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

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

Genealogical method is very much helpful in studying kinship, and thereby in understanding the social structure or network of relationship among individuals. It is done through the collection of demographic and social data and by charting pedigrees and mapping residence details. In the studies of migration and to trace out early migrants, genealogical method is found very useful.
Internationally accepted simple set of kinship symbols are used in Anthropology to draw kinship diagrams or genealogical chart. Recollect the set of symbols you have studied in the previous year in the unit on Marriage, Family and Kinship.

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

Survey Method

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

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

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

Characteristics of Survey method

- Survey mostly involves a representative sample of a population and enables to describe and generalise about the entire population.
- Survey seeks response directly from the respondents.
- Conclusions are drawn from the data collected from the sample population.

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

1. Selecting the universe or field of study
2. Choosing the sample from the universe, selected for study
3. Selecting the tool and methods for collecting data
4. Analysis of data collected
5. Generalisation on the basis of analysis from the collected samples

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Disadvantages of Survey Method: The important problems associated with the survey methods are detailed below:
● Low response rate or non-response rate where the questionnaires are mailed to respondents.
● Possibility of recording biased responses, especially if the interviewer is inexperienced.
● Historical events cannot be studied through this method.
● Sampling error might affect the results of the research.
● Survey method consumes longer time and greater human resource.

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

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

**Tools and Techniques of Anthropological Research**

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

**Questionnaire**

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

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

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

**Format of Questions in a Questionnaire**

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

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According to Bogardus, “a questionnaire is a list of questions sent to a number of persons for them to answer”.

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

- Non-literate
- 1-4 standard
- 5-10 standard
- plus two
- graduate

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

- Strongly Agree
- Strongly Disagree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Undecided

Types of Questions in Questionnaire

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

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

   “Which one do you think is the best teaching method?”

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

   - Very suitable
   - not suitable
   - suitable
   - not at all suitable

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

   Have you ever participated in a tribal marriage?
   - Yes
   - No

   If yes how many times have you participated in a tribal marriage?
   - Once
   - Twice
   - Thrice
   - More than thrice

Types of Questionnaire

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

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

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

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

Question: - How large is your family?

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

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

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

Characteristics of a Good Questionnaire

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

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

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

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

d) The item-wise classification should be done in the questionnaire. In the first part, the space may be provided for writing the name of the organisation and the name and address of the respondents. Space for factual data like age, members of family,
education, marital status and religion are to be provided. The subject matter or theme should be given in a separate section.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

l) Selection of respondents should be done thoughtfully.

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

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

**Merits and Demerits of Questionnaire**

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

**For merits**

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

**For demerits**

- Could it be used to collect information from non-literate or less educated persons?
- Could it ensure adequate response rate—respondents who return the questionnaire?
- What will happen if a respondent misinterpret a question or gives an incomplete answer?
Is questionnaire suitable for collecting private or controversial information?
How does lack of rapport affect the data collection through questionnaire?
How reliable it is?

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

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

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

**Interview**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Different Types of Interviews

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

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

Group interview: If a group of persons is interviewed for ascertaining their views and opinions, it is known as group interview.
Structured interview (Formal interview): The interview based on pre-determined questions and standardized techniques is called structured interview. Here the number and nature of questions, order of asking, wording of questions, recording etc. are standardised. The response pattern is also standardized in the form of ‘know’ or ‘don’t know’ or ‘yes’ or ‘no’. The questions are mostly closed-ended. Because of the insistence on specific form, this method is also called formal interview.

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

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

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

Process of Interview

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

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

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

Recording the response: Recording of response can be done in two ways.
a) Recording at the time of interview.
b) Recording after the interview.

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

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

**Preparations of Interview**

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

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

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

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

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

**Schedule**

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

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

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

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

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

**Types of Schedules**

Normally there are five types of schedules as explained below.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Can you identify the essential ingredients in a research design?

A definition of research design is given below.

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

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

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

Essentials of a Good Research Design

The following are the essentials of a good research design

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

Steps in Preparing a Research Design

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11. **Data analysis**: - Depending on the nature of data collected, the researcher should mention in the design how the data is going to be subjected to analysis - qualitative or quantitative.
interpretation of data: - in the research design how the results of the investigation are going to be interpreted may be mentioned.

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

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

references: - here, the researcher should mention the possible secondary sources that may be consulted or relied upon streamlining and strengthening the research. it should contain the name of the author, year of publication, title of the book/journal, volume number, and place of publication.

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

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

writing a research report

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

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

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

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

field work

you have now learned the basic methodology of an anthropological research. making use of the following steps, undertake a field work lasting not more than a week in the coming festival vacation. the following steps can be followed.
Unit- 1: Anthropological Research Methods and Techniques

- Select a topic and field area for a short-term research, with the help of your teacher.
- Prepare a research design on the topic.
- Prepare the tools-Questionnaire, Schedule, or Interview Schedule- of research as the case may be.
- Make necessary preparation for carrying out the field work.
- Take field notes, decode, and transcribe them (See trivia for how to take field notes)
- Analyse data and write report.
- Submit your field report along with the field notes on time.

**SUMMARY**

- Research implies a search and re-search or a re-examination into the existing situations of humans. A Scientific Research could be defined as an organised and systematic enquiry into a phenomenon to discover new or to verify the existing knowledge.
- Anthropology comes under the realm of science as anthropological research uses scientific methods. The word 'science' is derived from the Latin word *scientia* which means “to know”.
- Science includes the process and the consequent product. Identification of problem, formulation of hypothesis, the methods or techniques of data collection, conduct of fieldwork/experiments, classification, analysis and interpretation of data and the logical inference of generalisation would all come under the purview of the scientific process. The facts, figures, formulae, concepts, equations, principles, theories, laws, generalisations and conclusions are considered as the product of science.
- Scientific method consists of systematic observation, classification, and interpretation of data. The important steps of scientific method are: formulation of a problem, planning research design, collection of data, analysis of data and drawing conclusion.
- Objectivity and subjectivity assume immense significance in scientific research. Subjectivity is that in which the likes, dislikes, feelings, emotions and attitudes of the researcher influence the study. If one’s likes, dislikes, feelings, emotions and attitudes do not influence one’s study, then, it is called objective study.
- A research method is a way of conducting and implementing research, while methodology is the science and philosophy behind all research. Research Methods, Techniques, and Tools must also be differentiated. A method is a broader term than a technique and could make use of more than one technique.
In Anthropology a researcher may use comparative, historical and cross-cultural method. Comparative method refers to the method of comparing different societies, groups or social institutions within the same society to show whether and why they are similar or different in certain aspects. Cross-cultural comparison is a method of studying cultural phenomena across cultures of the same period. In historical method, the origin, development and gradual evolution of institutions, societies and cultures are studied.

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

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

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

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

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

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

TERM EVALUATION ITEMS

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

2. Distinguish between
   - Objectivity and subjectivity
   - Science as a process and science as a product
   - Comparative and cross-cultural method
   - Primary and secondary data
   - Methods and techniques of data collection
   - Interview Schedule and Questionnaire
3. Prepare an Interview Schedule for conducting interview with a shaman.
4. If you are asked to conduct an ethnographic study, which type of observation would you prefer and why?
5. Prepare a flow chart showing different types of observation and explain any two observations in detail?
6. If you are asked to conduct an interview what preparation would you take before interview and what are the steps of the interview?
7. What are the steps of research design?
8. Draw a genealogical chart of your own family and your neighboring family and identify the family type, residence pattern and descent type?
9. Prepare a questionnaire for conducting socio-economic survey of a village. It must include both open ended and closed ended questions.
10. If you are asked to collect a quantitative study of a large population. Which method would you choose and why?

GLOSSARY

Data: Any information collected for research.
Research: A re-examination into the existing situations of humans.
Research Method: Way of conducting and implementing research.
Research Methodology: Science and philosophy behind all research.
Scientific Research: Organised and systematic enquiry into a phenomenon to discover new or to verify the existing knowledge.

REFERENCE


### Significant Learning Outcomes

After completing this unit the learner will be able to:

- Identify the concepts and ideas related to various theories of cultural evolutionism, compare and classify different schools of evolutionism.
- Identify the concepts and ideas related to various theories of diffusionism, classify different schools of diffusionism and illustrate the parabolic style of cultural development.
- Demonstrate the scheme of functionalism, analyse the theory of need and distinguish the different levels of needs proposed by Malinowski.
- Distinguish the basic ideas related to structural functional and structural school of thought.
- Analyse the inter-relationship between culture and personality and analyse the role of culture in the formation and development of personality.

### CONTENTS

#### Cultural Evolutionism
- Classical Evolutionism:
  - British, American, German
- Neo Evolutionism:
  - British, American
- Typology of Cultural Evolution
  - Unilinear, Universal, Multilinear

#### Diffusionism
- British school
- German School
- American School

#### Functionalism

#### Structural-functionalism

#### Structuralism

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

Here are a few more examples.

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

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

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

**Origin and Development of Anthropological Theory**

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

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

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

**CULTURAL EVOLUTIONISM**

What is evolution?

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

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

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

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

![Fig 2.1 Classification of Evolutionists](image)

**Classical Evolutionism**

The main proponents of classical evolutionism are E B Tylor, James Frazer, R R Marret, L H Morgan, J J Bachofen and Adolf Bastian. They are also known as unilinear evolutionists as they believed that human culture evolved in unilinear sequence, stage after stage, simple to complex. According to the unilinear evolutionists, culture of humankind was developed from the earliest stage of *savagery* to *barbarism* and finally to *civilization*. The evolutionists assumed that cultural parallel or cultural similarities come into existence.
due to the psychic unity of humankind, suggesting that human minds share similar characteristics all over the world and react and think in similar ways in similar environmental conditions. This means that all people and their corresponding societies go through the same process of development. As pointed before, the invention of ‘zero’, simultaneously in Indian, Babilonian and Mayan culture is cited as an example of the psychic unity of humankind.

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

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

Features of Classical Evolutionism

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

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

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

E B Tylor talked about the unilinear form of cultural growth. Hence he was called as unilinear evolutionist. Unilinear evolution means human culture evolved in unilinear sequence, stage after stage, simple to complex. Accordingly, human culture has developed through the stages of savagery to barbarism and finally to civilization.
Tylor is called the father of modern anthropology for his contribution to the concept of culture. He gave the classical definition of culture in his book *Primitive Culture* (1871): “culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”.

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

Stone Age → Bronze Age → Iron Age

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

Magic → Religion → Science

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Period</th>
<th>Technological Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Lower savagery</td>
<td>Invention of speech, subsistence on fruits and nuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Middle savagery</td>
<td>Fishing and use of fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Upper savagery</td>
<td>Invention of bow and arrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Lower barbarism</td>
<td>Invention of pottery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Middle barbarism</td>
<td>Domestication of animals and agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Upper barbarism</td>
<td>Iron smelting and use of iron tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Civilization</td>
<td>Phonetic alphabets and writing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
German Classical Evolutionism (Continental Evolutionism):

Johnnn Jacob Bachofen (1815-1877)

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

\[
\text{Heterism} \rightarrow \text{Matriarchy} \rightarrow \text{Patriarchy}
\]

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

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

**Neo-Evolutionism**

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

For instance, the institution of property born in the form of communal ownership took the form of private ownership. Today again the concept of common ownership through stages developed. Similarly, in the beginning, humans used no clothes and they used to remain naked. Invention of clothes made it possible to cover the entire body. But these days crazy notions of fashion make some adopt scantily dress style (Nudism). This sequence
can also be observed in the field of sexual relation. In the early stage, it was sexual promiscuity. In the process of evolution in successive stages, monogamy came into existence, and again in the present time, arguments are made in favour of the freedom of sex. The example can be shown in a graph as below.

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

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

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

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

**American Neo-evolutionism: Julian Steward**

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

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

**Unilinear Evolution:** In this evolutionary scheme, it is postulated that the cultures pass through different and successive developmental stages, as a result of which, simple forms change into complex ones, and homogeneity to heterogeneity. The classical evolutionists like E B Tylor and L H Morgan are considered as unilinear evolutionists.
We have seen that the evolution of human societies and culture is not developed on a unilinear sequence, but in the form of parabolic curve. Some of the examples are given above. You can find out similar examples and draw a parabolic curve.

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

**British Neo-Evolutionism: V Gordon Childe**

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

- Invention of Food Production
- Urbanisation
- Industrialisation
**Anthropology**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archaeological (Ethnical) Periods</th>
<th>Cultural Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Paleolithic period</td>
<td>Savagery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Neolithic period</td>
<td>Barbarism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Copper age</td>
<td>Barbarism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Early Bronze age</td>
<td>Civilization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

**Leslie A White**

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

\[ E \times T = C \]

*Where* \( E \) = Energy; \( T \) = Technology; \( C \) = Culture development

His book *Evolution of Culture* (1959) deals with theoretical issues relating to neo-evolutionism. For White, socio-cultural system consists of three aspects.

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Techno-economic aspects: It includes tools and implements together with the technological and economic activities of man.

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

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

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

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

DIFFUSIONISM

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

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

- Relation and communication.
- Need for new traits.
- Competition with old traits.
- Respect and recognition towards new traits.
Conditions for Cultural Diffusion

1. Any cultural group adopts the cultural traits of another cultural group, only when it is meaningful or useful either economically or socially or both.
2. In course of diffusion, cultural traits will not remain in its original form. Changes in it can take place due to different environmental situations.
3. Process of diffusion is always from high culture to low culture or developed culture to under-developed culture.
4. Process of diffusion may create culture change in the group, adopting the culture traits of other groups.
5. There are some obstacles or barriers for culture diffusion. These include lack of transportation and communication or some of the physical barriers such as ocean, river, mountain, desert etc.

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

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

Schools of Diffusionism

There are three major schools of diffusion

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

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

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

German or Continental School of Diffusionism

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

They opined that different circles or districts were developed at different places. According to them each cultural trait and cultural complex had a circle or district from where they migrated to other places. As they talked about the spread of cultural traits from one circle to another or one district to another, their school is known as ‘Kulturekreise.”
School’ or culture circle school or culture district school. As this can be established on the basis of historical factors, their school is also known as ‘culture historic school’.

American School of Diffusion

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

American diffusionists divided the world into different cultural areas on the basis of geographical similarity. Clark Wissler emphasized the concept of culture area referring to the area in which similar culture traits or culture complexes are found. Hence American school of diffusion is also known as culture area school.

Wissler also pointed out that in each culture area, there is a culture centre. It is the core in a culture area, from where all social, economic, political and religious activities are controlled and governed. It is the geographical area where maximum culture traits are found and from where various culture traits diffuse to other parts. Cultural margin is the peripheral area of a culture where minimum culture traits are found. It also keeps border with other cultures.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**FUNCTIONALISM**

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

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

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

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

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

List out those “functionless” culture traits

- .................
- .................

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

Malinowski’s Theory of Need

*Culture traits or cultural institutions are the means for the satisfaction of human needs.* Malinowski points out that the humans have different needs such as social, economic, religious, biological, physical and mental. In order to satisfy these needs, the humans had established the social, religious, economic and political institutions. All these needs are inter-related in one way or another because they are related to the entire humanity as a whole.
According to functional approach of culture, institutions of culture operate to satisfy the needs of individuals or society as a whole. In his book, *Scientific Theory of Culture* (1944) which was published posthumously, Malinowski distinguishes three levels of needs of a society.

1. Primary/Basic/Biological needs.
2. Instrumental needs/ Derived needs.
3. Integrative needs.

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

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

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

**STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM**

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

**Structural Functionalism of A R Radcliffe Brown**

A R Radcliffe Brown, in his book *Structure and Function in Primitive Societies* (1952) elaborates his concept of social structure and its function. According to him, the concept of structure refers to an...
arrangement of parts or components related to one another. For example, the structure of a house reveals the arrangement of wall, roofs, rooms, windows, doors etc. Likewise, the structure of human body consists of different organs, cells, tissues, bones etc.

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

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

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

1. Actual social structure
2. General social structure

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

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

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

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

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

**STRUCTURALISM**

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

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

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

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

Why do certain cultural practices emerge?
Why are there differences in personalities among cultures of same environments?
Did personality influence culture or culture influence personality?

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

**CULTURE AND PERSONALITY SCHOOL OF THOUGHT**

**(PSYCHOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY)**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Personality Builds Culture**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Benedict’s Study on National Character

During Second World War, anthropologists were not allowed to conduct field studies among the natives. Hence, Ruth Benedict turned towards the study of National Character. She was associated with the US government as a social science analyst. During the war, she made a significant contribution in developing content analysis method to study culture at a distance. Ruth Benedict selected the Japanese prisoners kept in American concentration camp for studying national character of Japan. In the absence of intensive
field work, it was difficult for her to study Japanese national character. She selected the method by examining historical documents of Japanese literature and art forms. She interviewed Japanese prisoners in America, went through their diaries, took life histories and case study. She also interviewed Japanese immigrants in USA. As a result of this study, she came out with her book entitled *Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946). The book deals with Japanese national character.

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

### Culture Determines the Formation of Personality

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

Margaret Mead was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on December 16, 1901. Mead was a student of Franz Boas at Columbia University department of Anthropology. She completed her Ph.D at Columbia. She has conducted fieldwork in Samoa to study the life of adolescent girls. She learned the native language and lived there as one of the girls in a Samoan household. She found that young Samoan girls experienced none of the tensions American and European teenagers suffered from. She showed that the kind of social organisation exist in Samoan culture was responsible for making the easy transition to adulthood from adolescent age. After that she became the curator at American Museum of Natural History where she published her famous book, *Coming of Age in Samoa* in 1928. Her interest in psychiatry turned her attention to study the cultural context of schizophrenia and dissociation and went to Bali for field work, where she used a new technique called photographic method. She contributed much to the development of psychoanalytic theory by emphasizing the importance of culture in personality development. Mead has realized the importance of culture in developing personality. She had also contributed to the field of national character research. Her later works include Growing up in New Guinea (1930), Male and female (1949), Growth and Culture (1951). For her, anthropology was an urgent calling, a way to bring new understandings of human behavior to bear on the future. When Margaret Mead died in 1978, she was the most famous anthropologist in the world.
culture, such as religion, tradition, custom, rituals, beliefs, values and ideals. It is culture which teaches an individual to behave in a particular way. An individual learns a culture through the process of enculturation and assimilation. Mead studied the impact of culture on personality through her study of three primitive societies namely, Mundugumor, Arapesh and Tschambuli. Though these people live in the same geographical region, they have different characters and personalities because of difference in their cultures. In short, according to Mead, culture influence the personality formation of individual.

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

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

The third cultural group of New Guinea, which Margaret Mead studied, is Tschambuli. Here, the males possess submissive character whereas the females possess aggressive character. In this society, while the female is free to select her husband, the male is dependent upon the females. The males attend to the domestic chores like cooking, cleaning houses, caring children etc. Because of these cultural facts, the Tschambuli men developed kind, peaceful and submissive personality and the females possessed aggressive character.
Thus, through the comparative study of three cultures in the nearby geographical region, Mead has established the influence of culture on personality formation.

Mead’s Contribution to the Study of National Character

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

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

**Culture and personality are inseparable and influence each other.**

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

**SUMMARY**

- The origin of Anthropological thought could also be traced back to the early Greek Philosophers like Herodotus and Aristotle. However, it emerged as a separate branch of knowledge during the nineteenth century with the path-breaking theories on the biological and cultural evolution. In this regard, the contributions of Charles Darwin, E B Tylor, and L H Morgan. Later, other pioneering Anthropologists like Franz Boas,
W H R Rivers, Malinowski, Radcliffe Brown, Levi Strauss, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead and several others had contributed to the understanding of human culture and society.

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

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

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

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

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

- According to Radcliffe Brown, the concept of structure refers to an arrangement of parts or components related to one another. In social structure, the ultimate components are human beings or persons and they are arranged in relation to each other. Within a society, the individuals are grouped into different social units and institutions. Each of these social units or institutions perform its respective functions. These are inter-related, inter-dependent and form the structure of a society.
Levi-Strauss agrees with Brown that structure is an ordered arrangement of parts; but he rejected the position of Radcliffe Brown on social structure as the actual aspect of reality. Social relations are the raw materials for model building, but social structure cannot be reduced to mere social relations.

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

TERM EVALUATION ITEMS

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Franz Boas</td>
<td>Evolutionism</td>
<td>Trobriand islanders</td>
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<td>E B tylor</td>
<td>Functionalism</td>
<td>Culture area</td>
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<td>Malinowski</td>
<td>Diffusionism</td>
<td>Coming of age in Samoa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Margaret Mead</td>
<td>Structuralism</td>
<td>Andaman islanders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A R Radcliffe Brown</td>
<td>Culture and personality</td>
<td>Primitive culture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

7. Explain Malinowski theory of need.

8. Write short note on:
   - Functionalism
   - Structuralism
   - Culture and personality
   - Diffusionism

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

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

**GLOSSARY**

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

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

*Cultural Relativism:* The position that the values and standards of culture differ and deserve respect. Relativism argues that culture should be judged solely by their own standards.
**Unit- 2: Anthropological Theories of Culture**

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

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

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

**REFERENCES**

