

GRANDE PRAIRIE REGIONAL COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF ARTS, COMMERCE AND EDUCATION
ANTHROPOLOGY 2070 3(3-0-0), WINTER 2005
INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Instructor: Dr. Laurie Nock

Office: C215

Phone: Office: 539-2830; Home: 539-7348

e-mail: lnock@gprc.ab.ca

Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 1-2:30 p.m. Drop-ins welcome.

Prerequisite: Anthropology 1010

Calendar description: The comparative study of human society and culture, particularly non-western communities, with special attention to the family, social structures, economic and political institutions, religion and processes of change.

REQUIRED TEXTS

William A. Haviland, Robert J. Gordon and Luis A. Vivanco, Eds., Talking about people: readings in contemporary cultural anthropology. Mayfield Publishing, 2002.

Michael V. Angrosino, Doing cultural anthropology: Projects for ethnographic data collection. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland, 2002.

RECOMMENDED TEXT

Conrad Phillip Kottak, Mirror for humanity: A concise introduction to cultural anthropology. Boston: McGraw Hill, 2003.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course has three main purposes:

- 1) to establish an anthropological framework which can be used to facilitate an understanding of the diverse cultures of this world, and to apply this framework to specific cultures;
- 2) to introduce students to a variety of research methods used by anthropologists; and
- 3) to study a variety of topics in cross-cultural perspective.

REQUIREMENTS AND EVALUATION

Students will often be called upon to report on their learning activities (comments on readings, discussion of assignments and/or reflections of course content in life outside the classroom) and there will also be in-class assignments (quizzes and group discussions of readings) timed at the instructor's discretion. These reports and assignments will be worth 20% percent of the final course grade. As a bonus "in-class" assignment worth ten points, students may meet with me for an in-depth writing tutorial on one of their assignments (or to discuss any topic related to the course) at any point during the term before the last week of classes. Ample opportunity to earn points will be provided, so there will be no make-ups for in-class work.

For in-class assignments and reports ONLY, calculate your mark as a percentage of total marks obtainable. All other assignments are marked on the alpha scale.

Alpha grade	4-point equivalent	Percentage
A+	4.3	80-100
A	4.0	76-79
A-	3.7	73-75
B+	3.3	70-72
B	3.0	67-69
B-	2.7	64-66
C+	2.3	60-63
C	2.0	55-59
C-	1.7	50-54
D+	1.3	45-49
D	1.0	40-44
F	0.0	< 40

A total of four written assignments are required, each worth 20% of the final course grade (80% in total). They are marked using the alpha scale. Assignments must be handed in to the instructor by 1 p.m. of the Monday following the week they are assigned. One and only one late assignment may be handed in any Monday until Week 14, as long as only one assignment is submitted that week. E-mailed assignments are not accepted. Timing is crucial, and you are advised to begin work quickly! You should have completed at least two assignments by week 7.

Ethnography assignments: At the beginning of term, students will select an ethnography of one culture in which they will become experts. At least once during the term, they will submit a discussion of particular aspects of that culture, making use also of course texts and supplementary materials, with appropriate references.

Ethnology assignments: Many cultures and many topics are presented in class discussions and in course readings. Select at least one of these topics and pursue it through (primarily) a modest amount of cross-cultural research. Write up your findings with proper references.

Research methods: Students will implement at least one form of research methodology, to be written up in a report.

One of each kind of assignment must be submitted, and a second of one of them for a total of four. If more than the required assignments are submitted, the best marks will be used in calculating the final grade. For due dates and more detailed descriptions, see below. You may submit one missed assignment of any sort one week after last class.

A community ethnography, modeled on a classic ethnography could replace three of these assignments, with the exception of one ethnology assignment. This will require consultation with me!

YOU MAY WISH TO KEEP TRACK OF ASSIGNMENTS AND MARKS HERE.

ASSIGNMENT	MARK
Ethnography 1	
Ethnography 2	
Ethnology 1	
Ethnology 2	
Research Methods 1	
Research Methods 2	

IN-CLASS ASSIGNMENTS AND REPORTS

For this portion of this the course ONLY, calculate your mark as a percentage of total marks obtainable.

DATE	MARK	DATE	MARK
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ANTHROPOLOGY 2070: ETHNOGRAPHY ASSIGNMENTS

One of these assignments is required.

At the beginning of term, select one ethnography and one culture in which you will become an expert. At the appropriate time during the term, submit a discussion of particular aspects of that culture, including the information specified below in a paper of up to 10 pages, double-spaced (2500 words).

You must include enough information about the way of life of the people you are studying to provide a context for your topic. Include at the beginning of your paper a brief presentation of your ethnographic source material: the ethnographer, when and how materials were collected, and your general evaluation of the text. In this way, you can avoid constant reference to source material. It is your responsibility to select topics on which your ethnography provides sufficient information, or to supplement this information.

You are also expected to use anthropological terms appropriately, and to demonstrate an understanding of how the practices of this culture make sense in the context of anthropology as a whole. For this, make use of the course texts (particularly Mirror for humanity, or another general anthropology text), using the Reference Guideline.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION, WEEK 1

geographical location, climate
productive activities, resources available and used, technological base
access to and ownership of resources, e.g. land, animals, tools
division of labor and/or occupational specialization
distribution of production: sharing, trade and/or tribute

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, WEEK 3

type of government and authority structures
conflict resolution and social control--law, enforcers
relations w/ neighbors--war, trade

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, WEEK 6

demographic features (size of population and population density)
residence/settlement pattern
type of community; egalitarian or hierarchical society
non-kin based organizations
family and kinship structure
marital patterns and practices; gender relations

IDEOLOGY, WORLDVIEW, RELIGION, WEEK 9

art forms
mythology, deities, forms of worship
ceremonies and rituals
values and beliefs that shape behavior

DEVELOPMENT, WEEK 12

Explore the effects of modernization on the economic, social, political and ideological structures of the people in your ethnography. How have they dealt with these influences?

ANTHROPOLOGY 2070: ETHNOLOGY ASSIGNMENTS

One of these assignments is required.

This is your opportunity to carry out cross-cultural research on topics and cultures which intrigue you. Pursue your interest in a particular topic through further research in the Library (in print materials), supplemented by the Internet. Write up your findings in a paper of up to 10 pages, double-spaced (2500 words), with proper reference to approximately three sources. Your topic must coincide with the subject area of focus in the course at the time (see Course Schedule), and deal with at least two cultures. Concentrate on the topic; this is not just a description, but also an analysis of what can be learned through cross-cultural comparison.

ECONOMIC TOPIC, WEEK 2

POLITICAL TOPIC, WEEK 4

SOCIAL TOPIC, WEEK 7

IDEOLOGICAL TOPIC, WEEK 9

DEVELOPMENT TOPIC, WEEK 13

Sample topics:

war

rites of passage

family

voluntary organizations

child-rearing

mythology

gender

love

medicine / illness

racism / ethnicity

death

kinship

fabric

symbols

nutrition / food etiquette

media

tobacco use

ANTHROPOLOGY 2070: RESEARCH METHODS

One of these assignments is required. You may hand in one a week at any time up to Week 12.

Following a discussion of the research methods, you will devise and carry out a short research project. Submit a report of up to 10 pages, double-spaced (2500 words). In your introduction to this report, demonstrate that your use of the chosen research method is consistent with anthropological methodology as discussed in Doing cultural anthropology. Discuss both what you learn about the individual/s and cultural group or practice you are observing, and what light this sheds on our culture and society as a whole. Finally, evaluate the usefulness of the method to research and to yourself.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

GENEALOGY

LIFE HISTORY or ORAL HISTORY

ARCHIVES AND DOCUMENTS

CONTENT ANALYSIS

GUIDE TO REFERENCES

If you use a direct quote (or a diagram, or statistics) from an author, your source must be acknowledged. The quotation must be exact! For example:

“There is a basic contradiction in the structure of girls’ social relationships. Friends are supposed to be equal and everyone is supposed to get along, but in fact they don’t always. Conflict must be resolved, but a girl cannot assert social power or superiority as an individual to resolve it” (Maltz & Borker, 2003, pp. 164-165).

If you paraphrase an author or use ideas which are not your own, your source must still be acknowledged. Include the name of the author, publication date, and (usually) page number. For example:

Poverty and ignorance are not necessarily the best explanation for why people avoid drinking milk. Lactase production is not common among adults around the world (Ember, Ember & Peregrine, 2005, p. 2).

In referring to an author whose work is cited in a text you are using, refer to the latter, not to the original source. For example:

Easter Island was apparently covered by subtropical forest for thousands of years before it lost its trees (Flenley & King as paraphrased in Diamond, 2003, p. 95).

References to information downloaded from the Internet are similar to those used for print materials. For example,

In seventeenth-century Turkish cafes, coffee was accompanied by smoking tobacco from elaborate *narghile* (Gercek, 1986).

REFERENCES

Barnes, N., et al. (coproducers), and Weitz, P. and Weitz, C. (Directors) (2002). About a boy. Universal Pictures.

Diamond, J. (2003) . Easter's end. In Aaron Podolefsky and Peter J. Brown (Eds.), *Applying anthropology: an introductory reader* (pp. 92-97). Boston, Mass.: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.

Ember, C.R., Ember, M. & Peregrine, P.N. (2005). *Anthropology*. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

Gerkec, G. (1986). Narghiles. *Antikas, the Turkish journal of collectable art*, 11. Retrieved December 22, 2002 from <http://hookahkings.com/articles/article4.htm>

Maltz, D.N. & Borker, R.A. (2003). A cultural approach to male-female miscommunication. In Aaron Podolefsky & Peter J. Brown (Eds.), *Applying anthropology: an introductory reader* (pp. 160-171). Boston, Mass.: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.

Moyers, B. (Executive Editor) & Tatge, C. (Producer) (1988). The first storytellers, Program Three of *The power of myth*. New York, NY: Mystic Fire Video, Inc.

Theroux, P. (2002, December). Hawai'i: Preserving the breath. National Geographic 202 (6), 2-41.

These go in alphabetical order according to the (first) author's surname. Anthology articles (and journal articles) are attributed to the author/s of the article, not the editors of the volume. The year of publication is the year of the anthology, not the original year of publication of the article. Underline titles of books or journals. Consult an APA style guide (some of which are available on-line), if you have doubts.

ANTHROPOLOGY 2070, WINTER 2005
DISCUSSION OUTLINES, READINGS AND ASSIGNMENTS

Readings are in Conrad Kottak's Mirror for humanity (Mirror) and William A. Haviland Robert J. Gordon and Luis A. Vivanco, Eds., Talking about people: readings in contemporary cultural anthropology (TAP). Week 0 ends the first Friday of classes. Do not count Reading Week.

In your reading, focus on and prepare answers to questions in bold format. They will often be the basis of in-class assignments.

WEEK 0 INTRODUCTION, RESEARCH

READINGS:

- Mirror Chapter 1, Exploring cultural diversity
Chapter 2, Culture
Chapter 12, Cultural exchange and survival
- TAP Intro to Chapter 1, What is distinctive about anthropology? (1-3)
Intro to Chapter 2, What is the meaning of culture? (24-25)
2, Fact versus fiction: An ethnographic paradox set in the Seychelles.
Marion Benedict (15-18)
3, Going native? William J. Klausner (19-21)
7, When does life begin? A cross-cultural perspective on the
personhood of fetuses and young children. Lynn M. Morgan
(35-46)
9, Forms of address: How their social functions may vary. Salikoko S.
Mufwene (53-55)
4, The pathways of an anthropologist. Robert L. Welsch (22-23)
18, Food is good to think. Amy Trubek (91)
26, Are we there yet? Getting to the field. David Houston (128-129)
33, An anthropologist learns the value of fear. Elizabeth Garland
(168-171)
37, Participant observation on a motorcycle. Andrew Cornish (190-191)
44, In the disaster zone—anthropologists and the ambiguity of aid.
Alex de Waal (226-229)
45, A career in waste. Glenn McRae (230-231)

Ethnography vs. ethnology

RESEARCH METHODS AND TOOLS

Readings are in Michael V. Angrosino, Doing cultural anthropology: Projects for ethnographic data collection. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland, 2002.

Participant observation

1. Becoming a participant observer. Gary Tierney

Oral history / Life history

3. Conducting a life history interview. Michael V. Angrosino

Archival research / Documentary research

5. Reconstructing a community through archival research. Cheryl Rodriguez and Yvette Baker.

Content analysis

6. Using a museum as a resource for ethnographic research. Serena Nanda

Genealogy

2. Exploring genealogy. Constance P. de Roche

Individual interview / Group interview (focus group)

Ethics and intrusiveness

Other particularly useful chapters in Angrosino:

4. Analyzing narrative data. Nancy Redfern-Vance.
important to “history”
encourages analysis of how a story is told, as well as the actual subject
7. Learning about formal organizations. V. Richard Persico Jr.
important to participant observation
focus on named roles and activities, social statuses and interaction
8. Free-listing vocabulary. J. Jerome Smith
pay attention to words used and their meanings
9. Observing a workplace. Kathryn Borman et. al
especially useful for research on a workplace
10. Carrying out a structured observation. Laurie J. Price
you may be interested in a particular type of behavior

WEEKS 1-2 ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

READINGS

Mirror

Chapter 5, Making a living

TAP

Intro to Chapter 5, How do people adapt to nature? (78-79)

Intro to Chapter 6, How do people make a living? (92-93)

15, Nomads on notice. Daniel Stiles (80-82)

Although there are differences in wealth among the Gabbra, there are also social mechanisms that ensure wide-spread access to livestock. How do poor Gabbra men obtain livestock? How do rich Gabbra men care for their animals?

17, A taste of history. Sidney Mintz (87-90)

According to Sidney Mintz (A taste of history), how have our diets changed with industrialization? What would you predict for the future? Why?

20, Crack in Spanish Harlem. Philippe Bourgois (97-104)

What is the difference between the formal and informal sectors? What are the differences and similarities between those involved in the crack trade in Spanish Harlem and the owner of a furniture store?

21, Cities without care or connection. Richard Sennett (105-108)

How do changing work patterns contribute to “Cities without care or connection”?

WEEK 1: ETHNOGRAPHY: ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

geographical location, climate

productive activities, resources available and used, technological base

access to and ownership of resources, e.g. land, animals, tools

division of labor and/or occupational specialization

distribution of production: sharing, trade and/or tribute

WEEK 2: ETHNOLOGY: ECONOMIC TOPIC

Typology of cultures, based on adaptive strategies:

foraging, horticulture, pastoralism, agriculture, industrialism/world system

FACTORS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTANDING OF CULTURE, SOCIETY, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS

What are the resources?

ecological niche: resources in the environment used by society

environment gives possibilities and imposes limitations

different cultures use an environment differently

human activities also affect the environment

Who has access to / control over them?

What is the technology (tools and knowledge)?

Who has access to / control over it?

How is work allocated and organized?

Division of labor: age, sex, race, inheritance, by kin

reciprocal labor relations, hired labor

specialization: part or full-time

Who organizes / has the right to demand or command labor?

What is produced, in what quantities? For what purpose?

subsistence, trade or tribute surplus, replacement fund, social fund, rent

Who makes production decisions?

How are products distributed?

reciprocity: sharing, exchange between equals

generalized: don't await or count return;

balanced: await return, but not immediate

negative reciprocity: trade and barter—immediate returns

redistribution: tribute goes up, redistributed down

market: profit, supply and demand

Who controls products and distribution?

HUNTING AND GATHERING, FORAGING

- Makes use of resources in nature: animals, fish, plants
 - different forms, depending on environment
 - canoe people of South America; Inuit of Arctic
 - forest and plains hunters, desert peoples
 - generally nomadic; must move to obtain different foods
- Tool kit ingenious and portable, using available materials
 - stone, bone, plant
 - extensive knowledge of natural environment
- Work divided along gender and age lines
 - gender differentiation; work w/ relatives
 - men hunt, generally provide less food than women, who gather plants, hunt small game and fish
 - women guarded to care for and reproduce young
- Production is for people's use, for consumption
 - produce enough to live on--for subsistence when nature allows
- Distribution by sharing; generalized reciprocity
 - plant foods pooled, game often ritually distributed
- Resources don't belong to anyone; (real estate vs. citizenship)
 - all residents of an area have a right to make a living
 - visitors often too
 - people belong to land more than land to people
 - people are part of land; neither control nor are controlled
- Knowledge of natural world, how to make a living, tools etc.
 - acquired by everyone while growing up
 - all can make tools; no need to hide or steal
- Work is organized, may be temporary leaders, but no "bosses"
 - in interests of all to do the best possible
 - because of sharing, well-being depends on each other
- Amount produced depends on need and nature
 - decisions made on basis of what could be consumed, kept, carried
 - often calculation, leaving behind enough for future
- Those who share in the work share in the products
 - because of sharing, little difference in wealth
- Most foragers in small bands of related individuals and families
 - flexible band membership necessary to mobility
 - kinship relations with many other groups, created by exogamy
 - much social life, meeting, communication
 - getting together around concentrated resources, seasonally
 - little warfare

Little differentiation among people

- leaders use influence, example, depend on respect
- can not force their will because band members can leave
- no external authority needed for social control
- natural consequences
- cooperation and independence needed by all

HORTICULTURE

Crops are cultivated on a small scale, using hand tools.

Often in tropical areas of the world, often slash-and-burn

- growing manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, plantains
- soil poor: heat, rain take nutrients in soil
- nutrients concentrated in plants; lush growth
- move fields and villages often

Tools of local materials, mostly plants

- knowledge of cultivation but also must have animal protein
- domesticated animals, hunting or fishing

Gender and age division of labor

- men hunting, most fishing, clearing gardens,
- women do planting, harvesting, gathering wild plants
- fishing, care of dwellings, children and animals, processing food

People plant what they can work on, hunt and fish what they need

- problem of preservation

Sharing of game and plant food within group that works together

- usually extended family: parents, brothers, wives, children
- part of village rather than whole village
- feasting w/ other villages; balanced reciprocity, expect return

All have access to the land and resources needed for survival

- but in a more formal way than hunter-gatherers
- dependence on cultivated plants, dependence on gardens
- because of work put into them
- villages claim their garden territory

- villages consist of several lineages:

- groups whose members descend from common ancestor
- must belong to one of these for access to land
- with contacts and intermarriage between villages
- village membership flexible

- hunting territory available to all

All have access to the tools and knowledge needed for survival

- learned through living

Organization of work, allocation of tasks decided

- within group that shares work and rewards; kin

Amount of production decided by needs desire for feast, trade with other villages
They control own products, share, decide on trade
Little chance for concentration of power, authority, or wealth
 lineage or village headman doesn't own land,
 can't force people to work; leads by example
 represents his village to others
 host often has to work harder than others
Raiding and feuding common
 villages get too large for garden and hunting land
 split up, form new ones, raid others to get their land, women
Inter-village trade, political alliances, exchange of women

PASTORALISM

Pastoralists depend on domesticated animals for subsistence
 animals and people need each other
 sheep, camels, reindeer, cattle
 animals provide clothing, food, shelter, fuel
 people provide water and pasture
Need grazing land, water, and livestock
 but also need agricultural products--grains
 animals graze pasture
 trade in animal products or grow own grains
Much of technology is knowledge
 care of animals, terrain, knowledge of pasture and water
 housing, possessions portable; light and easily made
Men tend to be in charge of animals, women take care of home, children
 young men very important as the herders
Production--numbers of animals--must be balanced
 with pastures and with manpower;
 takes work to care for and process materials
 animals provide mobile, multiplying wealth,
 with luck and careful management
 wealth seldom eaten--ritual slaughter
Sharing of products and income within group
 father, sons, wives, children
 but must also trade; not entirely self-sufficient
Ownership of animals by individual, family or lineage
 individual man may build up a herd,
 but eventually shares it among sons
 animals obtained through inheritance,
 marriage of daughters and sisters
 access to pasture land and water by lineage group
 carefully regulated, political agreements

(Note Navajo; men and women, most individuals own animals
organized and pastured by "outfit", extended family group
sustains women's independent status
given gov't imposed limits on herds for "conservation"
allows ownership of more animals per outfit)

Access to technology available to all--but not animals

Labor organized by patriarch, authority over sons
and lesser kinsmen

Production decided by men--carrying capacity, herd management

Distribution--trading patterns, etc. decided by men
their products

careful calculation in trading w/ outsiders

INTENSIVE AGRICULTURE

People depend almost exclusively on cultivated foods

intensive use of land, intensive labor

often use of non-human energy source

extensive alteration to land--terracing, irrigation, usually growing grains

Good land most important resource, and water

Technology--knowledge of plant cultivation, also engineering
animals, plows

Organization of labor

often great seasonal variation, peaks in work demands--sowing, harvest

great degree of cooperation needed

gender differentiation of labor, though women often work in fields

but also occupational specialization / time specialization

laborers, crafts, administrators, priests

Production of subsistence, for family or community

but also often of "surplus"

to pay for specialists, to give in tribute

to give in trade, as they may specialize

no longer self-sufficient

Goods taken in tribute or used in trade

tribute products don't belong to producers

Land ownership carefully defined

because of investment of work in land--value

strict rules of inheritance, laws, authority to enforce

Much technology available to all

but specialized knowledge, e.g. engineering, often isn't

Because of great organization of labor needed, cooperation, timing

specialist managers may arise--great importance

they can organize labor, give orders

also organize craft specialists, exchange

Authority over access to land, over labor

can also give authority to demand production

e.g. in tribute; organized by community, by external command

not the voluntary exchange of labor among kin

Rulers decide what becomes of tribute, and organize trade

redistribute goods and services, siphon off

Evolution of food production

probably developed earlier in Old World than in New

took longer for New World pop pressures to demand it

in New, animal domestication unnecessary

caribou, bison, guinea pig, llama, alpaca, fish, turkey

perhaps lacked appropriate animals

developed cultivation techniques that didn't need it

note necessity of pop pressure

not entered into willingly

Relationship between subsistence systems

not pure types

pastoralism can't exist w/out agriculture

horticulture can't exist w/out animals

note significance of animals: game, pigs, cattle

take much energy, ritual consumption

reliable plants and crops less valued

continuum of intensity of labor and environmental modification

pastoralism incompatible w/ wild animals, plant foods

intensive agriculture drives out wild species

relationship between population increase

and intensified agriculture

larger pop needs more food

intensified ag allows more food

intensified production requires more workers,

more population--can't reverse process w/out pop loss

irreversible change in adaptive strategy

people domesticated as well as plants and animals

could never go back to wildlife

(significance of women in plant domestication)

continuum of concentration and expansion of power, rank and status

not just wealth or occupation;

control over resources and people

concentration of power in agriculture

allowed by intense labor and harvest work

complexity of labor; storable production

investment in, value of land

immobility, need to allocate and defend

change in socio-political environment
increased production, possibility of power and control
bring about changes in way of thinking
rather than stability, long-term, preservation,
think of change, expansion, growth
profiting from others,
accumulating rather than sharing
differential power between them
intensive agriculture becomes agro-industry
pastoral lands are destroyed
as water and land are diverted for agriculture
governments insist pastoralists settle
horticulturalists are pushed aside
their land is wanted for more profitable purposes
the lands of foragers are taken for ranching and farming.

WEEKS 3-4 POLITICAL SYSTEMS

READINGS

- Mirror Chapter 7, Political systems
TAP Intro to Chapter 10, How do people control the behavior of others?
(172-173)
- 32, The genocidal state. Alex de Waal (162-168)
- 35, The modern state: Nation-builder or nation-killer? Pierre L. Van Den Berghe. (178-186)
Why are states such a threat to nations and to indigenous peoples?
- 34, Say "Cheese!" The Disney order that is not so Mickey Mouse. Clifford D. Shearing and Philip C. Stenning (174-177)
Other than by written regulations, how is our behavior controlled by the College?
- 36, Deceptive stereotypes about "tribal warfare". Neil L. Whitehead and R. Brian Ferguson (187-189)
- 46, Visions of the future: The prospect for reconciliation. Ian S. McIntosh (234-237)
- 48, The Zapatistas and the electronic fabric of struggle. Harry Cleaver (241-244)
national boundaries?
Which of the readings assigned for the Political Systems topic are ethnographies? Which are ethnologies? Justify your choices.

WEEK 3: ETHNOGRAPHY: POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

- type of government and authority structures
- conflict resolution
- social control--law, enforcers
- relations w/ neighbors--war, trade, diplomacy, subordination

WEEK 4: ETHNOLOGY: POLITICAL TOPIC

Political structure: band, village, chiefdom, state, world system, tribe

SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES:

Subsistence system

Region occupied: area and homo/heterogeneity

Population

Control over

- access to resources and technology,
- production and distribution—surplus? generosity?
- trade, weapons

Control over people—law, social control

Conflict resolution—joking duels to pistol duels, arbitration to feud to war
suits, courts, punishment

Formality of leadership

Concentration of power, stratification
decision-making

External relations—war, trade, diplomacy, subordination

Reliance on kinship, age, sex/impersonal relations--nationality

Forms of ideological control

Foraging bands loosely structured by kinship, age, sex

- set of people using resources
- cover the region they need for subsistence
- extensive kin network, huge territory
- not politically organized

- all have right to land and other resources
- to technology--materials, knowledge, tools
- shared because share products
- jointly decide production activities

- relations with other bands: some trade, intermarriage
- what to fight over?

- headman adept hunter, good provider, good person
- no power over others, no authority
- central figure

- social control: disruption of one is disruption of all
- gossip to keep harmony, conformity, cooperation infractions
- handled by whole group, elders
- compensation of victims

More structure among horticultural villages--tribes

- settled, constant contact and organized interaction
- in greater density, differences more entrenched
- lineage owns means of production--land
- members of lineage share, also technology

decide production and distribution
village level decisions on production for feasting, trade
headman exists, but can't be authority
does not control means of production,
doesn't have own power
those who disagree can move
"big man" of New Guinea--relatively large villages, more cultigens
use of oratory, charisma (popularity)
get relatives and more supporters to contribute wealth
pigs and yams--to distribute in feasts
prove importance of big man and of followers
but must be generous, continually validate status
work hard at same jobs as others to be important
big man can fall, be abandoned;
competition with other big men, property warfare
replacing actual raids--Europeans
warfare to get territory, women of others
social control more formalized, but still by elders
negotiation for compensation, representing lineages
pastoralists fit too

Somewhat more complex are chiefdoms

usually in areas of more ecological diversity
something to trade between communities
but communities fairly uniform
more intensive agriculture and production
different areas specialized
chief redistributes goods of different areas and groups of people
in charge of trade and defense--army
can demand tribute, allocates trade goods
lineages often still control their land
but chief formal owner, can expropriate
position of chief formal, ritual
lives off tribute given by/taken from others;
does not work like them
gets luxuries; skims off the top
social stratification; those closest to chief best off
holds court to monitor disputes, seek out traitors
warfare to control new territories, expand influence; trade wars

State covers much larger area

not just in size, but in variety
tropical forest is large area, but insufficient variety
intensive agriculture, specialization
coordination of agriculture and trade

hierarchical control over resources, technology, goods
 lineages still matter locally
 but hierarchy represents state, demands tribute
 hierarchy controls trade
 redistribution, but not necessarily back to the population
 siphons off much for elite
 not in subsistence activities: administration, nobility
 military structure for protection against other states
 expand and incorporate new territories--tribute
 internal social control
 those at the top control life
 hereditary, elected
 formal administration, laws
 many against disruption of state
 punishment, not just compensation
 economic specialization; knowledge important
 not just age, sex, kinship
 (Marvin Harris CULTURE, PEOPLE, NATURE)
 State must control population: know numbers,
 determine citizenship, status
 regulate behavior through law and order,
 police, justice, religion impersonally applied
 protect its sovereignty
 tax and conscript people for revenue and defense
 must keep prevailing structure and property relations
 most serious crimes are against state itself
 sometimes must help those less well off to keep peace
 Modern states integrated through political power, markets, money
 people organized by place of residence--city, province
 place of work, not kinship--impersonal
 Great differences in wealth, power
 difference in power allows--results from--exploitation
 Harris:
 exploitation when subordinate class experiences deprivations
 with respect to basic necessities
 ruling class enjoys abundance of luxuries [well-being]
 luxuries [well-being] enjoyed by ruling class
 depend on labor [resources, poverty] of subordinate
 deprivations of subordinate caused by failure of rulers
 to apply power to production of necessities
 instead of luxuries and to redistribute necessities
 to subordinate class
 Because of exploitation, must also use ideological control
 religion, education, ceremony, monuments TV, festivals

Some important distinctions and definitions

Ethnic group: shares common culture, sense of common history and of its own distinctiveness.

Nation: people sharing culture, ancestry, language sense of belonging, sharing past and future. Usually territory.

Nationalism: the idea that nation and state should coincide.
fiction of homogeneity w/in state

“national interest”

regions, exploitation, internal colonialism

Nation often wants to be state—and then takes on problems of state

State: single, supreme authority over a group of people

occupying a common territory.

often pretends (seeks) to be a nation

Myth that European states permanent, eternal, unified.

World system reproduces state system at global scale

states started in Europe

to expropriate, tax, buy, products and labor

to guarantee markets by closing borders

in defense against other states

Became possible and necessary to go overseas

for raw materials, spices and gold

local inhabitants forced to produce goods

rulers induced to get subjects to do so

when necessary, laborers transported--cotton, sugar

traffic in human beings

conquest of "empty" areas--emptied by disease, genocide

firearms, evacuation, definition as empty

densely populated areas directly incorporated

already in intense cultivation, states

decapitated heads of government

conquest not necessarily by armed force

through religion as well

movement of millions of poor and landless from Europe

to live at expense of aboriginals

Europe rid of poor, criminals

with independence, Europeans became "natives" / Creoles

new states created w/ arbitrary boundaries

crosscutting territories of indigenous nations

lumping them together

not created in response to local needs

to deal with existing states, legitimation

Result to integrate the world in common economic and political system
right to intervene in politics of others
each region less self-sufficient, producing what they do best
some states more powerful; unequal competition
can determine conditions of existence, price of commodities,
governments, lives of rest
profit from, live well because of the poverty of the rest
pay less for their products, their labor
get them in debt, make them pay, sell at low prices
military

Land of indigenous peoples taken by Europeans and allies
private ownership, people forced off land taken from them,
lose out to competition, debt
forced into cities, poverty, informal economy
development to get them into industry; industry employs few

International labor migration, legacy of colonial racism

Pre-state political formations all subject to states now
as we speak about them in anthropology, are reconstructions
or artificial constructs, as if state weren't there

We've seldom seen hunting and gathering at its best
now only exists at edges of world
deserts of Australia, South Africa, southern South America,
northern North America
most have disappeared with European colonization
those who are left fighting hard--Lubicon

Tropical forest farmers also on margins Brazil, New Guinea, Java
diminished by disease, genocide
by prospectors and settlers pushed onto reserves,
into cash economies

Chiefdoms and "pristine" states long since gone
Social and cultural integration along with economic and political
people all over world behave like us, same aspirations
same education system, same blue jeans

WEEK 5 SOCIAL INEQUALITY, SOCIAL INTERACTION, LIFE CYCLE

READINGS

Mirror Chapter 3, Ethnicity and race

TAP Intro to Chapter 9, How do people express status and group membership?
(148-149)

12, Growing up American: doing the right thing. Amparo B. Ojeda
(63-66)

what is so good about independence?

WEEK 6 KINSHIP, FAMILY, MARRIAGE, DOMESTIC LIFE

READINGS

Mirror

Chapter 6, Families, kinship and marriage

TAP

Intro to Chapter 8, What does it mean to be in a family? (130-131)

22, Arranging a marriage in India. Serena Nanda (111-115)

What are the qualities sought in a wife in India? In Canada? Why do these differ?

24, Female chiefs and their wives: Tradition and modernity in Venda, South Africa. Gina Buijs (121-124)

What is the meaning of "wife", "husband", "father", "mother" among the Venda and Lovedu? Why might a Venda or Lovedu woman take a wife?

28, Land of the walking marriage. Lu Yuan and Sam Mitchell. (140-142)

Lacking a marriage ceremony or relationship, how do the Mosuo organize household labor and economic cooperation, responsibility for child support and child rearing, and sexual activity?

29, The persistence of polygamy. Timothy Egan. (143-147)

How does this article demonstrate bias against polygyny? What is so good about monogamy?

WEEK 6: ETHNOGRAPHY: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

demographic features (size of population and population density)

residence/settlement pattern

type of community; egalitarian or hierarchical society

kinship structure

non-kin based organizations

domestic unit, domestic life

marital patterns and practices; gender relations

Kinship: "a universal way of connecting and separating people, based on a biological ground plan that it does not necessarily follow very closely. It is a way to reckon relationships based on a combination of considerations: biology, marriage, and other bonds culturally considered to be like [them]." (Muriel Dimen-Schein, THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL IMAGINATION)

Anthropologists very concerned with kinship

an important organizing principle in many societies

shows the workings of the "primitive mind"

creates a great mental strain for anthropologists

many kinship systems more complex than ours

even in societies where not many social roles

seem determined by kinship--e.g. ours

can help researcher establish contacts

learn about many different people -- e.g. my research, genealogies

Kinship can play many important roles

determining marriage partners, residence, succession to office,
inheritance of goods, name, property, ethnic and national status,
religious observance (ancestor cults), resource distribution,
work and political organization

Will discuss kin term systems, descent systems, post-marital residence, marriage practice

KIN TERMS:

Anthropological abbreviations M, F, B, Z, S, D, H, W.

minimal kin terms used in combinations to avoid ethnocentrism:

aunt, cousin, brother-in-law

WORK THEM OUT

What are our kin terms? List name and number code. Note lumping.

How are these people actually related to us, e.g. "aunt"?

DRAW ON BOARD.

Male [^], Female[O] (Ego [X]), horizontal lines, vertical lines, =

Not all societies use same terms, make same distinctions or lump as we do

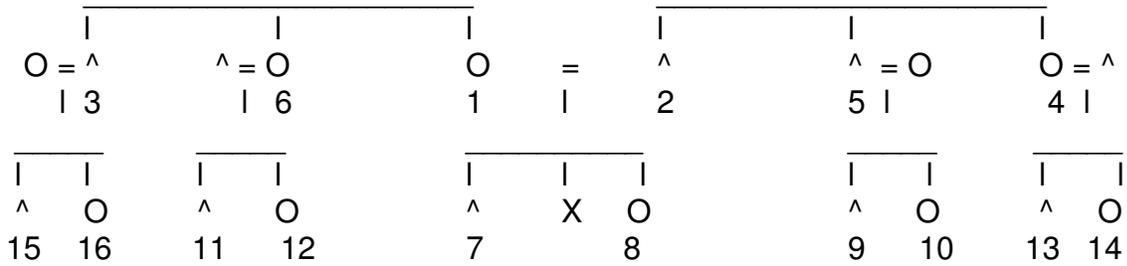
Only using 2 generations; rest follow from that.

Many principles of classification: generation, sex,

bifurcation: whether father's and mother's sides differ

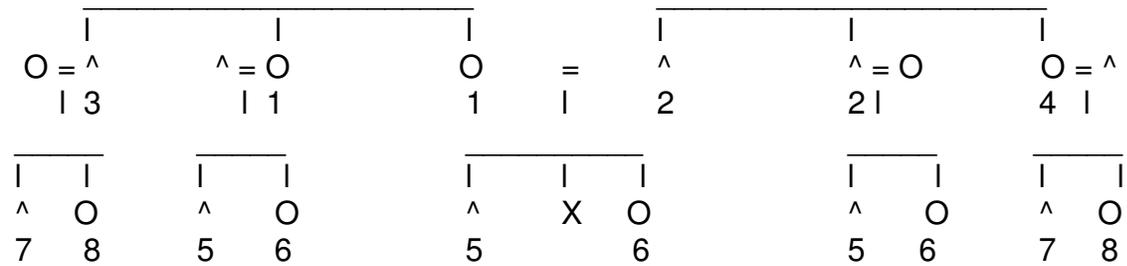
collaterality: whether genetic distance noted

Bifurcate collateral: North Africa



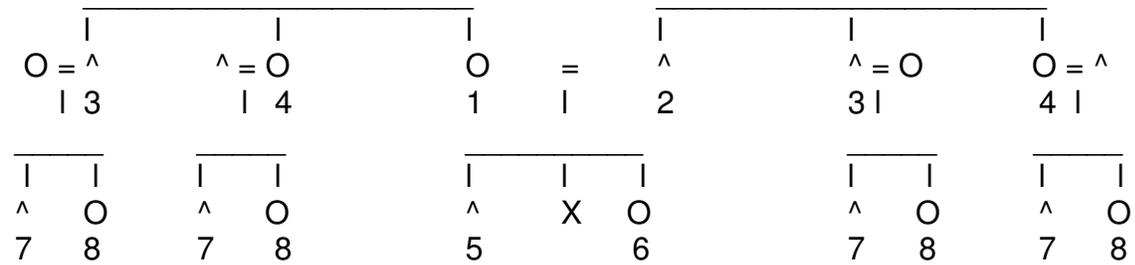
Classify by Generation, sex, side of family, collaterality.

Bifurcate merging: Iroquois



Classify by generation, sex; side of family; merges M and MZ, F and FB.

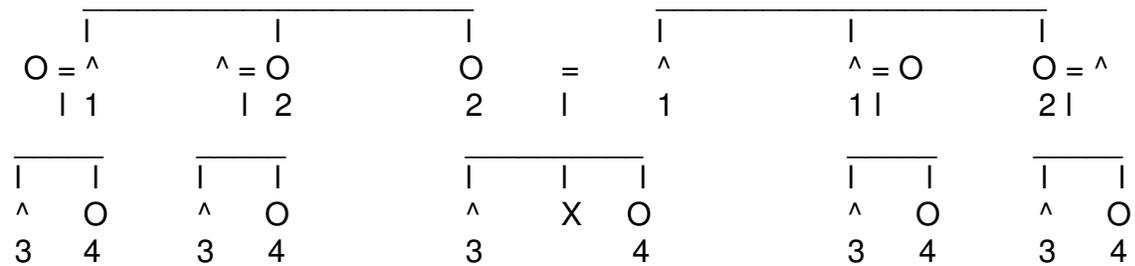
Lineal: Eskimo



not unilineal.

Classify by generation, sex, distinguish parents and siblings--nuclear family.

Generational: Hawaiian



Classifies by generation, sex.

Other principles used include

affinity (whether ties are through marriage or biology),
polarity (the use of reciprocal terms like aunt/nephew),
the relative age of the person (seniority), the sex of the speaker,
whether dead or alive, fictive kin, adoptive

Significance: Things (or people) named differently

often expected to behave differently,
and that is what we're really looking for.

What kinds of behavior do you expect from
or accord to your kinfolk?

Cree kin terms: which language? X cousin = boyfriend,

FZ = mother-in-law

descent bilateral--but for band membership?

postmarital residence neolocal--but on band territory

mix of traditional w/ changing laws.

DESCENT is the calculation of who is descended from whom,

especially important in some societies for determining

access to rank, property, and membership in a group.

Bilateral: through both parents equally, including everyone.

Unilineal: not like lineal/Eskimo kin terms.

Patrilineal, Matrilineal go w/ societies w/ lineages

Ambilineal: through either parent; zigzagging.

lineages usually exogamous

Clans are often formed in societies w/ unilineal descent,

several lineages that claim descent

from more distant common ancestor

ties often can't be proved, as w/lineage; exogamous

With unilineal descent, the descendants from one ancestor

can be a concrete, permanent group.

lineage continues despite the death of an individual.

Doesn't mean other relatives aren't recognized

e.g. father's in matrilineal

but others don't belong to same lineage

This descent calculation often goes w/ need

for a definite territory,

unlike the mixed types that allow one to claim

membership in different groups, relationship to many people

Bilateral and unilineal systems are like reversed triangles;

one spreads backward through generations from ego,

other spreads downwards from the ancestor.

unilineal system: no matter which individual you start with,

the same individuals are included in lineage

with a bilateral system, only siblings share the same kindred. WHY?

Functions of marriage may include formalizing relationships between groups—social, political, economic
legitimacy of children: responsibility, obligations, claims, rights
groups' common interests in them
rights to sexual services: men's and women's
rights over reproduction
rights over labor power
rights to property: to spouse and children
family
social recognition—common law?

Family: functions may include
satisfy sexual needs, diminish sexual competition
usually by limiting sexual freedom of women
protection and support for children and women during pregnancy and lactation
enculturation of children of both sexes
gender and age division of labor

Types of family
nuclear, extended, single-parent, joint, blended, plural, homosexual

Types of marriage
polygyny, polyandry, polygamy, monogamy
property relationships
bride price (wealth), progeny price, bride service
compensation for women's production and reproduction
dowry, woman's property or compensation for taking a woman
circulation of marriage wealth
levirate, sororate
cross and parallel cousin
arranged, choice
divorce

POSTMARITAL RESIDENCE: This is closely related to access to resources and to descent. It determines who leaves the domestic group, their family of orientation, and who stays; who will be "home" after marriage, with whom children will be raised.

Unilocal

Patrilocal, Virilocal: men fight together, dominate war, trade, politics, cooperate.

Matrilocal, Uxorilocal: definite territories;
more plentiful resources; men gone longer;
no raids because don't raid mothers and sisters
women cooperate

Avunculocal: live around MB;

said to help resolve male/female tension
transmit titles held by men of matrilineage

(Amitolocal: live around FZ; theoretical)

Goes w/ bifurcate terminology, unilineal descent

Bilocal: Some time in each,

flexible territory or non-territorial, open group

Ambilocal: some people in each,

Neolocal: goes w/ lineal or generational kin terms, bilateral descent

Ideal types; statistical count may vary

e.g. our neolocal

doesn't indicate actual domestic arrangements

e.g. men's house

Multilocal

WEEK 7 GENDER, REPRODUCTION

READINGS:

- Mirror Chapter 8, Gender
TAP Intro to Chapter 7, How do women and men relate to each other?
(109-110)
23, "Ladies" behind bars: a liminal gender as cultural mirror. John M. Coggleshall (116-120)
What are "ladies"? What terms are used for their sexual partners? Who are "homosexuals"?
25, The anthropologist's public-image problem. Micaela di Leonardo (125-127)
30, The new Latin labor. Alan Zarembo. (150-151)
what are birthing practices and beliefs in our culture?

WEEK 7: ETHNOLOGY: SOCIAL TOPIC

Difficult to separate from domestic life!

Reproduction

- in family, decisions regarding children are made—
 - inaccurate to say pre-industrial societies lacked knowledge of conception
- politics of reproduction
 - limit or increase birth rates
 - forbid or force contraception
 - abortion
- ideologies of reproduction
 - how many fathers?

Gender: anthropology's male bias

- focus on public sector, male anthropologists
- assuming continuous patterns from our own society
- variation between societies

Maria Mies, PATRIARCHY AND CAPITALIST ACCUMULATION

- traces ideology and social forms that subordinate women
- women experience whole body as productive through birth, nursing
 - interpreted as physiological, natural production
- men's production associated with real human production
 - transforming, exploiting, nature

Myth of man the hunter, a masculine culture

- bias which saw man as essential provider and protector
- woman the gather provides basic daily sustenance; invisible
- men's tools

Pastoralism, patriarchy, inheritance
 men appropriate reproduction of animals, nature
 women less important as food producers
 pastoralism incompatible with much food gathering
 more important as son producers

Women develop food production, knowledgeable about plants
 war as a man's game
 with increasing intensified agriculture, warfare increases
 technology and manipulation of nature
 women increasingly defined out of production (especially w/ plows)
 into nature of home and hearth and children
 domestic work
 with capitalism and colonialism, nature to be exploited

With capitalism and intensive agriculture
 European women seen as part of domesticated nature
 sexuality and generative powers and productive autonomy
 suppressed and controlled by men
 sinful temptress, nature; must be controlled
 dependency for livelihood
 successful man able to keep woman home as housewife
 house and family private, domesticated nature
 factory public, social, human production

Western culture creates gender dichotomy, inequality
 consequence of patriarchy and hierarchy
 patriarchy: through economic, political, ideological system
 ideology: religion and nature/science/biology
 men are to govern and be served by women
 everyone is either dominant or subordinate
 hierarchy: some men are to dominate all others
 even subordinate men can feel superior to women
 confusion when men won't dominate women—sex
 male homosexuality
 confusion when women escape heterosexuality
 lesbianism and feminism

Other cultures define genders differently
 Zuni man-woman: genders defined by work and relationship to life
 Balkans: vow of chastity of women who become social men
 Hijra of India: males who sacrifice reproduction, then enhance other men's
 fertility; ideal of castration, chastity

Dimensions of gender
 economic – work
 sexuality
 reproductive – bearing and raising children, nursing and feeding people
 political – diplomacy
 ideological

not entirely individual creation; helpers are identified
ways of seeking and finding them culturally defined
most supernatural forces directly associated
with natural forces--animals, ice, wind, sun
particular individuals w/ special powers
shamans who can mediate
between people and supernatural forces
to control, influence natural forces
healers, diviners; accusations unbeatable
witchcraft, using contact with supernatural to hurt others, to hurt society
accusations of witchcraft often fall on helpless, marginal—
England, spinsters

Social aspect

religion affirms and maintains social solidarity, order
may include all of community or a section e.g. clan, with totem
religious worship, celebration social as well as supernatural
individual--thanks for being alive, member of society
rites of intensification: Thanksgiving, harvest, planting
rites of passage (life cycle rituals) birth, puberty, marriage, death
incorporation into community, passing from one stage of life to another
separation from community, reintegration
rites of solidarity, of being a community
rituals of reversal—clowns
all reinforce social bonds and rules of proper person

Relationship between religion and social order

who we are--origin myths, recent origins, ancestry
ethnic religions, ancestor cults
who we should be: behavior rules, punishment, reward
seldom absolutely clear instructions; open to interpretation
where we are going—end of the world, afterlife, rebirth
religious order = social order
hierarchical religion in hierarchical society: divine rulers, ruler-priests
transgression against society – sin against gods
egalitarian religions in egalitarian societies
individual vision quest
shaman skilled at communicating with spiritual world
but lives like anyone else
RELIGION AND RACISM, SEXISM, CLASS

Relationship with nature

- forces of nature, planets, places, species
 - our place in relation to each
 - often for particular place and people, not everyone on earth
- sacred places, pilgrimage
- astronomy
- totems--people with special relationship to animal, plant species
- conservation, idea of "natural" relationship between groups of people
- taboo--avoiding certain species, at certain times of scarcity,
 - e.g. Christian Lent
- sharing in feasts, redistributing
 - Nuer pastoralists eat almost only sacrificial cattle
 - restricts consumption, reinforces community,
 - generalizes distribution of meat
 - feasts often in wintertime, scarcity; or summer, plenty

Relationship with supernatural

- fear, friendship, tricksters, tricking, constant respect
- ghosts of the dead: recent dead, ancestors, founding spirits
- animal and plant spirits, inanimate forces--wind, rain, lightning
- may have human characteristics, emotions and activities
- guardian spirits, caring, humane, respond to appeals
- omniscient, omnipresent, judgmental, punitive
- supernatural power humans can tap into
- one religion can (usually does) combine several concepts

Approach the supernatural world through ritual:

- speech, patterned behavior
- prayer, command, trance, vision quest, sacrifice
- music, dance--ordinary language not sufficient
- chant, stylized speech, special language
- alter emotional state--dance too

In communal societies, can be much freedom and independence

- individuals are own religious specialists
- law and order rooted in common interest
 - don't need gods or authority to reward and punish
 - no need for overarching order in religion or society

Agricultural societies, increased political structure, economic organization, social inequality

- some people can produce for others, e.g. non-food producers
- tribute, taxation, markets and economic specialization
- emergence of political hierarchy to maintain economic integration
- through political and military authority

Ecclesiastical religions

- hierarchy of religious specialists parallel to or synonymous with

- political structure
 - divine rulers
 - often hierarchy of deities
- religious stratification supports socio-economic stratification; justifies
- gods interested in individual thought and behaviour, morality, sin
 - state enforces law; gods enforce morals
- monotheism concentrates religious belief and political loyalty

Religion has political correlations

- religion of conquerors; state religion (extension of communal)
- different religions of ethnic groups, regions
 - differentiates people, separates
- justifies position in life
 - postpone satisfaction to later life; accept status quo
 - provide alternatives for lack of power and status
 - reject values of society one can't achieve
 - reject society's status symbols
 - charity and mercy to relieve, not change or rebellion
- religion for protest
 - nativistic, revivalistic, millenarian, messianic
 - get the power of the conquerors, the dominant, return to ancient ways
 - liberation theology
 - Christianity--Jesus was a revolutionary

Religion reflects and rationalizes relations between communities and nations

- gods of war, holy wars
 - Crusades, World War II, Viet Nam
 - sacred arm of imperialism
 - superimposition of deities, conversion
- religion has been used to justify much exploitation and conquest
 - they must be conquered to hear the word of God
 - they may be conquered because they are infidels or heathens
 - they must be concentrated in villages to be made to live a proper life,
 - i.e. to work for Christians
- ecclesiastical cults became universalistic, for all humans
- conversion necessary, not birth
- prohibit human sacrifice, to use conquered for tribute and labor

What is religion in our society?

agnosticism--no belief, no community

individualism--each seeks their own way, answers

ecclesiastical--Anglicans, etc.

cults of close community; take over whole life

economic, social, religious, family

entirely explain life

search outside of our culture

people seek meaning, roots, explanations

in a culture that lacks all all of these

pluralism--no way is all right or all wrong for society

within the laws--e.g. not in public education

Weeks 11-13 "CULTURES" IN CONTACT: DEVELOPMENT AND MODERNIZATION

READINGS

- Mirror Chapter 10, Modern world system
Chapter 11, Colonialism and development
Using these two chapters, discuss the connection between industrialization, colonialism, capitalism and contemporary globalization.
Excerpts from Islam: a short history, Karen Armstrong, 2002. (Two copies are in the AN2070 scrapbook in the library.)
How has the Islamic world been affected by colonialism and modernization?
- TAP 41, The ugly American revisited. James Brain (210-213)
43, Counter-development in the Andes. Frédérique Appfel-Marglin (221-225)
Using these two chapters, describe some weaknesses of large-scale "development" projects and local resistance to the forces of modernization.
5, Cultural survival on "cultural survival". Ian S. McIntosh and David Maybury-Lewis (26-27)
If culture changes, does culture survive?
- Mirror Chapter 13, Applied anthropology
TAP Intro to Chapter 13, What does the future hold for anthropology? (232-233)

WEEK 12: ETHNOGRAPHY: DEVELOPMENT

Explore the effects of modernization on the economic, social, political and ideological structures of the people in your ethnography. How have they changed with, accommodated to and resisted development?

WEEK 13: ETHNOLOGY: DEVELOPMENT

"CULTURES" IN CONTACT: DEVELOPMENT AND MODERNIZATION GLOBALIZATION BY CAPITALISM

Ethnography as myth
slice of time
ethnography as ethnology

Economic modernization
loss of land to
invasion, settlement
title, privatization, public (for use of all)
grazing, hunting land
communal vs. individual
use vs. commercial value
conservation

- agricultural modernization
- loss of environment to
 - resource exploitation
 - timber, minerals
 - water, hydroelectric, irrigation
 - dams, pollution
- loss of labor to
 - cash commodity production
 - slavery, taxes,
- loss of work to
 - technology—skidoos, guns
- loss of self-sufficiency to
 - increased markets, cash labor
 - dependency on markets to sell to and buy from
 - dependency for survival
- gains in material wealth, choices
 - medical care, utilities
- resistance and coping
 - political organization, guerrilla warfare, communal organization
 - cooperation, sharing, migration, remittance payments, lawsuits
 - informal economy
- Loss of leisure
- Political modernization
 - state formation, state domination—military
 - economic considerations primary
 - loss of autonomy
 - state assistance accompanied by state supervision
 - hierarchies
 - direct and indirect rule, elections
 - new forms of leadership, qualifications
 - youth and literacy
 - freedom from old structures?
 - electoral politics rather than consensus
 - winners and losers, control of power over people and wealth
 - resistance and coping
 - parallel governments and many of above for economic
 - co-optation, working w/ system
 - blockades and demonstrations, international appeals, media
- Social modernization
 - kinship replaced by territory
 - nepotism—kinship reinforced
 - reduced ascription
 - community replaced by individual

- extended family replaced by nuclear
- cooperation replaced by competition
- social inequality and class relations
 - differences in economic and political power
 - based on previous inequalities
- gender inequalities
- resistance and coping:
 - change and insistence on traditional values
 - remaining “backward”

Ideological modernization

- religion
 - world religions better suited to states
 - truths become “myths”—“an account” vs. “the account”
 - celebrations become holidays
 - beliefs become superstitions
 - practices become magic or meditation
 - sacred places are secularized; tourist attractions
- education
 - universal truths and measures
 - history of victors
 - state language
 - technological skills
 - mechanical rather than personal view of nature
 - generation gap
- media
 - images of self and world
- resistance and coping
 - analysis and revitalization of values and practices
 - escape through alcohol
 - art, music, dance
 - fundamentalism

Modernization projects (economic, social, cultural, NOT political)

- to speed incorporation into the above
 - e.g. Green Revolution, livestock management, housing
- to improve insertion into the above, relieve suffering
 - small loans, wells, craft co-ops
- to help resist the above
 - community development, cultural recovery, literacy
 - museums