

UPSC CSE MAINS

| ANTHROPOLOGY OPTIONAL

PAPER I

Socio-Cultural Anthropology Notes

Part A of Paper I: the meaning, scope and branches of anthropology, culture and society, marriage, family and kinship, economic and political organisation, religion, anthropological theories, language and research methods, with previous year questions after every chapter.

Compiled by Arvind KrS

CULTURE AND SOCIETY

MARRIAGE, FAMILY AND KINSHIP

ECONOMY, POLITY AND RELIGION

ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORIES

LANGUAGE

RESEARCH METHODS

29

Chapters

8

Units

735

Previous year questions

154

Diagrams



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| 03 | Economic Organization | 04 | Political Organization and Social Control |
| 05 | Religion | 06 | Anthropological Theories |
| 07 | Culture, Language and Communication | 08 | Research Methods in Anthropology |



Anthropology Optional — Paper I

Part A: Socio-Cultural Anthropology

Mains 2027 Edition · Compiled October 2026

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UNIT 01

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Meaning, Scope and Branches of Anthropology

Meaning, Scope and development of Anthropology. Relationships with other disciplines: Social Sciences, behavioural Sciences, Life Sciences, Medical Sciences, Earth Sciences and Humanities. Main branches of Anthropology, their scope and relevance: (a) Social-cultural Anthropology. (b) biological Anthropology. (c) Archaeological Anthropology. (d) Linguistic Anthropology.

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ANTHROPOLOGY OPTIONAL

PAPER I · PART A



Meaning, Scope and Development of Anthropology: Holism, Comparative Method and Six Phases

PYQ RADAR 31 questions · last asked 2026

SYLLABUS 1.1 Meaning scope and development of Anthropology.

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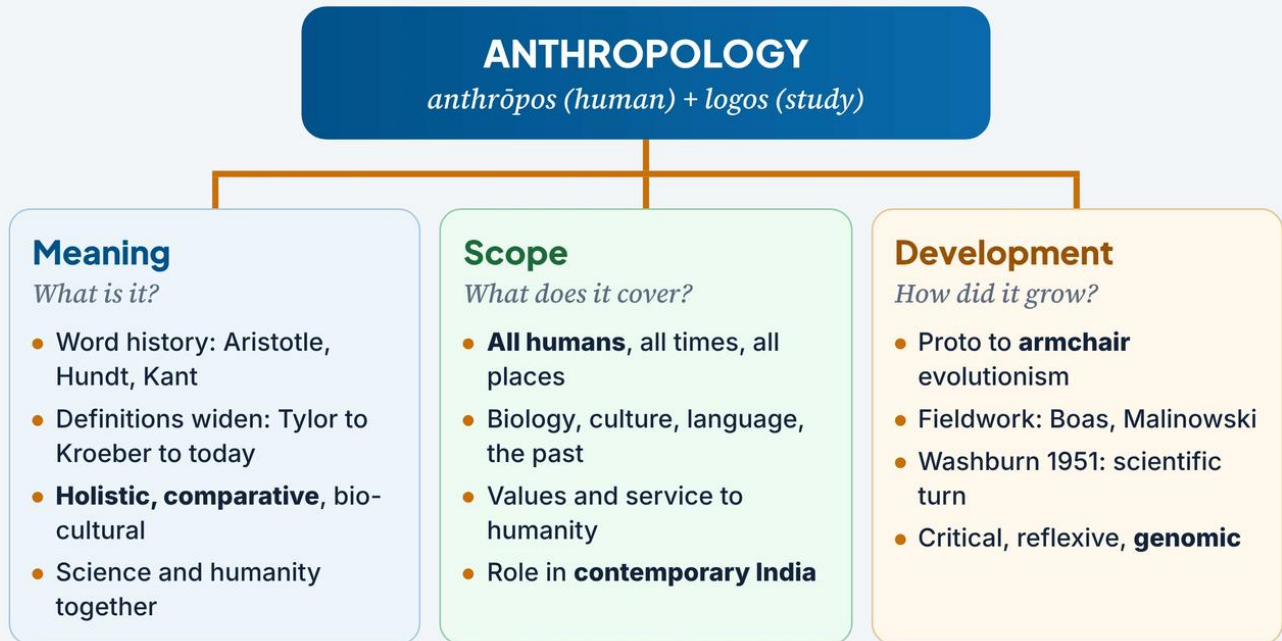
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ANTHROPOLOGY · TOPIC MAP

Meaning, Scope and Development of Anthropology

What it is, what it covers, how it grew

TOPIC MAP



In simple words: **anthropology studies everything human.**

Anthropology

01 1. Meaning of Anthropology

IN SIMPLE WORDS

Anthropology is the study of human beings: where we came from, how our bodies vary, how we live together and what our customs mean. Its meaning grew slowly, from a word for "talk about people" to a full science of humankind in all times and places.

- People have always asked **who they are, where they came from and why they behave as they do**. For most of history, **myths and folklore** answered these questions, because reliable data on other peoples could not be collected.
- Anthropology is the **naturalistic answer** to the same questions: it uses evidence (fossils, field observation, artefacts, language records) instead of myth. In its modern form it is about **200 years old**.
- It grew slowly because travel was restricted and early travellers **misunderstood non-European cultures**. Its meaning therefore changed in stages, and the definitions below show those stages.

1.1 Etymology and the word's history

- **Greek *anthrōpos* (human) + *logos* (study, reason)**: “the study of humankind”.
- **Aristotle**, the Greek philosopher, used *anthrōpologos* (*Nicomachean Ethics*) for **one who talks about people**, i.e. a gossip. The word existed; the discipline did not. Calling Aristotle the “father of anthropology” is a textbook overstatement.
- **Herodotus** (5th c. BCE), a Greek writer, *Histories*: he described the customs of the **Scythians, Egyptians and Persians** and is often called the first ethnographer (a writer who describes the way of life of a people). (Cicero called him the “Father of History”).
- **Neo-Latin *anthropologia* in Renaissance Germany**:
 - **Magnus Hundt**, a German physician-scholar, *Antropologium* (1501): human anatomy and nature.
 - **Otto Casmann**, a German philosopher, *Psychologia anthropologica* (1594): the human being as body plus soul.
 - In both, “anthropology” meant the **study of man as a physical and moral being**. The physical side is the body; the moral side is beliefs, ethics and social life.
- **Immanuel Kant**, the German philosopher, *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* (1798), drew a distinction:
 - **physiological anthropology**: what nature makes of man
 - **pragmatic anthropology**: what man, as a free agent, makes of himself

This is the first **nature–culture split** (body given by nature vs way of life made by people) that later structures the discipline into biological and socio-cultural branches. Kant’s point was that a human being is studied in two ways at once: as an animal shaped by nature, and as a free agent who shapes himself through custom and choice. The same double view survives today in the division between biological and socio-cultural anthropology.

COMMON CONFUSION

Is Aristotle the “father of anthropology”? No. He used a related Greek word for a gossip. Herodotus is usually called the first ethnographer, and anthropology as a discipline began only in the 19th century.

1.2 Definitions: how the meaning widened

The table traces how scholars defined the subject over 150 years. Notice how the scope moves from “primitive” peoples to all humans, and from the body alone to body, society and culture together.

PHASE	SCHOLAR / SOURCE	DEFINITION (GIST)	WHAT IT SHOWS
19th c.	E.B. Tylor , British pioneer, <i>Anthropology</i> (1881)	Study of man's bodily and mental nature, races, languages, arts and customs , centred on “primitive” peoples	Scope tied to the “savage” and to evolution

PHASE	SCHOLAR / SOURCE	DEFINITION (GIST)	WHAT IT SHOWS
19th c.	Paul Broca , French anatomist, Société d'Anthropologie de Paris (1859)	Natural history of the human body and races	Physical, measurement-based emphasis
Early 20th c.	Boas, Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown	Man at all levels of development , studied first-hand	Moves to all societies and fieldwork
1923/1948	A.L. Kroeber , American, Boas's student, <i>Anthropology</i>	"the science of groups of men and their behavior and productions"	Group, behaviour and artefact focus
1948	M.J. Herskovits , American, <i>Man and His Works</i>	Study of man and his works	Culture as product
1955	Jacobs and Stern , <i>General Anthropology</i>	Scientific study of the physical, social and cultural development and behaviour of humans since their appearance on earth	Time depth + bio-cultural scope
1964	Eric Wolf , American anthropologist, <i>Anthropology</i>	"both the most scientific of the humanities and the most humanistic of the sciences"	Dual identity (§2.4)
Today	Standard textbooks (Haviland, Ember)	Systematic, objective and holistic study of humankind in all times and places	Comprehensive comparative science of humanity

Read down the last column and three shifts appear. First, the **subject widens** from "primitive" peoples to every human society, including the anthropologist's own. Second, the **focus widens** from the body alone (Broca) to body, behaviour, products and meanings together. Third, **time depth** is added: anthropology covers humans from their first appearance, not only the present. A common mistake is to treat Tylor's definition as wrong; it was a definition of its time, tied to evolutionism, and later scholars widened rather than discarded it.

- **The trajectory:** from "**the primitive**" (Tylor) → "all humans" (Boas onwards) → "humans as bio-cultural beings in all times and places". *Bio-cultural* means that human biology and culture shape each other.
- **Why it widened:** Tylor's limit to "primitive" peoples split opinion; Broca and others argued for studying modern peoples too. The early 20th-century fieldworkers settled the debate by defining the subject as **man at every level of development**.
- **The 2022 formula, word by word:**
 - **Systematic:** the fieldwork, genealogical, excavation and laboratory protocols of Unit 8
 - **Objective:** controlled comparison, keeping emic and etic views apart, reflexivity (§2.3)
 - **Holistic:** biology + society + culture + language + environment
 - **All times:** from 7 mya hominins (members of the human lineage) to the present
 - **All places:** from Jarawa bands to Bengaluru IT campuses

- **Clyde Kluckhohn**, an American anthropologist, *Mirror for Man* (1949): anthropology **holds up a mirror to humanity** so it can see itself in its full variety. This is the reflective, value-giving side of the definition.
 - **How the mirror works:** by seeing that other peoples live well with different arrangements, we realise that many of our own customs are **cultural choices, not laws of nature**. A reader who learns that the Nayar of Kerala once lived in matrilineal joint households, with husbands visiting rather than living in, sees that the nuclear family is one option among many.

02

2. Nature of Anthropology: The Distinguishing Themes

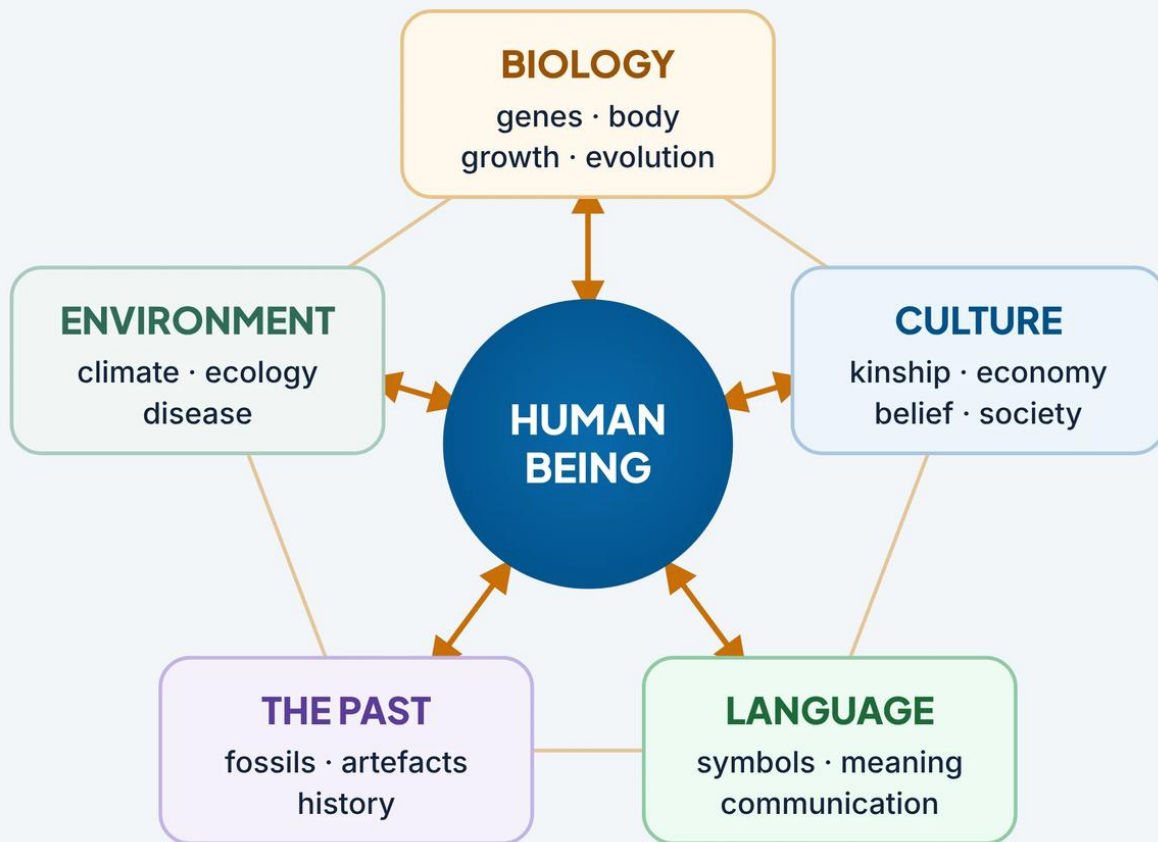
IN SIMPLE WORDS

Many subjects study people. Anthropology stands apart because of a few habits of mind: it looks at the whole of life together, it compares peoples everywhere, it thinks in long time spans, and it tries to see the world as the people studied see it.

- Anatomy, physiology and medicine study the **body**; the social sciences study **social activity**; art, music and literature study **human works**. Anthropology's special role is its **combination of holistic, historical and comparative methods** applied to all of these together.

ANTHROPOLOGY · NATURE OF THE DISCIPLINE

Holism: The Human Being as One System

*No part of human life makes sense alone***HOLISM****EXAMPLE · SICKLE CELL IN WEST AFRICA (LIVINGSTONE, 1958)****Culture:** farmers clear forest for swidden fields**Environment:** stagnant pools, so malaria spreads**Biology:** sickle-cell carriers survive malaria, so the gene spreads**HOLISTIC**

The **whole explains the parts**: Malinowski's kula; Vidyarthi's Nature–Man–Spirit complex (Maler).

ATOMISTIC

Single **traits** are the units: trait lists, Murdock's coded samples. Measurable, but out of context.

In simple words: **study each part through all the others.**

Anthropology

2.1 Holism

- **Example first:** in West Africa, farmers cleared forest for yam fields. Stagnant pools formed, mosquitoes bred, and **malaria** spread. People carrying **one copy of the sickle-cell gene** resisted malaria better, so the gene became common (**Frank Livingstone**, an American biological anthropologist, 1958). An economic practice changed human genes. No single discipline could explain this alone.

- **Meaning:** a human group is studied in terms of the **entire pattern of its life**. The proposition behind it is that behaviour arises from interactions within a whole cultural system.
 - **How it works in practice:** to understand a harvest festival in a tribal village, the anthropologist asks who owns the land (economy), which clans perform which rites (kinship), what the rites ask of the spirits (religion), what is eaten and shared (nutrition and exchange), and what songs and words are used (language). The festival makes sense only when all these are seen together.
- **Methodologically**, it pushes anthropologists to **resist reductionism** (explaining behaviour by one cause only): biological, economic or psychological single-cause explanations.
 - **Why this matters:** a single-cause explanation is usually incomplete. Explaining caste only as an economic system, for instance, misses the rules of **purity and pollution** that govern food, touch and marriage; explaining it only as religion misses land and labour. Holism keeps both in view.
- **Why it separated anthropology from sociology:** in the 19th century sociologists focused more and more on society and social systems, while anthropologists insisted on **tying together biology, society, culture and psychology**.
- **Cases:**
 - **Malinowski**, the Polish-born British pioneer of fieldwork, on the **Trobriand kula** (a ring of ceremonial exchange of shell valuables) (*Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, 1922): **economy, magic, prestige and politics in one institution**.
 - **Livingstone (1958): sickle-cell** frequency in West Africa explained by swidden clearing (slash-and-burn farming) → stagnant water → malaria → heterozygote advantage (carriers of one copy survive best). Biology and culture are inseparable.
 - **L.P. Vidyarthi**, Indian anthropologist at Ranchi, on the **Nature–Man–Spirit complex** among the Maler (*Rajmahal Hills*, Jharkhand): ecology, society and the sacred as one complex.
- **Holistic vs atomistic approach (1998 PYQ):** the holistic approach explains parts through the whole; the *atomistic* approach breaks a culture into separate traits or individuals and studies them one by one. The table sets them side by side.

HOLISTIC	ATOMISTIC
The whole precedes and explains the parts	The parts (traits, individuals) are units of analysis
Malinowski (functional whole), Benedict (pattern, <i>Patterns of Culture</i> , 1934), Radcliffe-Brown (social structure)	Diffusionists' trait lists; Wissler's culture-area trait counts; Murdock's HRAF coding (1949); Barth's transactionalism (1966)
Strength: context, meaning, interconnection	Strength: measurability, cross-cultural statistics
Weakness: hard to test; can assume harmony	Weakness: tears traits out of context (the " Galton's problem " of non-independent cases)

The table shows a trade-off rather than a winner. The holistic approach gives **depth and meaning** but is hard to test statistically, and it can make a society look more harmonious and balanced than it is. The atomistic approach gives **numbers and comparisons** but loses the context that gives a trait its meaning: a "bride-price" coded as one trait may be a commercial payment in one society and a bond between lineages in another.

Most modern research moves between the two, using holistic fieldwork to define what is compared and atomistic methods to test patterns.

- **Critique of holism:**

- The **"general anthropologist"** covering every field was more an ideal than a research practice. **Boas** was among the few genuine practitioners.
- Specialisation (medical, forensic, molecular) now dominates. The reason is the **growth of knowledge**: genetics, dating methods and ethnographic theory have each become too technical for one person to master, so holism now has to be achieved by **teamwork** rather than by one mind.
- In India, holism survives partly as **under-resourced generalism**: physical anthropology departments without laboratories drift into survey-type socio-cultural work. Integration really requires **teams of specialists**, not one generalist.

2.2 The comparative theme

- **Example first:** to know whether jealousy between co-wives is "human nature", you cannot study one village. You must compare polygynous households across many societies and see what varies.
- When anthropology and sociology split in the **mid-19th century**:
 - **sociology** turned to **Western industrial society**
 - **anthropology** kept the task of **comparing all peoples, living and dead**
- **Two dimensions of comparison:**
 - **Synchronic comparison** (at one point in time): biological, linguistic, archaeological or ethnographic data compared **across a wide area** at one chosen moment, usually the present. It shows the **regularities** of human life around the world.
 - **Diachronic comparison** (through time): the same kinds of data compared **over a long period in one limited area**. It shows **evolution and change**.
 - **Examples:** comparing marriage payments among many tribes of central India today is synchronic; tracing how settlements in one valley changed from stone-tool camps to farming villages to towns is diachronic. The first reveals **what varies with what**; the second reveals **how one thing turned into another**.

ANTHROPOLOGY · DEVELOPMENT

The Comparative Method: Then and Now

From a ladder of progress to comparison in context

COMPARISON

19TH CENTURY · "HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION"

- 1 **Classify** living societies
- 2 **Rank**: savagery, barbarism, civilisation
- 3 **Survivals**: leftovers of a past stage
- 4 **Parallels**: all minds work alike
- 5 **Laws**: read the past off the present

WHY IT FAILED

- × **Armchair** data from travellers
- × **Ethnocentric**: Europe at the top
- × Ignores **borrowing** (Boas, 1896)
- × Living peoples are **not fossils**
- × **Galton's problem** (1889): cases not independent

Synchronic

Many places, **one time**: find regularities.
Murdock's 250 societies (1949).

Diachronic

One place, **long time**: trace change. Mehrgarh to Harappa.

WHAT REPLACED THE LADDER

Boas 1896

Compare within a **historically connected area**

Murdock 1949

Sampled files (HRAF) that correct for borrowing

Radcliffe-Brown 1951

Compare **social structures** for general laws

Eggan 1954

Controlled comparison of related societies

In simple words: **compare side by side, not as rungs on a ladder.**

Anthropology

- **The aim** is to move from the **particular case to general laws**: what is universal, what is variable, and why. Even a specialist who studies one group, site or fossil population for a lifetime contributes data to this larger synthesis.
- **Cross-cultural corrective**: most behavioural science is drawn from **WEIRD samples** (Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich, Democratic; Henrich, Heine and Norenzayan, 2010). Comparison tests whether "human nature" claims hold beyond them.
 - **Why it matters**: a finding from American university students may be presented as true of all humans when it is not. Even something as basic as seeing an optical illusion varies: Segall, Campbell and Herskovits (1966) found that people from different environments were not equally fooled by the Müller-Lyer arrow illusion. Only comparison across cultures can show which traits are truly universal.

2.3 Other characteristic themes

Besides holism and comparison, six more habits mark anthropological work. Read the table row by row: each theme, what it means, and one example.

THEME	CONTENT	EXAMPLE
Historical / time depth	Reconstructs the course of biological and cultural evolution ; places each way of life in historical perspective	Archaeology and ethnohistory of a region
Systems and process	Since the 1950s , a shift from static description and classification to how systems adapt and change	Binford's New Archaeology (cultures as adaptive systems); physical anthropology moving from taxonomy to gene–environment process
Case study	Long participant observation in one group, site, language or fossil population; theory built up from concrete detail	Srinivas, Coorg (1952) gave the macro concept Sanskritization
Emic / etic	Keeping the insider's view (emic) separate from the analyst's categories (etic) at every stage. Terms from Kenneth Pike (1954), developed by Marvin Harris	Harris on the sacred cow (etic ecological logic vs emic religious reason)
Bio-cultural	Humans are biological organisms whose survival is mediated by culture	Circumpolar Inuit: culture more than physiology explains adaptation to cold
Cultural relativism	Judge practices within their own context (Boas, Herskovits)	Rejects the savage → civilised ranking

These themes work together rather than separately. **Time depth** and **systems thinking** ask how a way of life came to be and how its parts adjust to change. The **case study** supplies the close detail, the **emic/etic** distinction keeps that detail honest, and the **bio-cultural** view reminds the researcher that bodies and cultures interact. **Cultural relativism** is a method of understanding, not a claim that every practice is morally acceptable: it asks us to grasp a custom in its context before judging it.

- **Participant observation** means living with a people for a long time, joining their daily life while observing it. It came from the early fieldworkers' isolation among distant groups, and it still marks anthropological research. Anthropologists feel more at home with "**stones and bones, phonemes and morphemes, rituals and market exchanges**" than with abstract theory.
- **Why emic and etic must be kept apart:** it is easy to **see what one expects to see**. Translating another people's world into Western academic terms happens twice, while learning and while reporting, and each step can distort. The problem is sharpest in ethnography and linguistics but also affects archaeology and primate studies.

COMMON CONFUSION

Emic or etic: which is the “true” view? Neither alone. *Emic* is how the people themselves explain a practice (the cow is sacred to Hindus). *Etic* is the observer’s outside explanation (the cow is worth more alive, for milk, dung and draught power). Good research records both and does not mix them.

- **Micro study, macro theory (1982 PYQ):** anthropology studies small units closely but aims at general theory.
 - **Clifford Geertz**, an American interpretive anthropologist (1973): anthropologists **do not study villages; they study in villages**.
 - **Robert Redfield**, an American anthropologist, *The Little Community* (1955), and **McKim Marriott**, *Village India* (1955): village data lead to universalisation / parochialisation and the Great and Little Tradition, macro models of Indian civilisation.
 - **S.C. Dube**, Indian sociologist-anthropologist, *Indian Village* (Shamirpet, 1955): one village shows **caste, religion and change** in India.
 - **How the move from micro to macro happens:** a concept discovered in one place is tested in others. Srinivas noticed among the Coorgs that lower groups raised their status by adopting Brahmin customs. When other researchers found the same process across India, it became **Sanskritization**, a general model of social mobility built from one community study.

2.4 Science or humanity? (bridging debate)

- **The question:** should anthropology seek **laws**, like physics, or **interpret meanings**, like history and literature? In its early years it was treated as a natural science, because evolutionism saw man as part of nature and social laws as like natural laws. German thinkers, by contrast, separated human life from nature.
- The table sets out the two positions with their leading scholars and methods.

ANTHROPOLOGY AS SCIENCE	ANTHROPOLOGY AS HUMANITY
Radcliffe-Brown: social anthropology is a natural science of society, seeking general laws through comparison	Evans-Pritchard , Marett Lecture (1950): societies are moral systems, not natural systems. Anthropology seeks patterns, not laws, and interprets rather than explains; it is closer to history
Malinowski, <i>A Scientific Theory of Culture</i> (1944): culture as a response to needs	Boas's historicism (German tradition of Herder and Dilthey): each culture is a unique historical product
Murdock's HRAF; Harris's cultural materialism; quantitative biological anthropology	Benedict (culture as personality writ large), Geertz (<i>thick description</i>), Turner (symbols)
Methods: measurement, sampling, hypothesis testing, dating, DNA	Methods: empathy, interpretation, life history, text

The table shows two different ideas of what explanation means. For the scientific side, to explain a custom is to show the **general law or function** it obeys, as a physicist explains a falling stone. For the humanistic side, to explain a custom is to show **what it means to the people** who practise it, as a historian explains why a king acted as he did. The first values prediction and testing; the second values understanding and context.

- **Evaluation:**

- Uniform method across the natural and social sciences (1993 PYQ) is **neither possible nor desirable** in full. **Reflexive, meaning-laden subjects** (people who interpret and change their own behaviour) make laboratory-style prediction impossible. A rock does not change because a geologist describes it; a community that reads a report about itself may change its behaviour in response, so human “laws” are never fixed in the way physical laws are.
- Anthropology **combines both**: biological and archaeological branches are **experimental and dated**, while socio-cultural branches are interpretive and comparative.
- That combination is its **multidimensional strength** (2025 PYQ), captured in **Wolf’s formula** (§1.2).

03 3. Scope of Anthropology

IN SIMPLE WORDS

The scope of a subject is the ground it covers. Anthropology covers every human being, past and present, near and far: our evolution, our bodies, our old tools and new cities, our languages and our customs. It also puts this knowledge to practical use.

3.1 Subject matter: all humans, all times, all places

- An anthropologist is as interested in the **earliest humans** as in people today, and as interested in a **small, remote band** as in a large city. The world of today and the fragmentary remains of its past are its data.
- The table maps each part of this subject matter to the branch that studies it.

DIMENSION	SCOPE	BRANCH
Origin and evolution	Primates, hominins, modern human emergence	Biological (palaeoanthropology, primatology)
Human variation	Genetics, growth, adaptation, race critique	Biological (human genetics, ecology)
Past cultures	Tools, settlements, prehistoric to historic	Archaeological
Living societies	Kinship, economy, polity, religion, change	Socio-cultural
Language	Structure, evolution, language in social life	Linguistic

DIMENSION	SCOPE	BRANCH
Application	Development, health, law, forensics, design	Applied / action

The table shows why anthropology's scope is wider than that of any neighbouring discipline. Sociology covers living societies, history covers the written past, and biology covers the body; anthropology covers **all of these, for all humans, across the whole of human time**. The price of this breadth is that no single anthropologist covers all of it; the scope belongs to the discipline as a whole.

- **The branches in brief** (detail in Unit 1.3): **socio-cultural** anthropology studies living societies through fieldwork; **biological** anthropology studies evolution and human variation; **archaeological** anthropology reconstructs past ways of life from material remains; **linguistic** anthropology studies language in its social setting. **Applied** anthropology puts all four to practical use.
- **Widening of scope over time:**
 - **19th c.:** "primitive" peoples.
 - **1950s: peasants and villages** (Redfield, Srinivas, Dube).
 - **1960s–80s: cities, migrants and industry** (urban anthropology; Manchester school studies of the Copperbelt mining towns of Zambia).
 - **Now: corporations, laboratories, the state, digital worlds**, and multispecies relations (how humans live with animals, plants and microbes).
- **Scope of social and cultural anthropology (2023 PYQ):**
 - **Institutions:** marriage, family, kinship, economy, polity, religion.
 - **Processes:** change, development, globalisation.
 - **Meaning:** symbols, worldview.
 - **Applied fields:** tribal welfare, health, gender, conflict.

3.2 Relevance: anthropology in the service of humanity

- Anthropology studies the past and present to help solve problems about the **future of mankind**. Four kinds of relevance stand out.

(a) A source of values (1982, 1983 PYQs)

- **Cultural relativism** (judging a custom within its own context) and **psychic unity** (all human groups share the same basic mental capacities) ground tolerance and the common humanity of all peoples.
 - **How they produce values:** if every group has the same mental abilities, differences between cultures come from history and circumstance, not from inborn superiority. This removes the basis for ranking peoples as "higher" and "lower", and it supports respect for ways of life different from one's own.
 - **The limit:** relativism creates a tension with universal human rights. If every custom must be judged within its own culture, harmful practices could seem beyond criticism. Most anthropologists today use relativism as a **method of understanding**, while accepting that understanding a practice is not the same as approving it.
- **Boas**, the German-born founder of American anthropology, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (1911), refuted **racial determinism** (the idea that race fixes intelligence and culture). He showed that physical traits,

language and culture vary **independently**: people of the same physical type speak different languages and follow different cultures, and even head form changed among immigrants' children in a new environment. Race therefore cannot explain culture.

- **UNESCO Statements on Race** (1950 onward): no scientific basis for racial hierarchy.
- **AAA Statement on Human Rights** (1947, drafted by **Herskovits**): warned against imposing one culture's values as universal.
- **Indigenous rights**: anthropological advocacy fed into **UNDRIP** (the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007).

(b) National character studies (1987, 1991 PYQs)

- **What they were**: during and after the Second World War, anthropologists tried to describe the typical personality of a whole nation, often without fieldwork there ("culture at a distance").

STUDY	CLAIM	ASSESSMENT
Ruth Benedict, American anthropologist, <i>The Chrysanthemum and the Sword</i> (1946), Japan	Shame culture vs Western guilt culture; hierarchy and obligation (<i>on, giri</i>)	Strength : shaped US occupation policy; showed culture at a distance is possible
Gorer and Rickman, <i>The People of Great Russia</i> (1949)	Infant swaddling → Russian character	Weakness : mocked as "diaperology"; reductionist
Mead and Métraux, <i>The Study of Culture at a Distance</i> (1953)	Method: films, literature, émigré interviews	Weakness : stereotyping, ignores class, regional and individual variation

The table shows both the promise and the danger of these studies. They proved that culture can be studied even when fieldwork is impossible, and that a nation's behaviour in war or diplomacy has cultural roots. But they treated a nation of millions as if it had one personality, built from a few child-rearing customs. The swaddling thesis is the classic warning: a single habit of infant care was made to explain a whole political system.

- **Link to Unit 6**: national character extends **Kardiner and Linton's basic personality structure** (the personality shared by members of a society because of common child-rearing) (*The Individual and His Society*, 1939) and **Cora Du Bois's modal personality** (the most frequent personality type in a group) (*The People of Alor*, 1944) from small societies to whole nations.
- **Relevance**: it introduced **culture as a variable in international relations**. Its legacy lives on in cross-cultural management (e.g. Hofstede's dimensions) and conflict studies.

(c) Interpretation of symbols (2011 PYQ)

- A **symbol** is anything that stands for something else by social agreement: a flag for a nation, a totem for a clan. Anthropologists have offered several ways of reading symbols, summarised below.

SCHOLAR	CONTRIBUTION
Durkheim, French sociologist, <i>Elementary Forms</i> (1912)	Totem as collective representation of the clan
Lévi-Strauss, French structuralist	Symbols as binary oppositions (raw/cooked) structuring myth
Victor Turner, British anthropologist, <i>The Forest of Symbols</i> (1967)	Ndembu (<i>Zambia</i>): dominant symbols, multivocality (one symbol, many meanings), ideological vs sensory poles
Mary Douglas, British anthropologist, <i>Purity and Danger</i> (1966)	Dirt as “matter out of place” ; pollution rules map social order. Dumont’s pure/impure caste model is the Indian parallel
Clifford Geertz	Culture as webs of significance ; <i>thick description</i> ; the Balinese cockfight as a text

- **An example of reading a symbol:** among the Ndembu, Turner found that the **milk tree** (*mudyi*), which oozes white sap, stands at once for breast milk, the mother–child bond, matrilineal descent and the unity of Ndembu society. One object carries many meanings (*multivocality*), some bodily and emotional (the sensory pole), some moral and social (the ideological pole). This is why symbols are powerful in ritual: they join feelings to social rules.
- The scholars in the table differ in **where they look for meaning**: Durkheim in society, Lévi-Strauss in the structure of the mind, Turner in ritual action, Douglas in classification, and Geertz in the public meanings a people share.

(d) Role in contemporary India (2014, 2018 PYQs)

- India’s diversity of thousands of communities makes anthropological knowledge directly useful to policy. The table lists the main fields.

FIELD	ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION
Tribal policy	Verrier Elwin , British-born anthropologist and adviser on tribal affairs, shaped Nehru’s Tribal Panchsheel (Elwin, <i>A Philosophy for NEFA</i> , 1959). The Fifth and Sixth Schedules, PESA 1996 and FRA 2006 rest on ethnographic knowledge of customary law and land
Mapping diversity	Anthropological Survey of India (1945). The People of India project under K.S. Singh documented 4,635 communities
Development and displacement	Niyamgiri case (Orissa Mining Corporation v. MoEF, 2013): the Supreme Court referred religious and cultural rights to Dongria Kondh gram sabhas, which rejected mining
Health	Culturally sensitive delivery: sickle-cell screening among tribes, vaccine hesitancy, traditional healers

FIELD	ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION
Forensics and identification	Skeletal and DNA identification in disasters and crime; anthropometry (body measurement) for ergonomic and size standards
Social justice	Caste, gender and inequality studies (Béteille, Leela Dube, Xaxa) underpin policy debates such as reservation and ST recognition
Heritage and knowledge	Documenting endangered languages , traditional ecological knowledge and GI products

The common thread in the table is that policy in India works on **communities**, and communities differ in custom, land use, language and belief. A scheme designed for "tribals" in general often fails for a particular tribe. Anthropology supplies the **community-level knowledge** that turns a general policy into one that fits the people it is meant for.

- **Critique:**

- Anthropology's influence on policy has been **advisory and uneven**.
- Applied work risks **co-option** (being used for others' agendas) (cf. the US Army's **Human Terrain System**, 2007–14, which the AAA disapproved).
- Indian anthropology has long been criticised for **"tribe-centrism"** and weak engagement with cities and the market.

04 4. Development of Anthropology

IN SIMPLE WORDS

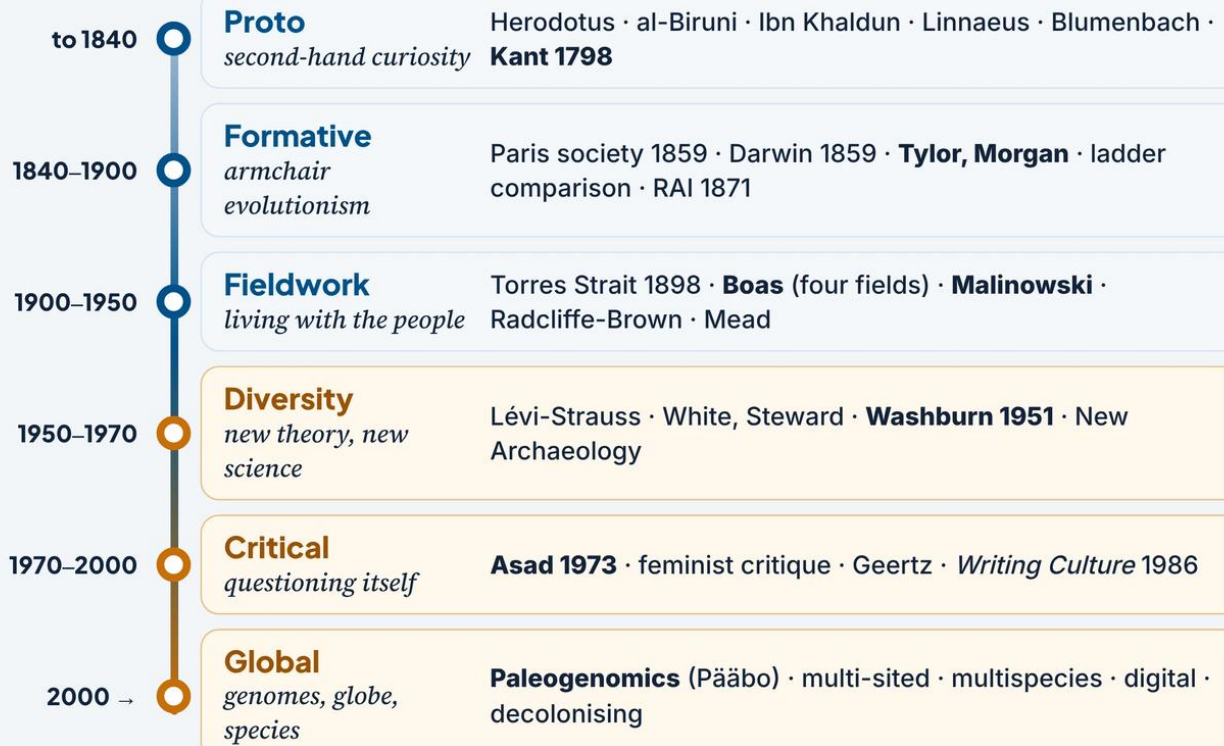
Anthropology grew in stages. First came travellers' accounts and philosophers' ideas, then 19th-century scholars who theorised from their armchairs, then fieldworkers who lived among the people they studied, and finally a modern discipline that questions its own past and uses genetics and global data.

ANTHROPOLOGY · DEVELOPMENT

How Anthropology Developed: Six Phases

From travellers' tales to a science of all humans

TIMELINE



BEGAN AS

study of "**primitive**" others, from afar



BECAME

holistic study of all humans, ourselves included

In simple words: **from "them" to "us all"**.

Anthropology

4.1 Proto-anthropology (to the early 19th century)

- *Proto-anthropology* means the writings before the discipline existed that already described other peoples.
- **Classical: Herodotus** (customs of neighbouring peoples); Tacitus, Roman historian, *Germania* (98 CE).
- **Medieval:**
 - **al-Biruni**, Central Asian scholar, *Kitab al-Hind* (c. 1030): a systematic account of **Indian religion, caste and science**, written after learning Sanskrit. It is an early model of learning the language and seeing from within.
 - **Ibn Khaldun**, North African historian, *Muqaddimah* (1377): **asabiyyah** (group solidarity) and the cycle of nomadic and sedentary societies.
- **Age of exploration:** travellers' and missionaries' accounts (**Marco Polo**; Lafitau, a French Jesuit, who in 1724 compared Iroquois and ancient customs, an early comparative method).

- **Enlightenment:**

- **Linnaeus**, Swedish naturalist, placed *Homo sapiens* among the primates (*Systema Naturae*, 10th edn, 1758).
- **Blumenbach**, German physician (*De generis humani varietate nativa*, 1775), classified human varieties and is called the **father of physical anthropology**.
- **Kant** (1798): physiological vs pragmatic anthropology (§1.1).

- **Limitation:** the knowledge was **second-hand, ethnocentric** (judging others by one's own culture) **and unsystematic**. Slow growth followed from limited travel and contact. Travellers recorded what struck them as strange, not how a society worked as a whole, and they described others through the categories of their own religion and culture, so customs were often judged as "savage" without being understood.

4.2 Formative period: armchair evolutionism (c. 1840–1900)

- **What "armchair" means:** these scholars rarely did fieldwork. They read reports by travellers, missionaries and colonial officers and built theories at their desks.
- **Institutions:**
 - **Société Ethnologique de Paris** (1839)
 - **Société d'Anthropologie de Paris** under **Broca** (1859)
 - **Anthropological Society of London** (1863), which merged into the **Royal Anthropological Institute** (1871)
 - **Tylor** appointed at **Oxford** as Reader in Anthropology (1884)
- **Intellectual triggers:**
 - **Darwin**, *Origin of Species* (1859)
 - the antiquity of man confirmed (Brixham Cave, Boucher de Perthes)
 - colonial expansion
- **Works:**
 - **Maine**, British jurist, *Ancient Law* (1861)
 - **Bachofen**, Swiss jurist, *Mother Right* (1861)
 - **McLennan**, Scottish lawyer, *Primitive Marriage* (1865)
 - **Tylor**, *Primitive Culture* (1871)
 - **Morgan**, American lawyer-ethnologist, *Ancient Society* (1877)
 - **Frazer**, Scottish classicist, *The Golden Bough* (1890)

The 19th-century comparative method (1983, 1989 PYQs)

- Also called the **method of historical reconstruction: contemporary "primitives" stand in for prehistoric stages**, so the past is inferred from the present.
- **Why they used it:** there were no written records for most of human history, so evolutionists assumed that living "simple" societies preserved the stages Europe had passed through.
- **Steps:**
 1. Classify present-day societies as primitive, peasant or civilised.

2. Arrange them on a ladder: **savagery → barbarism → civilisation**.
 3. Detect **survivals** (Tylor), relics of earlier stages.
 4. Identify **parallels**, explained by **psychic unity of mankind**.
 5. Derive **laws of cultural evolution**.
- **Survivals** are customs that continue after their original purpose has gone; evolutionists read them as clues to an earlier stage. Tylor, for example, treated the custom of saying a blessing when someone sneezes as a relic of older beliefs about spirits. The reasoning was: if a custom no longer makes sense today, it must be left over from a time when it did.
 - **Role of psychic unity**: because all humans were assumed to think alike, the evolutionists expected different peoples to invent the **same institutions in the same order**. Similar customs in distant places were therefore read as proof of a single path of evolution, not as the result of contact.
 - **Tylor (1889)**, "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions": the first **statistical "adhesions"** (customs that regularly occur together) across 350 societies. Galton objected that the cases may not be independent because of borrowing (Galton's problem).
 - **Lasting gains**: despite its flaws, the period established anthropology as a separate discipline, gave it the **concept of culture**, separated race from culture through psychic unity, and gathered a large body of material.

Limitations of the comparative method

The method was later rejected. The table lists its main faults and who exposed them.

LIMITATION	CRITIC
Speculative: armchair data from travellers and missionaries, uncritically used	Malinowski, Boas
Ethnocentric: Victorian Europe at the top	Boas, Herskovits
Ignores diffusion and history: similar traits can have different origins (convergence)	Boas , "The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology" (1896)
Living peoples are not fossils: they have their own histories	Boas, Lowie
Traits torn from context	Functionalists

The most damaging criticism was Boas's. He showed that **similar traits can have different origins**: in one region, geometric designs on pottery developed from realistic pictures that were gradually simplified, while elsewhere similar designs grew out of weaving techniques. If the same result can arise by different routes, then arranging traits on one ladder tells us nothing about real history. Every culture has to be studied in its own historical setting before it can be compared.

- **What replaced it:**
 - **Boas**: comparison only **within a historically connected area**.

- **Radcliffe-Brown**, British structural-functionalist, “The Comparative Method in Social Anthropology” (1951): synchronic comparison of structures to find general laws.
- **Fred Eggan**, American anthropologist (1954): **controlled comparison** of related societies.
- **G.P. Murdock**, American anthropologist: **HRAF** (Human Relations Area Files, a coded world sample of cultures) sampling that corrects for Galton’s problem.

4.3 The fieldwork era (c. 1900–1950)

- **The big change:** anthropologists began to collect their own data by **living among the people** for months or years. Theory now had to answer to first-hand evidence.
- **Torres Strait Expedition** (1898): **Haddon, Rivers, Seligman**, British scholars. Rivers’ genealogical method (1910), recording kinship through family trees, followed from it.
- **Boas** (USA):
 - **historical particularism** (each culture is the product of its own unique history)
 - **four-field approach** (physical, cultural, linguistic, archaeological)
 - cultural relativism
 - field study of the **Kwakiutl** (Pacific Northwest)
 - trained **Kroeber, Lowie, Sapir, Benedict, Mead**
- **Malinowski** (Britain):
 - **intensive participant observation** among the **Trobriand Islanders** (1915–18)
 - goal: **“the native’s point of view”**
 - **functionalism** (every custom serves a function in meeting human needs)
 - **Why his method mattered:** a visitor could easily mistake the *kula* for trade. Only by living in the islands, speaking the language and following the exchanges for months did Malinowski see that the valuables were never used and were passed on for prestige and alliance. Long fieldwork revealed meanings that short visits and questionnaires could not.
- **Radcliffe-Brown: structural functionalism** (customs keep the social structure in balance); *The Andaman Islanders* (1922). The difference from Malinowski: Malinowski asked how a custom satisfies the **needs of individuals**; Radcliffe-Brown asked how it maintains the **social structure** as a whole.
- **Culture and personality:** Benedict, Mead (*Coming of Age in Samoa*, 1928), and Linton studied how culture shapes personality.
- **Indian strand** (detail in **Paper 2, Unit 4**):
 - **Asiatic Society** (1784)
 - **S.C. Roy** (*Man in India*, 1921; Munda and Oraon monographs)
 - **Calcutta University** department (1920)
 - **AnSI** (1945)
 - **Phases:** Majumdar’s **formulatory / constructive / critical**; Vidyarthi’s formative / constructive / analytical
 - In short: Indian anthropology began with colonial ethnography and Indian pioneers’ tribal monographs, built institutions in the 1920s–40s, and turned analytical and self-critical after Independence.

- **Humanistic tradition (1985 PYQ):**

- **Boas's historicism, Benedict's** aesthetic idea of pattern, Redfield's worldview studies, Evans-Pritchard's history-like social anthropology.
- This tradition kept the discipline concerned with **meaning, values and the individual**, not only laws.
- In India: **Verrier Elwin's** literary ethnographies and **N.K. Bose's** civilisational approach.

4.4 Diversification and the scientific turn (c. 1950–1970)

- **Socio-cultural anthropology:**

- **Lévi-Strauss:** structuralism, alliance theory
- **White, Steward:** neo-evolution, cultural ecology
- **Manchester school (Gluckman):** conflict and process
- **Barth:** transactionalism
- **Leach:** *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, 1954

- **Biological anthropology becomes "scientific" (2025 PYQ):** before 1950, physical anthropology mostly **measured skulls and bodies to sort people into racial types**. After 1950 it began asking **how and why** human populations vary, using genetics and evolution.

ANTHROPOLOGY · BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

From Measuring Types to Studying Processes

Washburn's "New Physical Anthropology" (1951)

WASHBURN 1951

OLD		NEW
FOCUS Fixed racial types	→	FOCUS Populations and their variation
MEASUREMENT An end in itself	→	MEASUREMENT Only to test a question
FOSSILS Ranked by shape alone	→	FOSSILS Functional anatomy , e.g. walking upright
RACE A real biological unit	→	RACE Clines : "no races, only clines" (Livingstone)
EXPLANATION Static classification	→	EXPLANATION Synthesis : genes, selection, drift
BEHAVIOUR Little primate study	→	BEHAVIOUR Field primatology : baboons, chimpanzees
WHY THEN? Population genetics ; Cold Spring Harbor 1950		WHY THEN? Racial typology discredited (UNESCO 1950)
WHY THEN? New dating : radiocarbon, K-Ar		WHY THEN? Hypothesis-testing method
WHAT FOLLOWED Molecular clock 1967 · Mitochondrial Eve 1987 · Neanderthal genome 2010 · Pääbo Nobel 2022 · GenomeIndia 2025		

In simple words: **ask how bodies change, not which box they fit.**

Anthropology

The table contrasts the two approaches that **Sherwood Washburn**, an American biological anthropologist, distinguished in 1951.

OLD (CLASSICAL) PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

NEW PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY (WASHBURN, 1951)

Typology: fixed racial types

Populations and variation

OLD (CLASSICAL) PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY	NEW PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY (WASHBURN, 1951)
Anthropometry as an end in itself	Measurement only to test hypotheses about process
Classification of fossils by morphology alone	Functional anatomy (bipedalism, posture as adaptation)
Race as a biological unit	Clines : "there are no races, only clines" (Livingstone, 1962)
Static description	Evolutionary synthesis : genetics + selection + drift (Dobzhansky, Mayr; Cold Spring Harbor Symposium, 1950)
Little behaviour study	Field primatology (Washburn and DeVore on baboons; later Goodall)

The table shows a change in the questions asked, not just in techniques. The old approach asked "**which type is this?**" and answered with measurements. The new approach asked "**how and why did this population come to differ?**" and answered with genetics, selection and adaptation. For example, instead of using skin colour to sort people into races, the new approach explains skin colour as an adaptation to the intensity of sunlight, which changes gradually across latitude (a cline).

- **Key terms in the table:** a **cline** is a gradual change in a trait across geography, with no sharp boundaries; the **evolutionary (Modern) Synthesis** joined Darwin's natural selection with Mendelian and population genetics.
- **Further scientific steps:**
 - **molecular clock** (Sarich and Wilson, 1967: human–ape split far later than fossils suggested); the idea is that genetic differences build up at a roughly steady rate, so they can date when species split
 - **mitochondrial Eve** (Cann, Stoneking and Wilson, 1987): all living humans' mitochondrial DNA traces back to one African woman
 - **radiometric dating** (K–Ar, ^{14}C)
 - **New Archaeology** (Binford, 1960s): hypothesis-testing archaeology
- **Why mid-century?**
 - the **population genetics and synthesis** revolution
 - post-**Holocaust** discredit of racial typology (**UNESCO**, 1950)
 - new **dating technologies**
 - **hypothetico-deductive** method (state a hypothesis, then test it) entering the field

4.5 Critical and reflexive phase (c. 1970–2000)

- **The big change:** anthropologists turned their critical eye on **their own discipline**: its colonial links, its writing and its male bias.
- **Colonial critique:** **Talal Asad**, *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (1973): anthropology as the "handmaiden of colonialism". Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1978).

- **Crisis of representation: Clifford and Marcus**, *Writing Culture* (1986): ethnography as partial, authored text. This produced **reflexivity** (the researcher examining their own position and influence), dialogic and multi-vocal ethnography.
 - **What the critique meant:** an ethnography is not a photograph of a society but a **text written by one person**, shaped by who they were, whom they spoke to, and how they chose to write. A male ethnographer, for instance, might have little access to women's lives and so present a male view as the whole society's. Reflexive ethnographers therefore state their own position and include the voices of the people studied.
- **Feminist anthropology: Rosaldo and Lamphere**, *Woman, Culture, and Society* (1974); Ortner's "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" (1974). Male bias in earlier ethnography exposed.
- **Interpretive and symbolic:** Geertz (1973), Turner.
- **Political economy and world system: Eric Wolf**, *Europe and the People Without History* (1982). No society is isolated.
- **Anthropology at home:**
 - the **self/other** division (sociology studies "us", anthropology studies "them") broke down
 - **Indian anthropologists** studying their own society, as **Srinivas** and B  teille did, blurred the line (see 1.2)

4.6 Contemporary anthropology (2000–)

- **Globalisation, migration and diaspora:** multi-sited ethnography (**Marcus**, 1995), following people, goods or ideas across several places instead of staying in one village. The reason is that few communities are now self-contained: a village's life may depend on migrants in the Gulf, remittances, and markets far away, so the fieldworker has to follow these links to understand the village itself.
- **Ontological and multispecies turns: Descola**, Viveiros de Castro, Tsing (*The Mushroom at the End of the World*, 2015). Nature–culture dualism questioned. Anthropocene studies.
- **Paleogenomics and ancient DNA** (reading genomes from ancient bones): human evolution rewritten (Neanderthal and Denisovan admixture).
- **Digital and cyber-anthropology;** anthropology of **science, technology, AI and medicine**.
- **Decolonising anthropology: indigenous anthropologists**, collaborative and community-controlled research, ethics of repatriation of remains.
- **Overall trend:** from **describing the exotic** to explaining the human condition everywhere, including the anthropologist's own society.

05

Key Terms

TERM	MEANING IN SIMPLE WORDS
Anthropology	The study of human beings in all times and places: body, society, culture and language

TERM	MEANING IN SIMPLE WORDS
Ethnography	A detailed description of one people's way of life, based on fieldwork
Holism	Studying all parts of human life together, because they affect one another
Reductionism	Explaining behaviour by a single cause (only genes, or only economics)
Comparative method	Comparing many societies to find what is universal and what varies
Synchronic / diachronic	Comparison at one point in time across places / comparison through time in one place
Emic / etic	The insider's own view / the outside observer's analytical view
Cultural relativism	Understanding a custom within its own cultural context, not judging it by another culture's standards
Ethnocentrism	Judging other cultures by the standards of one's own
Psychic unity of mankind	The idea that all human groups share the same basic mental abilities
Survivals	Customs that continue after their original purpose is gone
Armchair anthropology	Theorising from others' reports without doing fieldwork
Participant observation	Living with a community and taking part in its life while studying it
Bio-cultural	Seeing human biology and culture as shaping each other
Typology	Sorting people into fixed types, such as racial types
Cline	A gradual change in a trait across geographical space
Reflexivity	The researcher examining how their own position shapes what they see and write
Paleogenomics	Study of genomes recovered from ancient bones

06

Contemporary Developments

- **GenomeIndia (DBT): 10,074 whole genomes** from 83 populations, released in January 2025 and archived at the Indian Biological Data Centre. It gives an Indian reference genome for population history, disease variants and precision medicine. This is biological anthropology's scope in practice.

- **Census 2027 caste enumeration:** the **Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs** decided on **30 April 2025** to enumerate caste. The reference date is 1 March 2027. Classifying thousands of *jatis* draws directly on ethnographic expertise (People of India: 4,635 communities).
- **Svante Pääbo, Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine 2022**, for the genomes of extinct hominins:
 - the **Neanderthal genome** (2010)
 - discovery of the **Denisovans**
 - **paleogenomics** as a new discipline
 - archaic gene flow such as **Denisovan EPAS1** in **Tibetan** high-altitude adaptation
- **Ancient DNA in India:** the **Rakhigarhi** genome (Shinde et al., *Cell*, 2019) and Narasimhan et al. (*Science*, 2019) recast debates on Harappan ancestry and the formation of South Asian populations. Archaeology, genetics and history now converge.
- **Applied tribal anthropology:**
 - **PM-JANMAN** (November 2023) for **75 PVTGs** (Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups)
 - **National Sickle Cell Anaemia Elimination Mission** (July 2023)
 - Both depend on community-level ethnographic and bio-medical knowledge.

07 Diagrams to Master

1. **Topic map** (Meaning–Scope–Development): label all three strands.
2. **Holism web:** biology, culture, language, environment, past, with a two-way example (**sickle cell–malaria–swidden**).
3. **Comparative method:** the five-step ladder, its failures, the synchronic/diachronic grid and what replaced it.
4. **Development timeline** (six phases): one name and one date per phase.
5. **Old vs new physical anthropology:** label **Washburn 1951** and the shift from typology to process.

08 Revision Grid

SCHOLAR	WORK (YEAR)	KEY IDEA
Aristotle	<i>Nicomachean Ethics</i>	<i>anthrōpologos</i> = one who talks about people
Herodotus	<i>Histories</i> (5th c. BCE)	First ethnographic descriptions
al-Biruni	<i>Kitab al-Hind</i> (c. 1030)	Insider study of Indian society through Sanskrit
Ibn Khaldun	<i>Muqaddimah</i> (1377)	<i>Asabiyyah</i> ; nomadic–sedentary cycle

SCHOLAR	WORK (YEAR)	KEY IDEA
Magnus Hundt	<i>Antropologium</i> (1501)	Early Latin use of "anthropology"
Blumenbach	<i>De generis humani varietate nativa</i> (1775)	Father of physical anthropology
Kant	<i>Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View</i> (1798)	Physiological vs pragmatic anthropology
Broca	Société d'Anthropologie de Paris (1859)	First explicitly anthropological society
Tylor	<i>Primitive Culture</i> (1871); "On a Method..." (1889)	Survivals; statistical comparison
Galton	Comment on Tylor (1889)	Non-independence of cases (Galton's problem)
Boas	"Limitations of the Comparative Method" (1896)	Historical particularism; four fields; relativism
Malinowski	<i>Argonauts of the Western Pacific</i> (1922)	Participant observation; native's point of view
Radcliffe-Brown	"Comparative Method in Social Anthropology" (1951)	Natural science of society
Kroeber	<i>Anthropology</i> (1923/1948)	Science of groups of men, behaviour and productions
Herskovits	<i>Man and His Works</i> (1948)	Study of man and his works; cultural relativism
Evans-Pritchard	Marett Lecture (1950)	Patterns not laws; interpretation; akin to history
Washburn	"The New Physical Anthropology" (1951)	From typology to population and process
Eggan	Controlled comparison (1954)	Comparison within related societies
Pike / Harris	(1954) / cultural materialism	Emic vs etic
Benedict	<i>The Chrysanthemum and the Sword</i> (1946)	National character; shame vs guilt culture
Eric Wolf	<i>Anthropology</i> (1964)	Most scientific humanity, most humanistic science
Geertz	<i>The Interpretation of Cultures</i> (1973)	Thick description; study <i>in</i> villages

SCHOLAR	WORK (YEAR)	KEY IDEA
Asad	<i>Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter</i> (1973)	Colonial critique
Clifford and Marcus	<i>Writing Culture</i> (1986)	Crisis of representation; reflexivity
Srinivas	<i>Religion and Society among the Coorgs</i> (1952)	Micro study → Sanskritization
Vidyarthi	Maler study	Nature–Man–Spirit complex
Pääbo	Nobel (2022)	Paleogenomics



Previous Year Questions



2025

Anthropology provides a multidimensional understanding of human beings by bridging the gap between science and humanities. Elucidate.

2025

"The agenda of biological anthropology became more scientific from the middle of the twentieth century." Justify.

2023

Write notes on: Scope and relevance of Social and Cultural Anthropology.

2022

"Anthropology is the systematic, objective and holistic study of human kind in all times and places". Elaborate the argument.

2018

Write a note in 150 words on the Relevance of Anthropology.

2017

Define Anthropology. Describe the major branches of Anthropology elaborating on any one branch.

2014

Critically examine the role of anthropology in Contemporary India.

2011

Critically examine the contribution of Anthropologists in the interpretation of symbols.

1998

Write a note on Holistic and atomistic approach.

- 1993 Do you think it is possible to bring uniformity of method in the natural and social sciences ? Will it lead to advancement of anthropological research?
- 1991 Discuss the relevance of anthropological approach to national character studies.
- 1989 Write a note on Background of Anthropological Comparison.
- 1987 Write a note on Anthropology in the service of humanity.
- 1987 Discuss the relevance of anthropological approach in national character studies.
- 1985 Examine the influence of the humanistic tradition on the growth and development of anthropology.
- 1983 Analyse the comparative method of the nineteenth century anthropology and its limitations as to the nature and purpose of social-cultural anthropology.
- 1983 Discuss how Anthropology is concerned with common humanity and universal values.
- 1982 Anthropology studies at the "micro" level, but aims at "macro" level theory. Elaborate.
- 1982 Anthropology is a source of values. Substantiate.
- 2026 *Unit 6:* Discuss, with appropriate examples, how basic personality types may lead towards building up of national character.
- 2021 *Unit 1.2:* Elaborate the scope of anthropology and elucidate the uniqueness in the field of other social sciences.
- 2020 *Unit 1.3:* How can synergising the core branches of anthropology reinvigorate the holistic spirit of the discipline?
- 2014 *Unit 1.3:* Write a note in 150 words on Major sub-divisions of Anthropology.
- 2013 *Unit 1.2:* Write a note in 150 words on How do you situate Anthropology in Social Sciences ?
- 1991 *Unit 1.3:* Write a note on 'Classical' Physical Anthropology.
- 1988 *Unit 1.3:* Bring out the merits and demerits of different contributions on the methods of comparison in social-cultural anthropology.

1986

Unit 1.2: Do you regard Social Anthropology as a Social Science or a humanistic discipline? Give reasons for your answer.

1985

Unit 1.3: Write a note on New Physical anthropology.

1985

Unit 1.3: Discuss the types of comparison in social anthropology.

1982

Unit 1.2: In Anthropology, science and humanity converge. Exemplify.

1982

Unit 1.3: Discuss the comparative method of cultural evolutionists, diffusionists and modern social anthropologists.

LOTUSARISE IAS

UNIT 02

6 CHAPTERS

Culture, Society, Marriage, Family and Kinship

The Nature of Culture: The concept and Characteristics of culture and civilization; Ethnocentrism vis-a-vis cultural Relativism. The Nature of Society: Concept of Society; Society and Culture; Social Institution; Social groups; and Social stratification. Marriage: Definition and universality; Laws of marriage (endogamy, exogamy, hypergamy, hypogamy, incest taboo); Type of marriage (monogamy, polygamy, polyandry, group marriage). Functions of marriage; Marriage regulations (preferential, prescriptive and proscriptive); Marriage payments (bride wealth and dowry). Family: Definition and universality; Family, household and domestic groups; functions of family; Types of family (from the perspectives of structure, blood relation, marriage, residence and succession); Impact of urbanization, industrialization and feminist movements on family. Kinship: Consanguinity and Affinity; Principles and types of descent (Unilineal, Double, Bilateral Ambilineal); Forms of descent groups (lineage, clan, phratry, moiety and kindred); Kinship terminology (descriptive and classificatory); Descent, Filiation and Complimentary Filiation; Decent and Alliance.

CHAPTERS

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05	Nature of Society: Culture, Institutions, Status and Role, Groups and Stratification	127
06	Marriage: Definition, Incest Taboo, Regulations, Forms, Mate Acquisition and Payments	152
07	Family: Universality, Household and Domestic Group, Functions, Types and Change	177
08	Kinship and Descent: Consanguinity, Affinity, Unilineal Descent and Descent Groups	200
09	Kinship Terminology, Filiation and Alliance: Murdock's Systems, Fortes and Lévi-Strauss	222

ANTHROPOLOGY OPTIONAL

PAPER I · PART A

Marriage: Definition, Incest Taboo, Regulations, Forms, Mate Acquisition and Payments



PYQ RADAR 21 questions · last asked 2026

Unit 2.2 described an **institution** as an established set of rules for an important activity. **Marriage** is the institution that regulates **sexual unions, the legitimacy of children and alliances between groups**; the **family** it creates is the subject of Unit 2.4.

SYLLABUS 2.3 Marriage: Definition and Universality; Laws of marriage (endogamy, exogamy, hypergamy, hypogamy, incest taboo); Types of marriage (monogamy, polygamy, polyandry, group marriage). Functions of marriage; Marriage regulations (preferential, prescriptive and proscriptive); Marriage payments (bride wealth and dowry)

CONTENTS

01	1. Defining Marriage: The Universality Debate	02	2. The Incest Taboo
03	3. Marriage Regulations	04	4. Forms of Marriage
05	5. Ways of Acquiring a Mate in Tribal India	06	6. Marriage Payments
07	7. Functions of Marriage	08	Key Terms
09	Contemporary Developments	10	Diagrams to Master
11	Revision Grid	12	Previous Year Questions

ANTHROPOLOGY · MARRIAGE

Marriage

What it is, whom one may marry, how many, how acquired and paid for, and why

TOPIC MAP

MARRIAGE MAKES CHILDREN LEGITIMATE AND GROUPS ALLIES

Leach: a bundle of rights that each society packs differently

Definition and universality

Westermarck, Murdock, **Gough**, LeachTests: **Nayar**, Nuer, Mosuo, Azande

Incest taboo

Biology, familiarity, **Freud**, family order**Lévi-Strauss**: exchange builds kinship

Regulations

Proscriptive, **prescriptive**, preferentialEndogamy, **exogamy**, hypergamy, cousins

Forms

Monogamy, polygyny, **polyandry**Toda, Khasa, **Hatti**; Goldstein

Acquiring a mate

Purchase, **service**, exchange, captureElopement, **intrusion**; Ho, Gond, Bhil

Payments and functions

Bride-wealth and **dowry** (Goody)Legitimacy, **alliance**, rights, statusIn simple words: **marriage is a set of rights linking people and groups.**

Anthropology

01

1. Defining Marriage: The Universality Debate

IN SIMPLE WORDS

Most people picture marriage as one man and one woman sharing a home and raising children. Anthropologists found many societies where it looks quite different, so they had to ask what all marriages have in common.

Example first. Among the **Nayar** of Kerala, a girl went through a ritual “marriage” before puberty with a ritual husband she might never see again, and later received several **visiting husbands** at night. They did not live with her or feed her, and her children belonged to her **matrilineal** household (descent traced through the mother). Was this marriage? The question forced anthropologists to rethink the definition.

1.1 Definitions and where each one breaks

Each definition below was proposed as universal, and each was then tested against ethnography. Read the last column as the counter-case that broke it.

SCHOLAR	CORE OF THE DEFINITION	BREAKS DOWN ON
Westermarck, <i>The History of Human Marriage</i> (1891)	A durable union of man and woman , socially recognised, lasting beyond procreation till after the birth of offspring	Nayar (no co-residence), Nuer woman–woman marriage
Murdock, <i>Social Structure</i> (1949)	Co-residence + economic cooperation + reproduction , forming the nuclear family	Nayar and Mosuo : no common household, no shared economy
<i>Notes and Queries</i> (Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951)	"A union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are recognised as legitimate offspring of both parents "	Plural unions, same-sex unions, ghost marriage (dead husband is the father)
Madan and Majumdar, <i>An Introduction to Social Anthropology</i> (1956)	Social and economic relations arising from a sexual union of man and woman , sanctioned by religion or civil law	Adds the sanction criterion, but still heterosexual and dyadic
Radcliffe-Brown (1950)	Marriage is a rearrangement of social structure that gives the child a legitimate position in society	Shares Malinowski's legitimacy core
Malinowski (1930)	Principle of legitimacy : every society insists that a child has a socially recognised father	Does not say what marriage <i>is</i> , only what it secures
Stephens, <i>The Family in Cross-Cultural Perspective</i> (1963)	Socially legitimate sexual union , begun with public announcement , undertaken with idea of permanence , with a marriage contract	Societies with no ceremony, high divorce, or extramarital sexual licence
Kathleen Gough, "The Nayars and the Definition of Marriage" (1959)	A relationship between a woman and one or more other persons which gives a child born to her full birth-status rights	Still centred on a woman bearing a child; excludes Azande male "boy-wives"
Edmund Leach (1955)	Marriage is a bundle of rights , varying by society	No single right is universal, so no single definition fits

The table shows a retreat: early definitions named **forms** (a couple, a household), each failed somewhere, so later scholars defined marriage by a **function**, the legitimacy of children, and Leach gave up a single definition.

Gough (1959): "Marriage is a relationship established between a woman and one or more other persons, which provides that a child born to the woman under circumstances not prohibited by the rules of the relationship, is accorded full birth-status rights common to normal members of his society or social stratum."

- **Leach's bundle of rights:** the British social anthropologist **Edmund Leach**, writing on Sinhalese and Nayar polyandry, argued that marriage is a **package of rights** that a society may assemble in different ways. Marriage may allocate:
 - **legal fatherhood** and **legal motherhood**
 - a **monopoly over the spouse's sexuality**
 - rights to the **spouse's domestic and economic labour**
 - rights over the **spouse's property**, and a **joint fund of property** for the children
 - a socially significant **relationship of affinity** (relationship by marriage) between the spouses' kin groups
- **Why this helps:** no society uses all of these, and no single one is found everywhere. The question "is X marriage?" therefore becomes "**which rights does marriage transfer here?**" The Nayar *tali* rite transferred only legal fatherhood, which explains why Gough could still call it marriage.
- **Needham's scepticism:** the British anthropologist **Rodney Needham** (1971) went further: "marriage" is an "**odd-job word**" that covers unrelated institutions, so it cannot be a cross-cultural analytic category at all.

1.2 The ethnographic test cases

Five societies broke the universal definitions; the last column says what each proves.

COMMUNITY	REGION	ETHNOGRAPHER	WHAT IT SHOWS
Nayar	Kerala	Kathleen Gough	<i>Tali-kettu kalyanam</i> (pre-puberty ritual with a ritual husband, <i>enangar</i>) is followed by <i>sambandham</i> visiting unions with several men. The child belongs to the matrilineal taravad under the karanavan (senior mother's brother). Marriage is separated from co-residence and economic support. Paternity was acknowledged by paying birth expenses ; a child with no acknowledged father of proper caste led to the woman's expulsion . The system suited Nayar men's military service , with land worked by lower-caste tenants (Mencher).

COMMUNITY	REGION	ETHNOGRAPHER	WHAT IT SHOWS
Nuer	South Sudan	Evans-Pritchard , <i>Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer</i> (1951)	Ghost marriage : a man marries in the name of a dead kinsman, who becomes pater (the social and legal father). Woman–woman marriage : a barren woman pays cattle, becomes the legal “husband” and father, and a male genitor (the biological father) begets the children. Social fatherhood is distinct from biological fatherhood.
Mosuo (Na)	Yunnan, China	Cai Hua , <i>A Society without Fathers or Husbands</i> (2001)	Tisese “walking” visits: no ceremony, no co-residence, no shared property. Children stay with the mother’s lineage and are raised by mother’s brothers. This is the strongest case <i>against</i> universality.
Azande	Central Africa	Evans-Pritchard	Warriors paid bride-wealth for “boy-wives” . A union with marriage’s legal form existed between males.
Khasa	Jaunsar-Bawar, Uttarakhand	D.N. Majumdar , <i>Himalayan Polyandry</i> (1962)	Fraternal polyandry. A woman’s sexual freedom differs between her husband’s village and her natal village, so marital rights shift with residence.

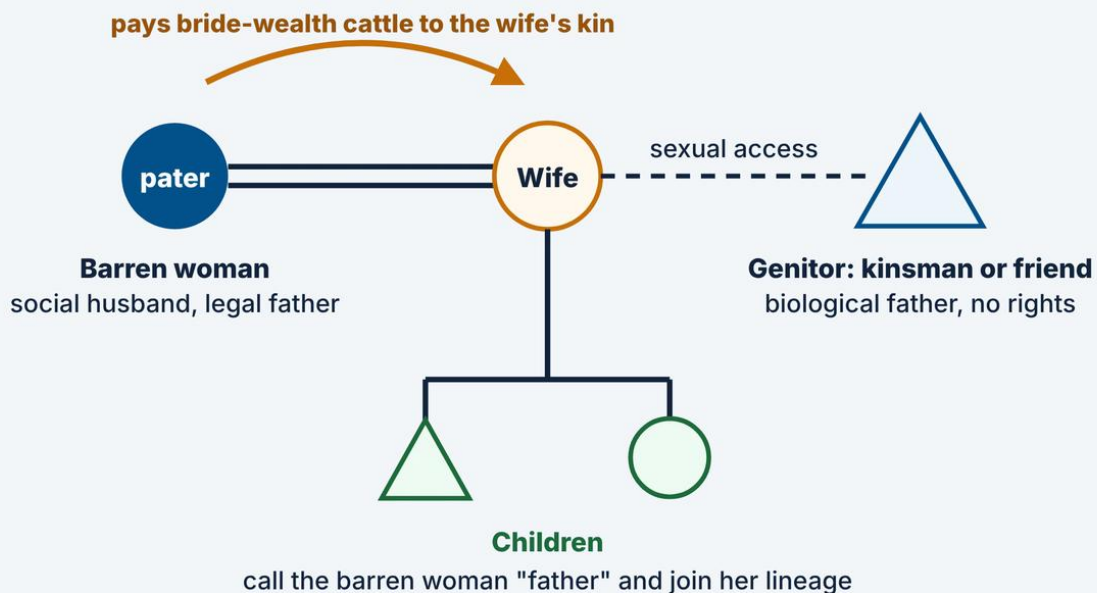
Together the cases show that the elements bundled in Western marriage can be **pulled apart**; what survives everywhere is a **social rule** placing the child in a group.

ANTHROPOLOGY · MARRIAGE

Pater and Genitor among the Nuer

Woman–woman marriage separates social from biological fatherhood

CASE



Ghost marriage

A man marries **in the name of a dead kinsman**; the dead man is pater

What it proves

Marriage allocates **legal fatherhood**, not biology (Evans-Pritchard 1951)

○ female △ male = marriage - - - sexual access only

In simple words: **the father who counts is the one society recognises.**

Anthropology

1.3 What every marriage system specifies

Every marriage system answers the same practical questions; the table gives the range of answers.

DIMENSION	RANGE OF VARIATION
Charter (why marry)	Sexual partnership, heirs and lineage continuity, labour, alliance, adult status
Mate choice	Free choice (love, personal qualities) vs arranged by kin (bride-wealth or dowry size, kin-group reputation, levirate/sororate obligation)
Transactions	Bride-wealth, bride-service, dowry, gift or sister exchange (see §6)
Ceremony	From none (Mosuo) to elaborate rites; betrothal, gift exchange, magico-religious observances

DIMENSION	RANGE OF VARIATION
Post-marital residence	Patrilocal / virilocal (with the husband's people), matrilocal / uxorilocal (with the wife's people), avunculocal (with the husband's mother's brother), bilocal / ambilocal (either, by choice), neolocal (a new household); detail in Unit 2.4
Authority	Patripotestal (power with the husband's side), matripotestal (with the wife's side), avunculopotestal (with the mother's brother, as among the Nayar)
Stability	Brittle unions with easy divorce in many small-scale societies vs indissoluble unions; harder-to-return bride-wealth means rarer divorce (§6)

The dimensions are linked: where residence is **patrilocal**, the bride's labour and children leave with her, so her kin usually receive **bride-wealth** in return.

1.4 So is marriage universal?

- **The forms are not universal.** Co-residence, a heterosexual pair, economic pooling and lifelong union each fail somewhere. The **family** (a mother-child unit with its supporters) is arguably **more universal than marriage**, which is why Murdock's fusion of the two fails.
- **The functions are near-universal.** Every society regulates **sexual access**, assigns **legitimate filiation** (a recognised link of a child to its parents' groups) to children, and creates **affinal ties**. Gough's Nayar resolution rests here: the *tali* rite still made children legitimate, so even the Nayar had marriage.
- **The rethinking that followed.** The comparative record forced three conceptual shifts:
 - **Family:** the household and the conjugal pair separate. Nayar and Mosuo sibling-based households are fully functioning family units without a resident husband or father.
 - **Kinship:** the Nuer pater/genitor distinction shows that filiation is **jural and social, not biological**. The American anthropologist **David Schneider**, *A Critique of the Study of Kinship* (1984), argued that the biological model was a Euro-American folk theory, and the British anthropologist **Janet Carsten's** "**relatedness**" (2000) widened kinship to shared substance, feeding and care.
 - **Social reproduction:** marriage reproduces **property, status and labour**, not just people.
 - **Jack Goody:** dowry reproduces class position.
 - **Claude Meillassoux**, *Maidens, Meat and Money*: elders control juniors through control of wives.
 - **Sylvia Yanagisako and Jane Collier** (1987): gender and kinship are one analytical field.
 - **Kath Weston**, *Families We Choose* (1991): gay and lesbian kinship is built by choice rather than blood or marriage.

COMMON CONFUSION

Is the pater the same as the genitor? No. The **pater** is the **socially recognised father**, whose lineage the child joins; the **genitor** is the **biological father**. Nuer ghost and woman-woman marriage separate them, showing that marriage allocates **social fatherhood**.

2. The Incest Taboo

IN SIMPLE WORDS

Every society forbids sex and marriage between certain close relatives, such as parents and children or brothers and sisters. Which other relatives count as "too close" differs from society to society. Scholars disagree about why this rule exists everywhere.

Example first. In much of **South India**, a man may marry his **mother's brother's daughter**, and the match is often preferred. Yet marriage with his **father's brother's daughter**, who is genetically just as close, is treated as **incest**, because she is classed as his "sister". The same genetic closeness carries opposite rules. The incest taboo is therefore a matter of **social classification**, not biology alone.

- **Definition:** a **prohibition of sexual relations**, and hence marriage, between persons classed as **close kin**.
- **Universality:**
 - The **nuclear-family** core (parent-child, brother-sister) is prohibited in virtually every society.
 - The **outer boundary varies with kinship classification**. Where parallel cousins are called "brother" and "sister", they are tabooed while cross cousins may be preferred spouses.
- **Exceptions are royal and ritual: Pharaonic and Ptolemaic Egypt**, the **Inca**, and **Hawaiian** chiefs. Sibling marriage there kept divine blood and power concentrated. These exceptions confirm the rule, because they mark the ruler as **above ordinary humanity**.

2.1 Theories

Some theories look for the cause **inside the family**, others **outward** to relations between groups; the last column gives each one's weak point.

THEORY	PROPONENT(S)	ARGUMENT	WEAKNESS
Inbreeding avoidance (biological)	L.H. Morgan , <i>Ancient Society</i> (1877); modern population genetics	Close mating exposes deleterious recessives (homozygosity), so groups with the taboo out-reproduced those without it	Pre-scientific peoples could not know genetics. Answer: selection needs no awareness. Explains persistence better than origin.
Familiarity breeds aversion (Westermarck effect)	Westermarck (1891)	Children reared together from infancy develop sexual indifference , and the taboo codifies that aversion	Frazer and Freud: why forbid what no one desires? Incest does occur.

THEORY	PROPONENT(S)	ARGUMENT	WEAKNESS
Psychoanalytic	Freud, <i>Totem and Taboo</i> (1913)	Oedipal desire is real; the taboo is a defence. The primal horde myth: sons kill the father, then renounce his women	Unfalsifiable “just-so” history. Kroeber (1920) dismantled it.
Family disruption	Malinowski; Brenda Seligman	Sexual rivalry would wreck family roles and authority , and with them socialisation	Explains parent–child better than siblings. Regulation, not prohibition, could have sufficed.
Cooperation / alliance	Tylor (1889): “ marrying-out or being killed-out ”; Leslie White (1948); Lévi-Strauss, <i>The Elementary Structures of Kinship</i> (1949)	The taboo forces exchange between groups and builds alliances	Explains the taboo’s extension and persistence, not why it exists inside the nuclear family.
Demographic	Mariam Slater (1959)	Short lifespans and wide birth spacing made intra-family mating rare, so out-mating became the norm	Fails once lifespans lengthen.

- **How the biological theory works:** close relatives often carry the same harmful **recessive genes** (genes that cause disease only when inherited from both parents), so their children are more often **homozygous** (two copies) and ill. Groups avoiding close mating left more healthy descendants, so the rule spread without anyone knowing why.
- **How the alliance theory works:** the British anthropologist **E.B. Tylor** saw that a group marrying within itself stayed isolated, while groups exchanging spouses became **allies** in war and trade; the taboo pushes marriage outward and creates **cooperation** larger than the family.

2.2 The evidence behind the Westermarck effect

- **Israeli kibbutz:** Joseph Shepher (1971) found **no marriages** among the 2,769 he studied between peers reared together in the same children’s house from early childhood. Yonina Talmon (1964) reported similar avoidance.
- **Taiwanese *sim-pua* (“minor”) marriage:** the American anthropologist **Arthur Wolf** found that a girl adopted in infancy and raised with her future husband had markedly **higher divorce, lower fertility and more adultery** than a bride married in the usual way.
- **Counter-evidence:** among the **Arapesh** (New Guinea), **Margaret Mead** reported girls betrothed young and reared in the future husband’s household, yet these marriages were the norm. Familiarity therefore does not always extinguish desire, and a **natural aversion** would not need a **strongly sanctioned taboo**.
- **Lebanese FBD marriage:** Justine McCabe (1983) found that parallel cousins (children of two brothers) raised in close contact showed **lower fertility and more divorce** than other couples.

2.3 The incest taboo as the foundation of kinship (Lévi-Strauss)

- **The bridge from nature to culture:** for the French structuralist **Claude Lévi-Strauss**, the taboo is the **one cultural rule that is also universal**, so it marks the **passage from nature to culture**.
- **A rule of giving, not only forbidding:** the taboo is less a prohibition than a **positive rule of reciprocity**: renouncing one's sister obliges another man to give his. This **exchange of women** creates **affinity**, the relationship that turns isolated descent groups into a **society**. This is why the taboo can be called the basis of **kinship systems**: without it there would be families, but no alliances linking them.
- **The atom of kinship:** the smallest kinship structure has four relationships: **brother-sister**, **husband-wife**, **father-son** and **mother's brother-sister's son**. The **mother's brother** is present from the start because the brother who gave his sister is built into the elementary structure.
- **Evaluation:** no single theory explains both **origin and persistence**. The current synthesis pairs a **biological aversion** (Westermarck effect, inbreeding costs) with its **cultural elaboration** into rules that serve **alliance and family order**. Many primates show parallel **dispersal at sexual maturity**: female chimpanzees and male macaques leave their natal group (Unit 1.5a), so close inbreeding is avoided even without rules.

COMMON CONFUSION

Are the incest taboo and exogamy the same rule? No. The **incest taboo** forbids **sexual relations** with close kin; **exogamy** requires one to **marry outside a group** (clan, *gotra*, village). Exogamy usually extends the taboo to a whole group, but the two can diverge: a society may bar marriage within the clan while tolerating affairs inside it.

03 3. Marriage Regulations

IN SIMPLE WORDS

Every society has rules about whom a person must not marry, whom they must marry, and whom they ideally should marry. These rules keep property, purity and alliances in order. Most marriages in the world are still arranged within such rules.

Example first. A Tamil Brahmin wedding obeys three rules at once: the couple must **not** share a **gotra** (descent from a common sage), **must** share a **jati** (caste), and may **prefer** a mother's brother's daughter. The table names these kinds of rule.

RULE TYPE	TELLS YOU	EXAMPLES
Proscriptive	Whom you must not marry	Incest taboo, clan/gotra/sapinda exogamy
Prescriptive	The category you must marry into, often defined by kinship terminology	Endogamy; MBD prescription among the Kachin and Purum

RULE TYPE	TELLS YOU	EXAMPLES
Preferential	Whom you ideally should marry; a statistical preference	Cross-cousin, parallel-cousin, levirate, sororate

The difference between the last two rows is one of **force**. A prescription defines the only acceptable **category** of spouse; a preference states the best choice, which most people may not actually make.

- **The prescription–preference debate: Needham** (*Structure and Sentiment*, 1962) held that true prescription is a **terminological category** (“MBD” means a whole class of women), whereas preference is merely what people tend to do. **Lévi-Strauss** later conceded the distinction mattered little for his alliance theory.
- **Why regulations build solidarity:** endogamy keeps a group’s **boundary and property** intact, while exogamy and cousin marriage tie different groups into **lasting alliances** renewed in each generation. Both bind members together, inside the group and between groups.

3.1 Endogamy and exogamy

- **Origin of the terms:** the Scottish lawyer-anthropologist **J.F. McLennan**, *Primitive Marriage* (1865), coined both.
- **Endogamy** means marriage **within** a group: **jati** (the defining caste rule), **tribe**, religious community, and among some tribes, the **moiety** (one of two halves of a society). It protects **ritual purity** (Dumont’s purity–pollution axis), **property** and the **group boundary**.
- **Exogamy** means marriage **outside** a group: **clan**, **gotra** (putative descent from a common *rishi*), **sapinda** circle, and in North India the **village**, where all village age-mates count as **fictive siblings**.
 - **Sapinda** rule (*sapinda*: persons linked by descent within a set number of generations): the Dharmashastra tradition barred marriage within **seven generations on the father’s side and five on the mother’s**. The **Hindu Marriage Act, 1955** narrowed this to **five and three**, and permits **custom** to override the prohibited degrees. This is why South Indian cross-cousin marriage stays legal.
- **Indian tribal cases:**
 - **Todas** (*The Todas*, **W.H.R. Rivers**, 1906): two **endogamous moieties**, **Tartharol** and **Teivaliol**, each divided into **exogamous clans**.
 - **Santal, Oraon, Munda:** tribal endogamy combined with **totemic clan exogamy** (clans named after an animal or plant, whose members count as kin).
- **Why exogamy?**
 - **Tylor:** alliance.
 - **McLennan:** female infanticide led to a shortage of women, which led to bride capture.
 - **Durkheim:** a taboo on the totemic blood of one’s own clan.
 - **Lévi-Strauss:** exogamy is the incest taboo writ large, a rule of exchange.

3.2 Hypergamy (anuloma) and hypogamy (pratiloma)

- **Hypergamy:** a woman marries **up**, into a higher caste or sub-caste. It was sanctioned in the Dharmashastras. **Hypogamy:** a woman marries **down**. It was condemned, and its offspring were degraded.
- **Consequences in India:**
 - Brides compete for scarce high-status grooms, so **dowry escalates**.
 - Top-rank families historically had a **daughter surplus**, which was linked to **female infanticide** in colonial records of some Rajput and Jat lineages.
 - **Kulin Brahmins** of Bengal practised **polygyny**, with grooms marrying many wives for gifts.
 - The British anthropologist **Jonathan Parry**, *Caste and Kinship in Kangra* (1979): Rajput hypergamy creates **hierarchy among clans** within one caste.
- **Nambudiri–Nayar hypergamy (Kerala):** among the Nambudiri Brahmins, only the **eldest son married a Nambudiri woman**. **Younger sons formed sambandham unions with Nayar women**. This kept Nambudiri land impartible (undivided) and is the same visiting union that defines the Nayar case in §1.2.

3.3 Preferential marriages

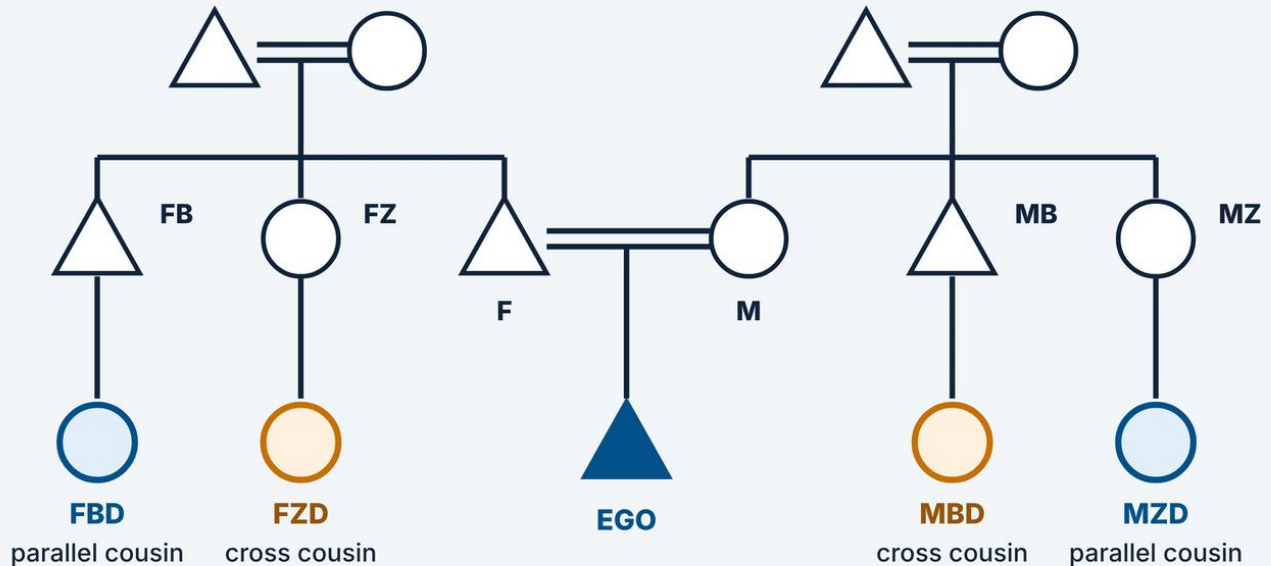
Cousin marriage is the most common preferential rule, and the key distinction is between **cross** and **parallel** cousins. A **cross cousin** is the child of a parent's **opposite-sex** sibling (mother's brother's or father's sister's child); a **parallel cousin** is the child of a parent's **same-sex** sibling (father's brother's or mother's sister's child). Kin codes are F father, M mother, B brother, Z sister, D daughter, so **MBD** is the mother's brother's daughter.

ANTHROPOLOGY · KINSHIP

Cross and Parallel Cousins

Which cousin is a possible spouse depends on the linking parent's sibling

KINSHIP CHART



Cross cousins: MBD, FZD

Child of a parent's **opposite-sex** sibling; often the **preferred spouse** (Dravidian South India, Gond)

Parallel cousins: FBD, MZD

Child of a parent's **same-sex** sibling; usually called "**sister**" and tabooed (Arab FBD marriage is the exception)

△ male ○ female = marriage F father, M mother, B brother, Z sister, D daughter

In simple words: **cross cousins may marry; parallel cousins count as siblings.**

Anthropology

The structure each form creates was worked out by Lévi-Strauss. The table pairs each form with the pattern of exchange it produces.

FORM	STRUCTURE CREATED (LÉVI-STRAUSS)	CASES
Bilateral cross-cousin	Restricted exchange between two groups ($A \nrightarrow B$), a two-section system	Kariera of Australia (Radcliffe-Brown); much of Dravidian South India
Matrilateral (MBD)	Generalised exchange : women flow one way in a circle ($A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C \rightarrow A$), integrating many groups and producing hierarchy	Kachin <i>mayu-dama</i> wife-giver/wife-taker ranking (Leach , <i>Political Systems of Highland Burma</i> , 1954); Purum Old Kukis of Manipur (T.C. Das ' data, analysed by Needham)
Patrilateral (FZD)	Discontinuous exchange : the direction reverses each generation	Rare as a strict rule

FORM	STRUCTURE CREATED (LÉVI-STRAUSS)	CASES
Parallel cousin (FBD)	Keeps property and women inside the patrilineage , so no alliance is created	Arab and Bedouin societies, many Muslim communities including in India

Lévi-Strauss thought **MBD** marriage the most powerful: in **restricted** exchange two groups simply swap, but in **generalised** exchange each group gives wives to one and takes from another, so a **chain** links many groups. Among the Kachin, **wife-givers** (*mayu*) rank above **wife-takers** (*dama*), so the chain also produces **hierarchy**.

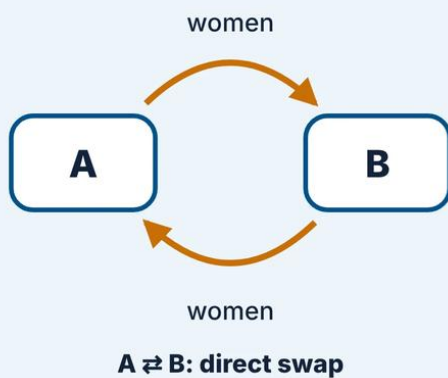
ANTHROPOLOGY · MARRIAGE ALLIANCE

Restricted and Generalised Exchange

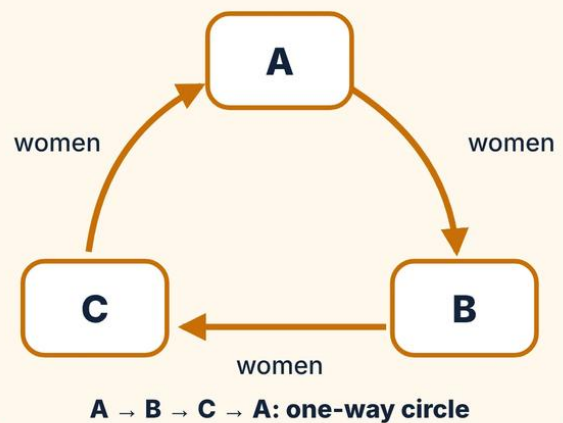
Lévi-Strauss: cousin marriage rules create patterns of alliance

COMPARE

Restricted exchange



Generalised exchange



Bilateral cross-cousin marriage

Two groups give wives **to each other**; symmetrical and equal
Karia (Australia); **Dravidian** South India

Matrilateral (MBD) marriage

Each group gives to one, takes from another; links **many groups**
Kachin: **wife-givers** (*mayu*) rank above wife-takers (*dama*); Purum

In simple words: **swapping makes a pair; a one-way circle makes a chain.**

Anthropology

- **The sentiment counter-theory:** the American anthropologists **George Homans** and **David Schneider** (1955) explained the MBD preference in patrilineal societies by **affection for the mother's side**, against Lévi-Strauss's structural reasoning.
- **Indian forms:**
 - **Dravidian kinship** (Louis Dumont 1953; **Thomas Trautmann** 1981) builds cross-cousin marriage into its terminology: cross cousins are called by terms that mark them as **marriageable**. **Elder-sister's-daughter marriage** (uncle-niece) is also found among some South Indian castes.

- The **Gond** call cross-cousin marriage *dudh lautawa*, "returning the milk": a girl given in one generation is returned in the next.
- **Levirate**: a widow marries her **deceased husband's brother**. In **junior levirate** it must be a younger brother. Example: **karewa** (*chadar andazi*, "throwing the sheet") among the **Jats** of Haryana.
- **Sororate**: a widower marries his **deceased wife's sister**. The term also covers a **barren wife being replaced by her sister**.
- **Function of levirate and sororate (Radcliffe-Brown)**: the **marriage is between groups**, so the alliance, the **bride-wealth** and the children survive a spouse's death. The sibling group acts as a **unit**, and widows and orphans keep economic support. Both customs cluster with **patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence and polygyny**; levirate also secures the dead man's **property** for his line.

04 4. Forms of Marriage

IN SIMPLE WORDS

Marriage can join one man and one woman, one man and several women, one woman and several men, or several of each. One-to-one marriage is the most common in practice everywhere. The other forms usually make sense once one looks at land, labour and the number of men and women.

Example first. In **July 2025**, at Shillai in Sirmaur district of Himachal Pradesh, two **Hatti** brothers publicly married the same woman, explaining that **one wife for the brothers keeps the family land undivided**. This is **fraternal polyandry**, and its logic is economic, not exotic.

The table sets out the four forms with their sub-types and cases.

FORM	SUB-TYPE	CROSS-CULTURAL CASE	INDIAN CASE
Monogamy	Lifelong; serial (divorce and remarriage)	Industrial West; Semang (Malaysia)	Khasi, Kadar, Chenchu, Juang ; legally mandated for Hindus by the HMA 1955
Polygyny	Sororal (wives are sisters); non-sororal	Crow and other Plains peoples (sororal); much of Africa	Naga, Gond, Baiga ; Muslim personal law
Polyandry	Fraternal / adelphic (husbands are brothers); non-fraternal	Tibetans; Nyinba of Nepal	Toda, Khasa, Ladakhi, Kinnauri, Hatti ; historically Nayar (non-fraternal)
Group marriage / polygynandry	Several men with several women	Marquesans (Polynesia)	Toda, Khasa : brothers sharing wives while also adding further wives

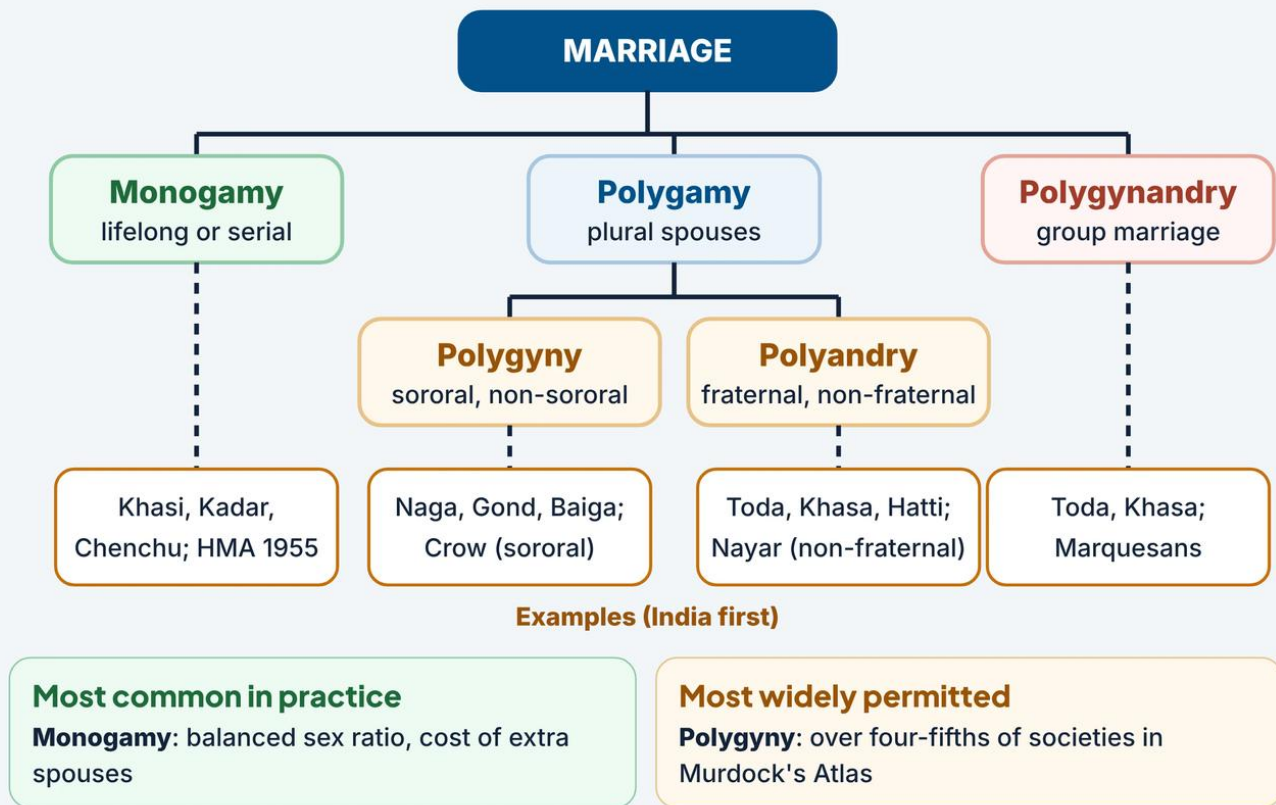
"Polygamy" is the umbrella term for **polygyny** and **polyandry**; the Indian column shows that every form has existed in India.

ANTHROPOLOGY · MARRIAGE

Forms of Marriage

From one spouse to several, with Indian cases

TREE



In simple words: **polygamy is the umbrella; polygyny and polyandry are its two kinds.**

Anthropology

- **Monogamy is the commonest practice** even where plural marriage is allowed: a **roughly balanced sex ratio**, the **cost of supporting several spouses**, and **simpler inheritance and child-rearing**. Evolutionists (Morgan) read monogamy as a mark of **civilisation**; the record shows it at every level of complexity, from **Andamanese** foragers to industrial states.
- **Polygyny is the most widely permitted** form. In **Murdock's Ethnographic Atlas**, over four-fifths of societies allow it, while only a **handful (four)** allow polyandry.
 - Within polygynous societies, **most men are monogamous** because of the sex ratio and cost.
 - Polygyny correlates with **female agricultural labour** (wives as producers), **prestige**, **warfare-depleted male ratios** and **long post-partum sex taboos** (rules against sex for a long period after childbirth).
- **Polyandry:**
 - **Toda of the Nilgiri Hills (Rivers):** fraternal polyandry. Paternity is assigned through **pursutpimi** (presenting a toy bow and arrow in the seventh month of pregnancy). The man who performs it is the

father of all children until another brother performs it. Rivers linked Toda polyandry to **female infanticide**.

- **Khasa** of Jaunsar-Bawar (**Majumdar**): the brothers' joint household keeps **land undivided**. A later wife may join the same set of brothers.
- **Ecological explanation (Melvyn Goldstein, Tibet and the Limi valley of Nepal)**: fraternal polyandry **prevents land fragmentation**, keeps a **large male labour force** for agro-pastoral work and trade, and **depresses population growth**. Local people themselves cite these motives: if each brother took his own wife, the fields would be divided among several households in the next generation.
- **Familial polyandry**: a father and son share a wife (reported among **Tibetans**). The **Kota** of the Nilgiris also practised polyandry alongside the Todas.
- **Sex-ratio explanation (Westermarck) fails** as a general cause: in **Ladakh**, women outnumbered men. Polyandry also **lowers fertility per woman**, acting as a population brake.
- **Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, A Study of Polyandry** (1963): a comparative survey across India and Tibet.
- **Hatti** of Trans-Giri, Sirmaur (Himachal Pradesh; listed as a Scheduled Tribe in 2023): the custom is called **jodidara** (wedding: **jajda**) and is recognised in Himachal **revenue law**. The community explicitly gives **land and joint-family** reasons.
- **Group marriage as an evolutionary stage (Morgan's "consanguine" and "punaluan" families)** has **no ethnographic support**. Real "group" arrangements are polygynandrous extensions of polyandry or polygyny.

05

5. Ways of Acquiring a Mate in Tribal India

IN SIMPLE WORDS

In tribal India a spouse can be obtained in many ways: by arrangement, payment, work, exchange, capture, a test of courage, elopement or even by the girl moving in. Most of these are ways of managing the bride-price. Once the community accepts the union, it counts as a full marriage.

Example first. Among the **Ho** of Jharkhand, the ideal marriage (*andi*) is arranged with a large bride-price; a poor couple may instead elope, a youth may seize a girl, or a girl may enter a boy's house and refuse to leave. Each route ends with the community accepting the union after a fine or feast. The table lists the main modes.

MODE	WHAT HAPPENS	INDIAN EXAMPLE
Negotiation (arranged)	Kin negotiate, often with bride-price	Ho <i>andi</i>
Purchase / bride-price	Groom's kin pay the bride's kin	Ho <i>gonong</i> (cattle and cash); widespread in central India

MODE	WHAT HAPPENS	INDIAN EXAMPLE
Service	A poor groom works in the bride's household instead of paying	Gond <i>lamsena</i>; ghar-jamai (resident son-in-law) among Baiga and Santal
Exchange	Sisters or daughters are exchanged, cancelling bride-price	Common among Gond and other central Indian tribes
Capture	Real or mock seizure of the bride	Ho <i>oportipi</i>; Naga
Trial / probation	The groom proves courage	Bhil <i>gol-gadhedo</i> (seizing <i>gur</i> from a pole guarded by women)
Elopement / mutual consent	The couple decide, and society ratifies later	Ho <i>rajikhushi</i>; Muria <i>ghotul</i> (Elwin, <i>The Muria and Their Ghotul</i> , 1947); Oraon <i>dhumkuria</i>
Intrusion	The girl forces herself into the boy's house and is accepted	Ho <i>anader</i>

- **Common logic:** most “irregular” modes are ways **round bride-price**. Elopement, capture and intrusion are later **regularised by a fine or feast**, so the **alliance and legitimacy functions** still operate.
- **Dhuku in Jharkhand:** among **Oraon, Munda and Ho**, couples **cohabit without the wedding feast** they cannot afford. Their children face stigma and inheritance problems. NGO-run **mass weddings** have regularised thousands of such couples. This is a living Indian parallel to the **live-in relationship** debate (Contemporary Developments).

06 6. Marriage Payments

IN SIMPLE WORDS

In many societies marriage involves a transfer of wealth. Sometimes the groom's family pays the bride's family (bride-wealth); sometimes the bride's family sends wealth with her (dowry). Which one a society uses depends on how it farms, how it passes on property and how unequal it is.

Example first. A **Nuer** groom's kin hand over cattle to the bride's kin in instalments, and her children then belong to the groom's lineage. In a north Indian upper-caste wedding the flow runs the other way: the bride's family sends **dowry** with her. The two payments move in opposite directions because they do different jobs.

PAYMENT	DIRECTION	RIGHTS OR LOGIC	WHERE
Bride-wealth	Groom's kin → bride's kin	Transfers rights in the woman : Laura Bohannan's <i>in uxorem</i> (sexual and domestic rights over the wife) and <i>in genetricem</i> (her children to the husband's lineage). Also called "progeny price".	Nuer cattle; Africa and Oceania; Ho, Santal, Gond
Bride-service	Groom's labour → bride's kin	Bride-wealth paid in labour	Gond <i>lamsena</i> ; North Alaskan Inuit
Dowry	Bride's kin → the bride and couple	Pre-mortem inheritance (a daughter's share given at marriage rather than at the parents' death): diverging devolution , where property passes to daughters as well as sons (Goody and Tambiah , <i>Bridewealth and Dowry</i> , 1973)	Plough agriculture, stratified Eurasian societies
Gift exchange	Both ways, about equal	Reciprocity, with no net transfer	Andaman Islanders
Woman exchange	Sister for sister	Direct reciprocity	Tiv (Nigeria), central Indian tribes

The central contrast: **bride-wealth compensates** the bride's group for losing her labour and children; **dowry endows** the bride and the new couple.

- **Bride-wealth is the commonest** marriage transaction cross-culturally (**Alice Schlegel and Rohn Eloul**, 1988), and is often paid in **instalments** that are returnable if the marriage fails or is childless.
- **Goody's contrast**: the British social anthropologist **Jack Goody** linked each payment to a type of economy.
 - **Bride-wealth** goes with **hoe agriculture, abundant land, female labour and homogeneous devolution** (property passing only within one sex line), as in Africa. Where women are the main farmers and land is plentiful, a wife's **labour** is what the groom's group gains.
 - **Dowry** goes with **plough agriculture, scarce land, stratification and diverging devolution**. Where land is scarce and families are ranked, the bride's family places her, and her share, at its own **class level**.
- **Indirect dowry** (Goody): wealth passes from the **groom's side to the bride herself**, as in Islamic *mahr*. Parts of Africa have shifted from bride-wealth to indirect dowry as economies changed.
- **What dowry does**: it seals the **alliance**, gives the bride a **security fund** if widowed or deserted, sets up the **conjugal household**, and buys **status** in a hypergamous market.
- **Radcliffe-Brown** (*African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, 1950): bride-wealth **stabilises marriage**, because divorce requires returning the cattle, which the bride's kin may already have used for their own sons' marriages. This is why marriage payments are an example of **reciprocity between two groups**, not a purchase.
- **Brahmanical root of dowry**: *kanyadana* (gift of a virgin) is the highest *dana* (religious gift), and every *dana* must be accompanied by *dakshina* (an accompanying fee), so the bride is given with *varadakshina*

(gifts to the groom). Dowry was thus framed as **religious merit**, not payment, in high-caste Hindu marriage.

- **The eight Hindu forms of marriage** (Dharmashastras) map onto the cross-cultural modes: **Brahma**, **Daiva**, **Arsha**, **Prajapatya** (approved; the father gives the daughter, and in **Arsha** receives a token cow and bull), **Asura** (bride-price), **Gandharva** (mutual consent), **Rakshasa** (capture), **Paishacha** (seduction; condemned). Detail in Paper II, Unit 3.1.
- **India's shift: M.N. Srinivas** ("Some Reflections on Dowry", 1984) traced a move **from bride-price to dowry** among lower castes and tribes. He linked it to **Sanskritisation** (lower castes copying higher-caste customs), to the withdrawal of women from paid labour, and to the **cash economy** inflating groom-prices. Whether **dowry deaths** stem from the custom itself or from modern **commercialisation** of it remains debated (**Werner Menski**, 1999).
- **Law: the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961**. The **Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita** (in force from 1 July 2024) makes **dowry death section 80** (formerly IPC 304B) and **cruelty by husband or relatives section 85** (formerly IPC 498A).

07 7. Functions of Marriage

IN SIMPLE WORDS

Marriage decides who a child's parents are, controls who may have sex with whom, joins two families as allies, and organises work and property. Critics add that it has also been used to control women.

The table pairs each function with the theorist who stressed it.

FUNCTION	THEORIST / ANCHOR
Legitimacy: a socially recognised father and placement of the child	Malinowski (principle of legitimacy); Gough
Regulation of sexual access	Notes and Queries ; incest and exogamy rules
Economic cooperation: pooling of a sexual division of labour	Murdock ; Lévi-Strauss ("the sexual division of labour is nothing else than a device to institute a reciprocal state of dependency between the sexes")
Alliance between groups	Lévi-Strauss ; Leach (Kachin)
Transfer of rights, property and status	Leach's bundle of rights; Goody
Socialisation and enculturation of children within a stable unit	Murdock ; functionalists

FUNCTION	THEORIST / ANCHOR
Reproduction of social hierarchy	Caste endogamy, hypergamy (Dumont, Parry)

The functions work at two levels: **legitimacy, sexual regulation, cooperation and socialisation** serve the couple and child; **alliance, rights and hierarchy** serve the wider groups, which is why kin usually arrange marriages.

- **Feminist critique:** “functions” for whom? Marriage also institutionalises **control over women’s sexuality, labour and fertility** (**Meillassoux**; the American anthropologist **Gayle Rubin**, “The Traffic in Women”, 1975, reading Lévi-Strauss’s “exchange of women” as an origin of gender hierarchy).

08 Key Terms

TERM	MEANING IN SIMPLE WORDS
Bundle of rights	Leach’s idea that marriage is a set of rights that varies by society
Pater and genitor	The social father and the biological father
Incest taboo	The ban on sex and marriage between close kin
Endogamy	The rule of marrying within one’s own group
Exogamy	The rule of marrying outside one’s own group
Hypergamy and hypogamy	A woman marrying into a higher or a lower group
Cross cousin	Child of a parent’s opposite-sex sibling
Parallel cousin	Child of a parent’s same-sex sibling
Prescriptive marriage	A rule fixing the category one must marry into
Preferential marriage	A favoured but not compulsory choice of spouse
Restricted and generalised exchange	Two groups swapping spouses; spouses moving one way round a circle of groups
Polyandry	One woman with several husbands at once
Bride-wealth	Payment from the groom’s kin to the bride’s kin
Dowry	Wealth sent with the bride by her own family

09

Contemporary Developments

- **Same-sex unions:** in *Supriyo Chakraborty v. Union of India* (17 October 2023), a five-judge Constitution Bench held there is **no fundamental right to marry** and left recognition of same-sex unions to Parliament. Civil unions were rejected **3:2**.
- **Live-in relationships:**
 - *D. Velusamy v. D. Patchaiammal* (2010) brought a “**relationship in the nature of marriage**” under the **Domestic Violence Act, 2005**.
 - The **Uttarakhand Uniform Civil Code** (rules in force from **January 2025**) makes **registration of live-in relationships compulsory**. **Scheduled Tribes are kept outside its scope**, which preserves customary marriage.
- **Polyandry persists where land logic persists:** the **Hatti jodidara** wedding of **July 2025**.
- **Inter-caste marriage remains rare:** about **5%** of marriages in the **India Human Development Survey** (2011–12), so **caste endogamy** remains the most resilient rule.
- **Marriage squeeze:** skewed sex ratios in Haryana and Punjab drive **long-distance cross-region brides** (**Ravinder Kaur**), which reverses the usual hypergamy and caste-endogamy logic.

10

Diagrams to Master

1. **Topic map** of the seven themes.
2. **Pater–genitor split** in Nuer woman–woman marriage (§1.2). Label who pays cattle and whose lineage the children join.
3. **Cousin chart** (§3.3). Label cross versus parallel, and MBD, FZD, FBD, MZD.
4. **Restricted versus generalised exchange.** Draw $A \nrightarrow B$ beside $A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C \rightarrow A$, and label wife-givers and wife-takers.
5. **Forms-of-marriage tree.** Monogamy, then polygamy splitting into polygyny (sororal, non-sororal), polyandry (fraternal, non-fraternal) and polygynandry.

11

Revision Grid

SCHOLAR	WORK (YEAR)	KEY IDEA
McLennan	<i>Primitive Marriage</i> (1865)	Coined endogamy/exogamy ; bride capture
Morgan	<i>Ancient Society</i> (1877)	Group marriage stage ; incest restricted to avoid inbreeding
Tylor	1889	“Marrying-out or being killed-out”

SCHOLAR	WORK (YEAR)	KEY IDEA
Westermarck	<i>The History of Human Marriage</i> (1891)	Childhood familiarity leads to aversion
Rivers	<i>The Todas</i> (1906)	Polyandry ; <i>pursutpimi</i> ; moieties
Freud	<i>Totem and Taboo</i> (1913)	Oedipal desire ; primal horde
Malinowski	1927, 1930	Family disruption ; principle of legitimacy
Lévi-Strauss	<i>The Elementary Structures of Kinship</i> (1949)	Incest taboo = reciprocity ; restricted vs generalised exchange
Bohannon, Laura	1949	Rights <i>in uxorem</i> vs <i>in genetricem</i>
Evans-Pritchard	<i>Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer</i> (1951)	Ghost and woman–woman marriage ; pater/ genitor
Leach	1955; <i>Political Systems of Highland Burma</i> (1954)	Bundle of rights ; Kachin MBD hierarchy
Gough	1959	Nayar ; legitimacy-based definition
Needham	<i>Structure and Sentiment</i> (1962); 1971	Prescription vs preference ; Purum; “odd-job word”
D.N. Majumdar	<i>Himalayan Polyandry</i> (1962)	Khasa of Jaunsar-Bawar
Goody and Tambiah	<i>Bridewealth and Dowry</i> (1973)	Dowry = diverging devolution
Srinivas	“Some Reflections on Dowry” (1984)	Bride-price to dowry shift
Goldstein	Tibet and Limi studies	Fraternal polyandry prevents land division
Cai Hua	<i>A Society without Fathers or Husbands</i> (2001)	Mosuo <i>tisese</i>



Previous Year Questions



- 2026** Discuss 'incest taboo' as the basis of development of kinship systems in human societies.
- 2025** How the study of variation in forms of marriage led to rethinking on the concepts of social reproduction, kinship and family?
- 2023** Discuss the role of marriage regulations in traditional societies in India for strengthening social solidarity.
- 2021** Write notes on: Marriage Regulations and Alliance Theory.
- 2018** Write a note in 150 words on Ways of Acquiring Mate in Tribal Society.
- 2017** Discuss the different forms of preferential marriage with suitable examples from tribal societies in India.
- 2015** Write a note in 150 words on Incest Taboos.
- 2014** Define marriage and describe the various types of marriages in human societies.
- 2013** Where do you situate 'live-in relationship' within the institution of marriage ? (250 words).
- 2012** Write a note in 150 words on Ways of acquiring a spouse in simpler societies.
- 2006** Write a note on Incest Taboos.
- 1991** Describe the problems of universal definition of marriage. Describe the different forms of marriage among the tribal people of India.
- 1989** Define Marriage. Describe its different forms with suitable examples as prevalent among the tribal people of India. Point out the functions of marriage.
- 1983** Incest is universally the basis of enduring family. Comment.
- 1983** Endogamy and preferential marriage are characteristic of closed societies. Discuss.
- 1982** Marriage institution is found in all societies and at all times. Discuss.

1981

"Marriage payments are an example of reciprocity between two social groups." Elaborate. (200 words).

2020

Unit 2.4: Explain the impact of feminist movement on universality of marriage and family structure.

2020

Unit 9.3: How do marriage rules impact the gene pool of populations?

2009

Unit 2.2: Write a detailed note on polyandrous societies, citing Indian examples.

1988

Unit 2.5: What are incest regulation? Bring out their socio-cultural functions in the context of stability in the institutions marriage, family and kinship.

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